ปัญหาที่นักเรียนไทยเผชิญเมื่อย้ายจากระบบโรงเรียนไทยมาสู่ระบบโรงเรียนนานาชาติ

น.ส. รสลิน ยูนิพันธุ์

PROBLEMS FACED BY THAI STUDENTS MAKING THE TRANSITION

FROM THE THAI SCHOOL SYSTEM TO THE INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL SYSTEM

Miss Rosalind Yunibandhu

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of Master of Arts in Thai Studies

Faculty of Arts

Chulalongkorn University

Academic Year 2004

Thesis Title: PROBLEMS FACED BY THAI STUDENTS MAKING THE TRANSITION FROM THE THAI SCHOOL SYSTEM TO THE INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL SYSTEM

By: Rosalind Yunibandhu

Field of Study: Thai Studies

Thesis Advisor: Professor Amara Prasithrathsint, Ph.D.

_____

Accepted by the Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Master's Degree.

.... Dean of Faculty of Arts

(Assistant Professor M.R. Kalaya Tingsabadh, Ph.D.)

THESIS COMMITTEE

.... Chairperson

(Associate Professor Soraj Hongladarom, Ph.D.)

.... Thesis Advisor

(Professor Amara Prasithrathsint, Ph.D.)

.... Member

(R. Michael Crabtree)

รสลิน ยูนิพันธุ์ : ปัญหาที่นักเรียนไทยเผชิญเมื่อย้ายจากระบบโรงเรียนไทยมาสู่ระบบโรงเรียนนานาชาติ
(PROBLEMS FACED BY THAI STUDENTS MAKING THE TRANSITION FROM THE THAI SCHOOL SYSTEM TO THE INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL SYSTEM) อ.ที่ปรึกษา: ศาสตราจารย์ ดร.อมรา ประสิทธิ์รัฐสินธุ์ 220 หน้า ISBN 974-17-6293-3

       วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้ มีจุดประสงค์เพื่อกำหนด วิเคราะห์ และประเมิน ปัญหาด้านวัฒนธรรมและปัญหาด้านภาษาที่นักเรียนไทยเผชิญเมื่อย้ายจากโรงเรียนไทยมาสู่โรงเรียนนานาชาติที่มีนักเรียนไทยเป็นส่วนมาก นอกจากนี้ยังมีจุดประสงค์ที่จะวิเคราะห์สาเหตุและผลของปัญหาดังกล่าวด้วย

       วิธีการวิจัยที่ใช้คือ กรณีศึกษา (case study) ผู้วิจัยเก็บข้อมูลโดยใช้การสัมภาษณ์ การให้ทำแบบทดสอบ และ การสังเกต ผลการวิจัยแสดงให้เห็นว่าปัญหาด้านวัฒนธรรมประกอบด้วย การที่นักเรียนไม่ค่อยมีความรับผิดชอบในงานของตนและมีความยากลำบากในการทำงานที่ได้รับมอบหมายด้วยตนเอง ซึ่งอาจารย์ไม่ได้แนะแนวทางให้ การขาดความภาคภูมิใจในตัวเองเนื่องจากเห็นว่าการเรียนในโรงเรียนนานาชาติทำให้ได้ความรู้ไม่แน่นเพราะครูไม่เข้มงวดกวดขัน ความไม่แน่ใจในเรื่องกาลเทศะ ความสัมพันธ์ที่ตึงเครียดกับนักเรียนไทยในโรงเรียนไทย และความกลัวหรือรังเกียจเพื่อนนักเรียนฝรั่งในโรงเรียนนานาชาติ ส่วนปัญหาด้านภาษาที่พบในงานวิจัยนี้ประกอบด้วยปัญหาความยากลำบากในการใช้ภาษาภาษาอังกฤษและความบกพร่องทางด้านสมิทธิภาพภาษา ในการใช้ภาษาอังกฤษ นักเรียนต้องเผชิญกับความขัดแย้งระหว่างความต้องการพูดภาษาไทยกับนักเรียนไทยกับนโยบายของโรงเรียนที่ต้องใช้ภาษาอังกฤษตลอดเวลา ส่วนปัญหาทางด้านสมิทธิภาพภาษา พบว่านักเรียนเหล่านี้มีปัญหาในการอ่านเขียนภาษาอังกฤษและขาดความรู้เกี่ยวกับไวยากรณ์ภาษาอังกฤษ

       การวิจัยบ่งชี้ว่าสาเหตุของปัญหาทางด้านวัฒนธรรมดังกล่าวประกอบด้วย การใช้กรอบของวัฒนธรรมไทยมาเป็นเกณฑ์ในการตัดสินและปฏิบัติภายในโรงเรียน การใช้กรอบของวัฒนธรรม "โรงเรียนนานาชาติ" มาเป็นเกณฑ์ในการตัดสินและปฏิบัติภายนอกโรงเรียน การขาดความสามารถทางด้านภาษาอังกฤษ และการขาดการสนับสนุนความเข้าใจระหว่างวัฒนธรรมจากทางด้านโรงเรียน สำหรับสาเหตุของปัญหาในการใช้ภาษาอังกฤษ งานวิจัยนี้พบว่าปัญหานี้ประกอบด้วยการไม่ตระหนักถึงเหตุผลทั้งทางด้านสังคมและทางด้านภาษา ที่กำหนดการใช้ภาษาของนักเรียนทางด้านโรงเรียน ส่วนสาเหตุในเรื่องความบกพร่องด้านสมิทธิภาพภาษา พบว่าประกอบด้วยการปนภาษาไทยกับภาษาอังกฤษ การใช้ภาษาไทยเป็นส่วนมาก และความกลัวที่จะเข้าใกล้นักเรียนฝรั่ง

       ในด้านผลของทั้งปัญหาด้านวัฒนธรรมและด้านภาษา ผลการวิเคราะห์แสดงว่ามีผลทำให้เกิดเสียเปรียบในการเรียน ความอ่อนแอในการอ่านเขียนภาษาไทยและทัศนคติในทางลบต่อภาษาแม่และวัฒนธรรมของนักเรียนเอง การแบ่งแยกระหว่างนักเรียนไทยในระบบโรงเรียนนานาชาติกับนักเรียนไทยในโรงเรียนไทย และความกลัวนักเรียนฝรั่ง

สาขาวิชา   ไทยศึกษา   ลายมือชื่อนิสิต ....…………

ปีการศึกษา   2547   ลายมือชื่ออาจารย์ที่ปรึกษา ....…….

v

468-080-57-22 : MAJOR THAI STUDIES

KEY WORDS : INTERNATIONAL SCHOOLS / THAILAND / CULTURE / LANGUAGE / BILINGUAL EDUCATION / BILINGUALISM / ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

ROSALIND YUNIBANDHU : PROBLEMS FACED BY THAI STUDENTS MAKING THE TRANSITION FROM THE THAI SCHOOL SYSTEM TO THE INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL SYSTEM. THESIS ADVISOR : PROFESSOR AMARA PRASITHRATHSINT, Ph.D. 222PP. ISBN : 974-17-6293-3.

The purpose of this thesis is to identify, analyse and evaluate common cultural and linguistic problems experienced by Thai students who have come from Thai secondary schools to study in majority-Thai international schools within Thailand. It also seeks to analyse the causes and effects of these problems.

Following a case study approach, using in-depth interviews, tests and observation, the study reveals that cultural problems experienced by students include difficulty in taking responsibility for one's own work and completing assignments without direct guidance from the teacher, low self-esteem resulting from the perceived lower level of academic rigour, uncertainty with regard to norms of propriety in different contexts, strained relationships with less wealthy peers at Thai schools, and fear and/or disdain of Western students. The study reveals that linguistic problems experienced by students include difficulties with regard to both language use and proficiency. With concern to use, it finds that students' main problem is in contending with the overwhelming pressure to speak Thai, on the one hand, and the strict enforcement of English speaking policies on the other. In regard to proficiency in English, it shows that students possess particularly poor Reading and Writing skills, and a weak command of grammatical structures.

The study shows that the causes of the cultural problems include the use of a Thai cultural framework as the basis of judgement and action within the school, and an "international school" framework as that outside of school, a lack of proficiency in English, and the absence of the correct supports for intercultural literacy. It shows that the causes of the problems regarding language use include a lack of recognition of the social and linguistic reasons behind students' choice of language, and that the source of problems concerning language ability relates to students' mixing of Thai and English, as well as the large amount of Thai that they use, and the fact that their already limited use of English is further restricted by their fear of interaction with Western students.

The study finds that the effects of the cultural and linguistic problems include educational disadvantage, weakened literacy in and a less than positive attitude towards their mother tongue, Thai, division from peers outside of the international school circle, and xenophobic attitudes towards Western students.

| Field of Study | Thai Studies | Student's signature | .... |
| Academic Year | 2004 | Advisor's signature | .... |

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis could not have been written without the assistance of many people. I would like, first of all, to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Amara Prasithrathsint, who recognised the merit of my proposal, and who gave me much precious advice and encouragement. Her meticulous attention to detail and incisive criticism also constantly challenged me to work to the highest possible standard.

I would also like to thank the Director of the Thai Studies Center, Dr. Sunait Chutintaranond, whose support and encouragement throughout my study in the Program I much appreciate. Special thanks are also due to Khun Ann, whose administrative skill ensured that my studies always ran smoothly. I am also grateful to my friends in the Thai Studies Program, who made my time at Chulalongkorn a particularly enjoyable experience.

My gratitude also goes to Martin Kindness, whose extensive advice and comments were invaluable - and whose shared belief in the importance of the issues raised in this study gave me faith in my thesis.

I would also like to thank my parents and my sister who, throughout my life, have always fully supported me in everything I have chosen to do.

Finally, I would like to express my deepest thanks to my partner, Stuart Flavell, for his constant love and support throughout the writing of this thesis, as well as for his enthusiasm for and faith in the issues I have researched. His interest in, and commitment and devotion to, his students are a true inspiration.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1   *Significance of the Study*

In a recent paper, the British language expert, David Graddol, states that, "English is likely to remain one of the world's most important languages for the forseeable future" (Graddol, 2004, cited in Schmid, 2004). He goes on to say that the major contribution of English will be in creating new generations of bilingual and multilingual speakers.

Certainly, this trend is apparent in the way that English language education has developed in Thailand. Despite the fact that Thailand, unlike her Southeast Asian neighbours, never lost her independence to colonial powers, the English language has, nevertheless, had a special place in the history of Thai education. Indeed, from its beginnings in the private chambers of the Grand Palace in the 19th century, to its socially revered position in modern-day international schools, it may be said that the use and instruction of the English language has been a part of the Thai educational experience for almost two centuries.

However, whereas during the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, the need for and use of English was confined to a small circle of royals and aristocrats, the last fifty or so years have seen an exponential increase in the number of people who can use English (albeit to differing

degrees). Most have clamoured to learn English in the hope to gain access to the ever-growing job-market within the international community. At the same time, there has been a proliferation in the number of institutions, public and private, offering tuition in English (Smalley, 1994).

International schools are one of these institutions. Although they have existed in Thailand for over half a century now, international schools have received relatively little attention from academic quarters. The main reason is that the sector has been, until recently, small and insignificant, being confined to serving to the needs of the limited expatriate community. That is, international schools have not been seen as having implications for Thai society at large.

This situation is now changing. Recently, Thailand has seen a huge explosion in the number of modern, English-medium international schools. This change is most clearly borne out in the statistics covering the fifty-year period spanning 1953 to 2003 below.

TABLE 1.1: International Schools in Thailand, 1953-2003

	1953	1983	1993	2003
No. of Schools	1	9	16	71

(Statistics taken from OPEC, 2003)

In 1953, there was only one international school: the International School of Bangkok (ISB). Thirty years later, in 1983, there were still only nine schools. In 1993, the number had increased to twenty-one. In 2003, the Office of the Private Education Commission recorded 71 schools in Thailand registered as international (OPEC, 2003). Approximately 70 per cent of all existing international schools, therefore, were established *within the past ten years*.

The reasons for this dramatic growth in numbers are several. They include continued disappointment with the Thai education system, rising incomes resulting from the "Asian Miracle", greater income inequality and a renewed historical consciousness of elite English schools of the 19th century. The most notable factor behind this dramatic change in circumstances, however, is the implementation of the 1991 law allowing, for the first time, Thai students to study in international schools (Yunibandhu, 2003). Moreover, the 50% cap on locals attending international schools stipulated by the Ministry of Education is not enforced strictly owing to the Ministry of Commerce's Department of Export Promotion's double policy promoting international education amongst Thais (Manowalailao, 2003).

With this growth has come diversification. There is now an increasing number of schools that serve mainly local students, as opposed to expatriate students. Indeed, according to Fredrickson (quoted in an interview in Stoneham, 2003) **"it is no longer unusual to find international schools where the majority of the students are Thai."** Manowalailao (2003) also reports that there are around

13,000 foreign students enrolled in international schools, but that the number of locals enrolled is estimated to be more than double that number.

Thus, where previously international schools were typically characterised by their native English-speaking, multi-national, expatriate student population, today they are increasingly characterised by their large Thai student population. Many of these Thai students possess limited proficiency in English, having come straight from Thai schools.

The population of Thai students in international schools is not homogeneous, however. Very broadly, it may be classified into two groups: Thai students who have previously lived or **studied abroad** – usually in English-speaking countries; and Thai students who have entered international schools **directly from Thai schools**. Those students belonging to the first category tend not to have many linguistic or cultural difficulties during the transition to an international school as, usually, they have been successfully acculturated to the (Angliscised) culture of the country in which they have lived. Those students belonging to the second category, however, do tend to experience linguistic and cultural adjustment problems upon arriving to an international school, due to the marked differences between the Thai and international educational systems.

Nor is the international school sector homogeneous. Indeed international schools orignally arose to cater to the diverse needs of special interest groups – and continue to do so. For the purpose of simplicity, however, they too fall into two broad categories: schools where there is a **majority of English-speakers** -

usually the older schools; and schools where there is a **majority of Thai-speakers** – usually the newer schools (for a more detailed description of the different types of international school, see 4.3.). Thai students of the first category tend to congregate in the former type of school, while those of the second category are mainly found in the latter type of school, and can indeed be said to be fuelling the current boom in the sector. Certainly, this trend is reflected in a recent newspaper advertisement posted by a newly-established international school inviting applications for the coming semester from "students with little or no mastery of English" (NSIS, 2004)

In **majority-English-speaking international schools**, Thai students from the latter category (that is, those who are not yet proficient in English) are grouped together with students from other countries, for whom English is also a second language (ESL). International schools invariably classify this group of students as "ESL students", and correspondingly provide them with specialised tuition in English as a Second Language until they are deemed capable of handling the mainstream curriculum without additional assistance.

In **majority-Thai international schools**, these students are also labelled "ESL students" and are assisted in a similar way, although, as will be seen later, the nature of their position in the school is somewhat different to that of their peers in majority English-speaking peers. **It is these ESL students, specifically, that form the focus of this study.**

It is important to know that the term ESL originally developed in the United States, where it was, and is, used to describe non-English-speaking immigrants to the country (see 4.1 and 4.3 for further details). ESL students in both the United States and the United Kingdom (also termed non-English speaking "minorities") have long been known to experience difficulty in adjusting to the language and culture of their new country (e.g. Paulston, 1994; Baker, 1996). However, in the case of minority students, their difficulties are largely attributed to their unequal socio-economic status in society.

What is unique about the majority-Thai international school setting is that the Thai ESL students are the ethnic majority in the school, and tend to be of the highest socio-economic stratum in Thai society. In other words, neither is this group of students from a poor socio-economic background, nor is it a minority group (vis-à-vis English-speakers) in the school. This does not, however, preclude them from experiencing linguistic and cultural difficulties during their transition to an international educational system. Nonetheless, it does mean that it is insufficient and inappropriate to analyse them fully in terms of research done on ethnic minorities in English-speaking countries.

Some research has been done on the linguistic and cultural problems of students in international schools (Allan, 2002; Heyward, 2002). However, no research to date has focused on the linguistic and cultural difficulties of ESL students in international schools in Thailand – and certainly none has been done on those of Thai ESL students in a majority-Thai international school setting. **This study aims to fill this gap.**

Despite a decade long boom in the international schools sector, little research has been done on this now significant educational sector and its impact on Thai students and Thai society at large. This study will contribute to existing knowledge, thereby broadening the discourse on international schools in Thailand, and bilingual education in general. It is hoped that this thesis will contribute to the development of a model of international education appropriate to Thai students, as well as encourage other researchers to explore other aspects of international and bilingual education in this country.

More specifically, this study contributes to the discipline of Thai Studies in an important way, in that it offers an insight into the way in which Thais contend with external cultural influences resulting from globalisation - but at a microcosmic - and in my opinion, more useful - level. Particularly, it gives an insight into the individual experiences of young Thais contending, in a very real way, with the cultural and linguistic challenges of studying in an English-medium international school.

1.2   *Statement of the Research Problem*

This thesis states that Thai students from Thai secondary schools will encounter linguistic and cultural problems upon entering majority-Thai international schools. **Thai students** here refer to students of Thai nationality who have until now studied in Thai schools. **Thai secondary schools** refers to secondary schools that follow a Thai curriculum, as guided by the Thai Ministry of

Education guidelines. **Linguistic problems** are defined as difficulties experienced in any or all of the four skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking English, as well as problems arising from language use. **Cultural problems** are defined here as affective (i.e. psychological or social) problems arising from misunderstandings or miscommunications which are the result of differing cultural values. **Majority-Thai international schools** denotes those international schools where greater than 50% of the school population is of Thai nationality.

The proposed problems are typically transitional, and can arise in any international schools (e.g. Heyward, 2002; Allan, 2002) but are in this study argued to be accentuated where Thai students are in the majority – both in the school and in the host country - and yet the medium of instruction is English, and foreign-based curricula are entirely maintained.

1.3   *Aims of the Study*

The aims of this thesis are:

1.   To identify, analyse and evaluate common linguistic and cultural problems experienced by Thai students who have come from Thai secondary schools to study in international schools within Thailand.

2.   To analyse the causes and effects cited in 1.

1.4   *Research Questions and Hypotheses*

The research questions asked in this study include: 1) What linguistic problems are experienced by Thai students newly arrived to international schools? 2) What cultural problems or conflicts are experienced by these students? 3) What are the possible causes and effects of these problems?

The hypotheses of the study are that linguistic problems include relatively poor English reading and writing skills, and technical inaccuracy in spoken and written English. Cultural problems include a lack of familiarity with Western cultural practices, conflict arising from different expectations of student / teacher roles and relationships, and resentment toward policies that do not explicitly value students' mother tongue and culture.

The possible causes of the linguistic problems mentioned above are three-fold. First of all, many students in such schools are relatively weak in English and, moreover, reinforce in each other "Thai-English". Second, in these schools, the dominant social group is Thai and, as such, there is a strong motivation to use Thai as the social language. Third, students are rarely exposed to English beyond the confines of the school, giving them little motivation to acquire English. The cultural problems most likely result from two main factors: first, the fact that those in authority in the school do not adapt school policies to the Thai nature of the student population, for fear of a decrease in enrolments; and second, the fact that students are given little exposure to students from other

cultures in their day-to day life – within and without the school – limits their opportunities to learn the subtle traits of Western and other cultures.

In this context, the problems mentioned above can both adversely affect students' academic performance as well as produce psychological strain. Apart from being denied the opportunity to achieve their full academic potential, students may also develop superiority-inferiority complexes vis-à-vis their own language and culture, as well as towards Thai contemporaries who have not been educated in the international school system.
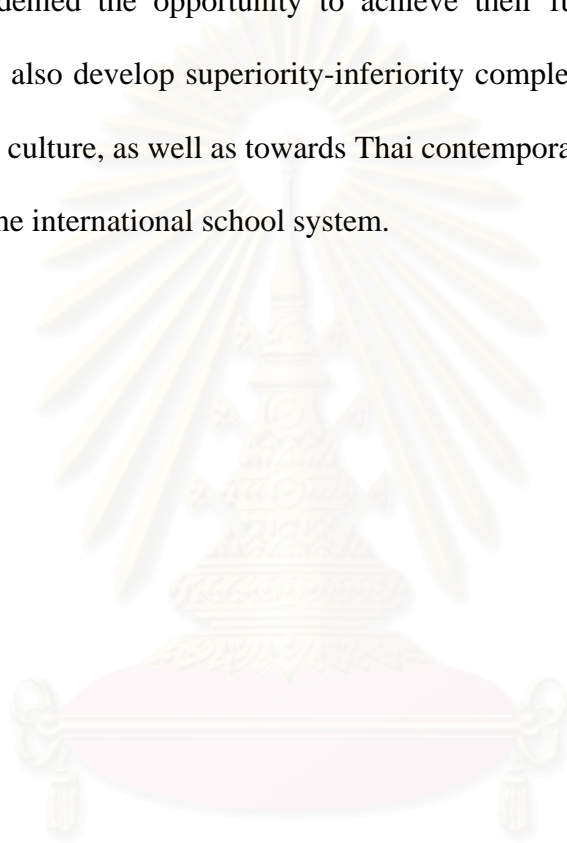
CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

2.1 *Introduction*

This study aimed to identify common linguistic and cultural problems experienced by Thai students who have come from Thai secondary schools to study in majority-Thai international schools within Thailand.

To this end, a case study approach was adopted, with data being collected by means of interviewing, observation and testing.

2.2 *The Case Study Approach*

According Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000), a case study is:

> …a specific instance that is frequently designed to illustrate a more general principle…It provides a unique example of real people in real situations, enabling readers to understand ideas more clearly than simply by presenting them with abstract theories or principles…Case studies can penetrate situations in ways that are not always susceptible to numerical analysis. (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000:181)

 Moreover, it aims for what Geertz (1973) has termed "thick discription" – a detailed account of subjects' lived experiences of and thoughts about and feeling for a situation.

I felt that this form of methodology would be most useful and appropriate to this study. There is great variety not only in the type of international schools in Thailand (and the world), but also in the individual characteristics of each school - as well as each student. Thus, a research method that recognises that context is a powerful determinant of both causes and effects seems most suitable.

According to Nisbet and Watt (1984), there are three main weaknesses to the case study approach to research, however. First of all, the results may not be generalizable, except where other readers see their application. Second, they are not easily open to cross-checking. Consequently, it is possible that the results may be selective, biased, personal and subjective. Finally, they are open to the problems of observer bias.

Nevertheless, despite these shortcomings, the case study approach is still of value. Indeed, Richards (2003) believes that:

> ...the power of the particular case to resonate across cultures should not be underestimated. (2003:21)

2.3   *Population and Sampling*

2.3.1   Population

The population with which this study is concerned is that of Thai students who have come from Thai secondary schools to study in majority-Thai international schools within Thailand. Thai secondary schools, here, refers to secondary schools that follow a Thai curriculum, as directed by Ministry of Education guidelines and standards. Majority-Thai international schools, here, denotes schools that follow a foreign curriculum and use English as the medium of instruction, but whose student populations are majority-Thai - i.e. more than 50 percent Thai (see 4.3 for a more detailed description of both Thai and international schools).

2.3.2   Sampling

Two schools were sampled from the population. They are both majority-Thai international schools following the [British] National Curriculum of England and Wales. Both schools, therefore, fulfil the population criteria.

Their main features are summarised in the table below:

TABLE 2.1: Main features of the schools from which samples were drawn

	School A	School B
Year Established	1998	2003
Location	Bangkok	Bangkok
Curriculum	National Curriculum of England and Wales IGCSE A-level	National Curriculum of England and Wales IGCSE A-level
Number of students	950	688
Percentage of Thai students	~70%	~70%
Fee (2004)	270,000 baht per year in the Foundation stage to 420,000 baht per year in the Secondary School	255,000 baht per year in the Foundation stage to 420,000 baht per year in the Secondary School

As can be seen, both schools are relatively new, having been established within the past five years. Both are of reasonable size, and possess a majority of Thai students. Both also charge similar fees - just short of half a million baht per student per year in the secondary school. Given that the GNP per capita in 2001 was only 80,963 baht (The Brooker Group, 2003), both schools would be considered extremely expensive by the average Thai person.

Two samples of students were drawn from these two schools. **Sample 1** was selected for interviewing. This group consisted of fourteen students - six boys and eight girls. **Sample 2** was selected for testing and observation. This group consisted of six students - five boys and one girl. The aim had been, in both

cases, for there to be a balance between the sexes; however, in reality, this was not practically possible.

To be included in either sample, a particular student had to fulfil three main criteria. First of all, he/she had to be of Thai nationality; second, he/she had to have studied at Thai schools up to the beginning of the current academic year; third, he/she had to have been deemed to have limited proficiency in English, as indicated by their participation in the school's ESL programme.   Thus, the samples were chosen purposely.

The biographical data of the subjects who participated in this study are summarised in the following tables. (N.B. **B** denotes a male student **G** denotes a female student):

TABLE 2.2:   Biographical Data of Subjects in Sample 1

	School	Previous schools	Age	Ethnicity	Languages spoken	Languages spoken at home	Languages spoken by parents	Parents' occupations
B1	A	Monolingual Thai schools only	14	Thai-Chinese	Thai, English	Thai	Thai, English	Manager, Deputy manager of electrical applicance company
B2	B	Monolingual Thai schools only	13	Thai-Chinese	Thai, English, Teo Chiu, Japanese	Thai	Thai, English	Managers of a plastics company
B3	A	Monolingual Thai schools only	12	Thai	Thai, English, Teo Chiu	Thai, English	Thai, English	Academics
B4	A	Monolingual Thai schools only	15	Thai-Chinese	Thai, English	Thai	Thai, English	Business owners
G5	B	Monolingual Thai schools only	12	Thai-Chinese	Thai, English, Teo Chiu	Thai	Thai, Mandarin, Teo Chiu	Business owners
G6	B	Monolingual Thai schools only	13	Thai-Chinese	Thai, English	Thai	Thai, English	Business owners
G7	B	Monolingual Thai schools only	12	Thai-Chinese	Thai, Mandarin, Teo Chiu, English	Thai, Teo Chiu	Thai, Teo Chiu, Mandarin, English	Managers of a clothing company
B8	A	Monolingual Thai schools only	12	Thai	Thai, English	Thai	Thai	Businessman in shipping industry, jewellery retailer

	School	Previous schools	Age	Ethnicity	Languages spoken	Languages spoken at home	Languages spoken by parents	Parents' occupations
G9	B	Monolingual/ Bilingual Thai schools	12	Thai-Chinese	Thai, English	Thai	Thai	Business owners
G10	B	Monolingual/ Bilingual Thai schools	12	Thai-Chinese	Thai, English	Thai	Thai, English	Business owners
G11	B	Monolingual/ Bilingual Thai schools	15	Thai	Thai, English, Teo Chiu	Thai	Thai, English	Doctor, company employee
G12	B	Monolingual/ Bilingual Thai schools	14	Thai-Chinese	Thai, English, Mandarin, German	Thai	Thai, Mandarin, English	Restaurant owners
G13	B	Monolingual/ Bilingual Thai schools	12	Thai-Chinese	Thai, English, Mandarin	Thai	Thai, English	Direct sales (cosmetics) business owners
B14	B	Monolingual/ Bilingual Thai schools	13	Thai-Chinese	Thai, English	Thai, English (latter for practice only)	Thai, English	Vice-president/ manager of a shoe company

As can be seen from the table, four of the students come from School A, whilst ten students come from School B. Eight of them have previously studied at monolingual Thai schools only; six have, in addition, studied at Thai bilingual schools. They are aged between 12 to 15 years of age, and the large majority of them are of Chinese ethnicity. All of the subjects are at least bilingual; four of the subjects are tri-lingual, and three are quadri-lingual. Almost all of their

parents speak both Thai and English, and a considerable number of parents also speak Teo Chiu and/or (Mandarin) Chinese, although the main language spoken at home is Thai. In all cases, the parents are involved in a managerial or professional occupation.

Three other students external to the main sample were also interviewed so as to provide information in support of the findings from the other students. They were chosen specifically because they spoke both Thai and English fluently, and could therefore offer a unique perspective on the cultural and linguistic difficulties of their peers.

Their biographical data is set out below:

TABLE 2.3: Biographical Data of Subjects External to Sample 1

	School	Previous Schools	Age	Ethnicity	Languages spoken	Languages spoken at home	Languages spoken by parents	Parents' occupations
XG1	B	Monolingual Thai schools / school in NZ	15	Thai-Chinese	Thai, English	Thai	Thai	Journalists
XG2	B	Monolingual Thai schools	15	Thai-Filipino	English, Thai	English, Thai	English, Tagalog, Thai	UN researcher
XG3	B	Monolingual Thai schools / Majority-Thai international school	12	Thai-English	Thai, English	Thai, English	Thai, English	Owners of art gallery, asset management company

All three of the subjects external to Sample 1 come from School B and are aged between 12 and 15. One girl is a Thai of Chinese ethnicity who, although speaks Thai at home, studied in New Zealand for a year; another is a half-Filipino and half-Thai girl, who speaks predominantly English at home; and the other is a half-English and half-Thai girl, who speaks both English and Thai at home. Their parents are all bilingual in Thai and English, and hold managerial or professional jobs.

TABLE 2.4: Biographical Data of Subjects in Sample 2

	School	Previous schools	Age	Ethnicity	Languages spoken	Languages spoken at home	Languages spoken by parents	Parents' occupations
B1	A	Monolingual Thai schools only	14	Thai-Chinese	Thai, English	Thai	Thai, English	Manager, Deputy manager of electrical applicance company
B3	A	Monolingual Thai schools only	12	Thai	Thai, English, Mandarin	Thai, English (latter for practice only)	Thai, English	Academics
B4	A	Monolingual Thai schools only	15	Thai-Chinese	Thai, English	Thai	Thai, English	Business owners
B8	A	Monolingual Thai schools only	12	Thai	Thai, English	Thai	Thai	Businessman in shipping industry, jewellery retailer

B15	A	Monolingual/ Bilingual Thai schools	13	Thai-Chinese	Thai, English	Thai	Thai, English	Business owner
G16	A	Monolingual/ Bilingual Thai schools	14	Thai-Chinese	Thai, English	Thai	Thai, English	Business owner

All of the subjects in Sample 2 come from School A. As can be seen from the table, four of them have previously studied at monolingual Thai schools only; two have, in addition, studied at Thai bilingual schools. The subjects are aged between 12 to 15 years of age, and the large majority of them are, once more, of Chinese ethnicity. All of the subjects are at least bilingual; one of the subjects is tri-lingual. Again, almost all of their parents speak both Thai and English, with Thai being the dominant language spoken in the home. In all cases, the parents are, yet again, involved in a managerial or professional occupation.

The sizes of the two samples are small and, as such, it is possible that this may reduce the generalizability of the findings. Sampling was constrained by cost, time, lack of administrative support and number of researchers. Moreover, in order to interview the students, it was necessary to go into the schools during school hours. At the time, however, many students were preparing for tests and exams, and so, to minimise disruption to both students and teachers, it was necessary to minimise the sample.

2.4   *Data Collection*

Data was collected using three different methods: interviewing, testing, and observation. Interviews were used to gather data pertaining to cultural problems and problems concerning language use; testing was used to collect data regarding problems concerning English language ability; and observation was used to gather data on both cultural and linguistic problems.

Data was collected during the period between May and July 2004. As the aim of the study was simply to examine the problems encountered by students in the *transition* to the international school system - that is to provide a "snapshot" of students' problems, rather than a longtitudinal analysis of their development and effects - the short timescale seemed justified.

2.4.1   Interviewing

I interviewed fourteen subjects (Sample 1) with the aim of identifying cultural problems. I conducted these interviews in Thai, as I felt that the responses received from the students would be more extensive and more profound than if the interviews were conducted in English - the students' second language. Moreover, I believed that the use of the students' first language would create a more relaxed, friendly atmosphere, which would be more conducive to the sharing of personal beliefs and opinions.

I conducted the interviews using the interview guide approach as detailed by Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000). In other words, topics and issues to be covered were specified in advance, in outline form, and the sequence and working of questions were decided upon during the course of the interviews. This, rather than a more closed, approach to questioning meant that the collection of data would be more or less systematic, whilst the interviews would remain fairly conversational and situational.

The interviews were guided by the following questions:

1.   What are the first words that come to your mind when you think of Thai schools?

2.   What are the first words that come to your mind when you think of international schools?

3.   Tell me about the general atmosphere/academics/friends/teachers at the Thai schools you've been to

4.   Why did your parents decide to put you in an international school?

5.   What did you think an international school would be like?

6.   How do you feel about there being so many Thai students here?

7.   What were your first days here like?

8.   What are your feelings about having Western teachers?

9.   Describe to me your relationship with the Western teachers here.

10.   Describe to me your relationship with the Western students here.

11.   How do you feel about some teachers knowing some/not knowing any Thai?

12.   What are your feelings towards the English Speaking Policy?

13.   Do you ever find English to be an obstacle for you?

14.   When do you usually speak Thai?

15.   Describe to me your relationship with the Thai teachers here.

16.   Do you think that the levels of etiquette here differ from those at your Thai schools? How?

17.   How do you feel about your use and command of Thai at the moment?

18.   How do you feel about your peers at Thai schools now that you're at an international school?

19.   How would you organise your own children's education?

Inevitably - and as expected - these questions often led to other questions and their corresponding responses. Nevertheless, the subtleties and nuances that these other questions drew out were revealing and useful, as shall be evident in the results.

The interview guide approach to interviewing was, nevertheless, limited, in the sense that, at points, important and salient topics and issues may have been inadvertently omitted. The flexibility of the ways in which questions where sequenced and worded would also possibly have resulted in different responses, which would in turn reduce the comparability of responses.

Each of the interviews was taped, and subsequently translated into English and transcribed. The interview transcripts were then analysed with a focus on cultural problems and problems relating to language use.

Additional information was also gathered from interviews with other, Thai and English-speaking, students. These interviews were also taped, translated (if conducted in Thai) and transcribed. Some information was also gleaned from informal conversations with school staff. This was recorded in the form of fragmentary jottings.

2.4.2 Testing

I also tested the English language proficiency of six students (Sample 2). They were examined and assessed in the four key language skills of Reading, Writing, Listening and Speaking, using practice tests for the University of Cambridge Preliminary English Test (PET) (Naylor and Hagger, 2004).

The PET test was introduced in the late 1970s, and tests competence in the four skills of Reading, Writing, Listening and Speaking in English, for speakers of other languages. It is aimed at learners of English who are at what is called the "Threshold Level".

According to the PET handbook (2004), a Threshold Level user will be able to "use English in their own or a foreign country in contact with native and non-native speakers of English for general purposes". The handbook goes on to describe the materials a Threshold User can deal with, and what a Threshold User is capable of. The main points are summarised in Table 2.5.

The handbook also details the characteristics of the candidature for the the PET. These are summarised in Table 2.6. From the table, it may be seen that the PET is widely taken, all across the world. Most candidates are also fairly young, with around 70 percent aged 20 or under. Most are also studying full-time, and have, on average studied English for about four and a half years prior to taking the test.

TABLE 2.5: The characteristics of a Threshold Level User

Materials a Threshold User can deal with	▪ Texts: street signs and public notices, product packaging, forms, posters, brochures, city guides and instructions on how to do things, informal letters, articles, features, weather forecasts ▪ Listening Texts: airport or railway announcements, traffic information, public announcements at events or concerts, instructions given by officials
What a Threshold User can do	▪ Obtain information from a tourist information centre ▪ Understand the main points of a commentary and ask questions in order to obtain additional information ▪ Make travel arrangements ▪ State requirements and ask questions of a fact-finding nature ▪ Receive and pass on messages ▪ Write simple personal letters

(Adapted from the PET Handbook, 2004)

TABLE 2.6:   The characteristics of PET candidature

Nationality	PET is taken in over eighty different countries, with the majority of candidates coming from Europe and South America.
Age	About 70% of PET candidates are aged 20 or under. A further 20% are in the 21-30 age group.
Gender	Approximately 60% are female.
Employment	Most candidates are studying full-time.
Exam Preparation	Approximately 80% of the candidature attend preparation classes. On average, they study English for about four and a half years in total prior to entry.

(Adapted from the PET Handbook, 2004)

All of the students tested: are speakers of Thai, living in Thailand; are between the ages of twelve and fifteen; are full-time students; and have studied English at school for at least six years. They thus possess similar characteristics to those of the majority of the PET candidature. This test would therefore seem appropriate for the purpose of determining these students' level of English proficiency.

The aims and objectives of the test for each of the four skills are as follows. The handbooks states that students who are successful in the PET should be able to:

READING

- Understand public notices and signs

- Read short texts of a factual nature and show understanding of the content

- Demonstrate understanding of the structure of the language as it is used to express notions of relative time, space, possession, etc.

- Scan factual material for information in order to perform relevant tasks

- Read texts of an imaginative or emotional character, and to appreciate the central sense of the text, the attitude of the writer to the material and the effect it is intended to ha

WRITING

- Give information

- Report events

- Describe people, objects and places

- Convey reactions to situations

- Express hopes, regrets, pleasure

- Use words appropriately and accurately in different written contexts and be capable of producing variations on simple sentences

LISTENING

- Understand and respond to public announcements

- Show precise understanding of short factual utterances and to make identifications on the basis of these

- Extract information of a factual nature

- Understand the sense of a dialogue and show appreciation of the attitudes and intentions of the speakers

SPEAKING

- Express themselves in situations which simulate authentic communication

- Ask and understand questions and make appropriate responses

- Talk freely in order to express emotions, reactions etc.

The test comprises three papers. Paper 1 contains both the Reading and Writing components; Paper 2 is the Listening component; and Paper 3 is the Speaking component. Overviews of the content and structure of each paper are given below in Tables 2.7a-2.12. (N.B. These tables are adapted from the PET Handbook, 2004):

TABLE 2.7a: Reading component of Paper 1 (1 ½ hours)

Reading			
Part	**Task Type and Format**	**Task Focus**	**# Questions**
1	Three-option multiple choice Five very short discrete texts: signs and messages, postcards, notes, e-mails, labels etc. plus one example.	Reading real-world notices and other short texts for the main message.	5
2	Matching. Five items in the form of descriptions of people to match to eight short adapted-authentic texts.	Reading multiple texts for specific information and detailed comprehension.	5
3	True/False. Ten items with an adapted-authentic long text.	Processing a factual text. Scanning for specific information while disregarding redundant material.	10
4	Four-option multiple choice Five items with an adapted-authentic long text.	Reading for detailed comprehension; understanding attitude, opinion and writer purpose. Reading for gist, inference and global meaning.	5
5	Four-option multiple choice cloze. Ten items, plus an integrated example, with an adapted-authentic text drawn from a variety of sources. The text is of a factual or narrative nature.	Understanding of vocabulary and grammar in a short text, and understanding the lexico-structural patterns in the text.	10

Each of the 35 questions carry one mark. This section is weighted such that it comprises 25% of the the total marks for the whole test.

TABLE 2.7b: Writing component of Paper 1

Writing			
Part	**Task Type and Format**	**Task Focus**	**# Questions**
1	Sentence transformations. Five items, plus an integrated example, that are theme-related. Students are given sentences and then asked to complete similar sentences using a different structural pattern so that the sentence still has the same meaning.	Control and understanding of Threshold grammatical structures. Rephrasing and reformulating information.	5
2	Short communicative message. Students are prompted to write a short message in the form of a postcard, note, e-mail etc. The prompt takes the form of a rubric to respond to.	A short piece of writing of 35-45 words focusing on communication of specific messages.	1
3	A longer piece of continuous writing. Students are presented with a choice of two questions, an informal letter or a story. Candidates are primarily assessed on their ability to use and control a range of Threshold-level language. Coherent organisation, spelling and punctuation are also assessed.	Writing about 100 words focusing on control and range of language.	1

Questions 1-5 carry one mark each. Question 6 is marked out of 5, and Question

7/8 is marked out of 15. This gives a total of 25, which represents 25% of total

marks for the whole test.

TABLE 2.8: Paper 2 (30 minutes)

Listening			
Part	**Task Type and Format**	**Task Focus**	**# Questions**
1	Multiple choice (discrete). Short neutral or informal monologues or dialogues. Seven discrete three-option multiple-choice items with visuals, plus one example.	Listening to identify key information from short exchanges.	7
2	Multiple choice. Longer monologue or interview (with one main speaker). Six three-option multiple-choice items.	Listening to identify specific information and detailed meaningt.	6
3	Gap-fill. Longer monologue. Six gaps to fill in. Students need to write one or more words in each space.	Listening to identify, understand and interpret information.	6
4	True/false. Longer informal dialogue. Students need to decide whether six statements are correct or incorrect.	Listening for detailed meaning, and to identify the attitudes and opinions of the speakers.	6

Each question carries one mark. This gives a total of 25, which represents 25%

of total marks for the whole test.

TABLE 2.9:   Paper 3 (10-12 minutes)

Speaking			
Part	**Task Type and Format**	**Task Focus**	**Timing**
1	Each candidate interacts with the interlocutor. The interlocutor asks the candidates questions in turn, using standardised questions.	Giving information of a factual, personal kind. The students respond to questions about present circumstances, past experiences and future plans.	2-3 mins
2	Simulated situation. Candidates interact with each other. Visual stimulus is given to the candidates to aid the discussion task. The interlocutor sets up the activity using a standardised rubric.	Using functional language to make and respond to suggestions, discuss alternatives, make recommendations and negotiate agreement.	2-3 mins
3	Extended turn. A colour photograph is given to each candidate in turn and they are asked to talk about it for up to a minute. Both photographs relate to the same topic.	Describing photographs and managing discoruse, using appropriate vocabulary, in a longer turn.	3 mins
4	General conversation. Candidates interact with each other. The topic of the conversation develops the theme established in Part 3. The interlocutor sets up using the activity using a standardised rubric.	The students talk together about their opinions, likes/dislikes, preferences, experiences, habits etc.	3 mins

Students are assessed on their performance throughout the test. There are a total

of 25 marks, which represents 25% of total marks for the whole test.

The mark schemes for each of the two parts in the Writing component of Paper 1 are as follows:

TABLE 2.10: Mark scheme for Part 2 of the Writing component of Paper 1

Mark	Criteria
5	All content elements covered appropriately. Message clearly communicated to reader.
4	All content elements adequately dealt with. Message communicated successfully, on the whole.
3	All content elements attempted. Message requires some effort by the reader. **or** One content element omitted but others clearly communicated.
2	Two content elements omitted, or unsuccessfully dealth with. Message only partly communicated to reader. **or** Script may be slightly short (20-25 words)
1	Little relevant content and/or message requires excessive effort by the reader, or short (10-19 words).
0	Totally irrelevant or totally incomprehensible or too short (under 10 words).

TABLE 2.11: Mark scheme for Part 3 of the Writing component of Paper 1

Mark	Criteria
5	Very good attempt: ■ Confident and ambitious use of language ■ Wide range of structures and vocabulary within the task set ■ Well organised and coherent, through use of simple linking devices ■ Errors are minor, due to ambition and non-impeding Requires no effort by the reader.
4	Good attempt: ■ Fairly ambitious use of language ■ More than adequate range of structures and vocabulary within the task set ■ Evidence of organisation and some linking of sentences ■ Some errors, generally non-impeding Requires only a little effort by the reader.
3	Adequate attempt: ■ Language is unambitious, or if ambitious, flawed ■ Adequate range fo structures and vocabulary ■ Some attempt at organisation; linking of sentences not always maintained ■ A number of errors may be present, but are mostly non-impeding Requires some effort by the reader.
2	Inadequate attempt: ■ Language is simplistic/limited/repetitive ■ Inadequate range of structures and vocabulary ■ Some incoherence; erratic punctuation ■ Numerous errors, which sometimes impede communication Requires considerable effort by the reader.
1	Poor attempt: ■ Severely restricted command of language ■ No evidence of range of structures and vocabulary ■ Seriously incoherent; absence of punctuation ■ Very poor control; difficult to understand Requires excessive effort by the reader.
0	Achieves nothing: language impossible to understand, or totally irrelevant to task.

(N.B. Given that this section is worth 15 marks, it is assumed that the mark allocated out of 5 is multiplied by 3)

The mark scheme for the Paper 3 is summarised below. Five marks are awarded

for each section for each of the four analytical criteria, as well as for global

achievement. The total number of marks is 25:

TABLE 2.12: Mark scheme for Paper 3

| Criteria	Description
Grammar and Vocabulary	This scale refers to the accurate and appropriate use of grammatical forms and vocabulary. It also includes the range of both grammatical forms and vocabulary. Performance is viewed in terms of the overall effectiveness of the language used in dealing with the tasks.
Discourse Management	This scale refers to the coherence, extent and relevance of each student's individual contribution. On this scale, the student's ability to maintain a coherent flow of language is assessed, either within a single utterance or over a string of utterances. Also assessed here is how relevant the contributions are to what has gone before.
Pronunciation	This scale refers to the student's ability to produce comprehensible utterances to fulfil the tak requirements. This includes stress, rhythm and intonation, as well as individual sounds. Examiners put themselves in the position of the non-language specialist and assess the overall impact of the pronunciation and the degree of effort required to understand the student. Different varieties of English, e.g. British, North American, Australian etc., are acceptable, provided they are used consistently throughout the test.
Interactive Communication	This scale refers to the candidate's ability to use language to achieve meaningful communication. This includes initiating and responding without undue hesitation, the ability to use interactive strategies to maintain or repair communication, and sensitivity to the norms of turn-taking.
Global Achievement	This scale refers to the candidate's overall effectiveness in dealing with the tasks in the four separate parts of the PET Speaking Test. The global mark is an independent impression mark which reflects the assessment of the student's performance across all parts of the test.

This PET was favoured for testing over a self-designed test for the reasons of validity, reliability and practicality. Validity here refers to the extent to which a test can be shown to proudce scores that are a true reflection of a student's language skills. Reliability here refers to the extent to which the test results are stable, consistent and accurate. Practicality here refers to how easy it is to administer the test. The producers of the test claim that the PET fulfils all these qualities (PET Handbook, 2004).

Nevertheless, despite the validity, reliability, impact and practicality of the PET, it may be subject to some criticism. Whilst the PET is sat internationally, and is thus designed for students of varying cultural backgrounds, from my own observations, I feel that the orientation of the test is still towards speakers of languages other than English looking to settle in the UK. The content of the tests and tapescripts is fairly Anglo-centric in nature, and thus most probably disadvantages Thai students living in Thailand - such as those tested - to some extent.

2.4.3 Observation

I also made some general, unstructured, observations of Sample 2, studying English in their international school, over the course of thirty hours, at School A. For these observations, I took the role of a participant-as-observer, in that I was also, at the time, a part-time teacher at the school. In other words, I was as LeCompte and Preissle (1993) state, a part of the social life of the subjects, and

documented what was happening for research purposes. Field notes were recorded in the form of fragmentary jottings, and were later analysed with a focus on both cultural and linguistic problems.
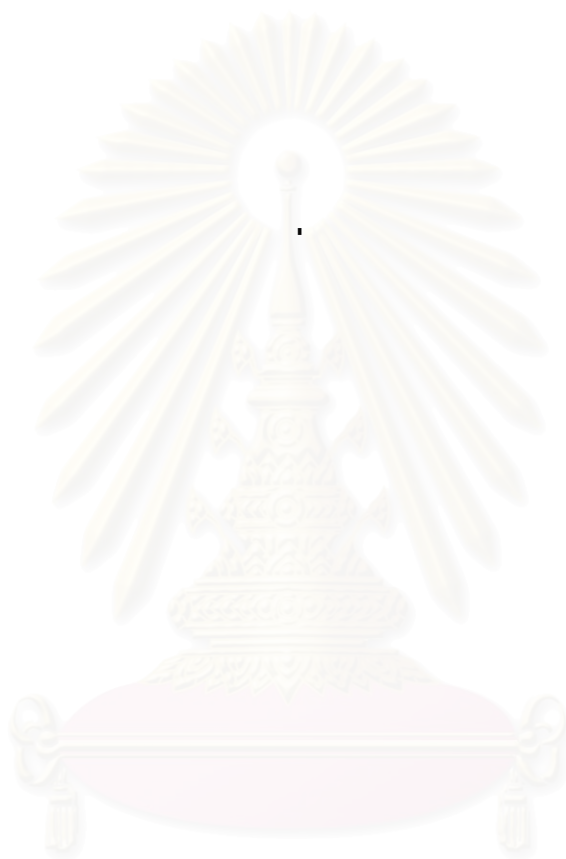
CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter provides a critical review and analysis of the literature relevant to my study. Its purpose is three-fold: first, to place my research into context; second, to show a gap in research; and, thereby, third, justify my research.

The chapter is divided into two main parts. The first part presents an overview of the main concepts upon which the study is based - namely, bilingualism, and bilingual education. The second part summarises and evaluates past research related to the study. Specifically, is organised around three main themes: bilingualism and education; ESL in international schools; and cultural dissonance in international schools.

3.1   *Concepts*

3.1.1 Bilingualism

The students who form the focus of this study learn, and learn in, English as a second - or third or even fourth - language. In other words, they are capable of using - at the very least - two languages. Thus, in this study, these students shall be considered to be bilingual.

However, bilinguals' ability in and use of each of their two languages are rarely balanced. Indeed, in the case of these students, their ability in English is visibly weaker than their ability in Thai. Moreover, the language that they choose to speak is dependent on the circumstances they find themselves in. These two factors are likely to have implications for the linguistic and cultural difficulties they experience on their arrival to an international school. For this reason, it is important to explore the concept of bilingualism in greater detail.

Baker (1996) claims that "defining who is or is not bilingual is essentially elusive and ultimately impossible." This is because there are many different categories and sub-divisions involved in describing bilingualism. Nevertheless, for the purposes of this study, at least a broad definition is required. Very roughly, a person may be considered **bilingual** if he or she possesses some functional ability in a second language. This ability can vary from a limited command in specific domains and functions, to one equal to that in the first language (called **balanced bilingualism**).

Thus, bilingualism may be described in terms of both **ability** and **use and function**. There are two main dimensions to language ability: receptive skills and productive skills. Receptive skills comprise listening and reading skills, whilst productive skills comprise speaking and writing skills. A bilingual's ability in each of these skills may vary according to which of the languages they are using. Moreover, there are also sub-skills within these skills as well, such as pronunciation, extent of vocabulary, grammatical accuracy and register.

A bilingual's use of his or her languages may also vary according to when, where and with whom a person either of his or her languages. Moreover, this variation will also differ across cultures. Baker narrows down the factors affecting use of language to five:

1. The subject
2. The language target
3. The situation
4. The topic of conversation
5. The purpose

He states that the language used may change with a change in any of these five factors.

Baker's conceptualisation of bilingualism as a two-dimensional phenomenon, comprising both a bilingual's ability in and use of his or her two languages is important to this study, in the sense that it provides the basis for explaining both differences between students' ability in English vis-a-vis Thai, as well in the situations where they use the two languages. Indeed, as will become evident in Chapters 6 and 7, both students' respective abilities in the two languages, as well as their decisions to use either of the two languages in one situation or another, are key factors in explaining their linguistic and cultural problems.

3.1.2   Bilingual Education

As described in 4.3.1., all international schools are required by the Thai Ministry of Education to provide tuition in Thai language and culture to all Thai students. Therefore, although international schools are not formally classified as bilingual schools by the Office of the Private Education Commission (OPEC), in this study, they shall be taken to provide a form of bilingual education to Thai students.

As with any type of bilingual education, however, the model of bilingual education chosen in the international schools under consideration is inevitably underpinned by certain - explicit or implicit - societal and educational aims. These aims, will then, ultimately affect the Thai bilingual students studying at these schools - both linguistically and culturally. It is therefore important, for the purposes of this study, to explore the notion of bilingual education in greater depth.

As Cazden and Snow (1990) astutely point out, "bilingual education" is "a simple label for a complex phenomenon". They emphasise that the most important distinction that must be made from the outset is that there exists both bilingual education aimed at using and promoting two languages, and education that aims at using two languages to assimilate language minority children. Thus, there are two aspects of bilingual education that must be distinguished: the **aims** of bilingual education; and the **types** of bilingual education. Inevitably, the latter will be influenced by the former.

Ferguson, Houghton and Wells (1977) usefully provide ten examples of the varying aims of bilingual education. These are: 1) to assimilate individuals or groups into the mainstream of society; 2) to unify a multilingual society; 3) to enable people to communicate with the outside world; 4) to provide language skills which are marketable, aiding employment and status; 5) to preserve ethnic and religious identity; 6) to reconcile and mediate between different linguistic and political communities; 7) to spread the use of a colonializing language, socializing a entire population to a colonial existence; 8) to strengthen elite groups and preserve their position in society; 9) to give equal status in law to languages of unequal status in daily life; and 10) to deepen understanding of language and culture.

From this, it is evident that bilingual education does not necessarily provide for a balanced use of two languages. This is due to a large variety of social, political and economic factors. .

The different types of bilingual education - as dictated by the various aims stated above - are summarised in the Tables 3.1 and 3.2 below.

From the tables, it can be seen that there exists a wide variety of types of bilingual education, with some types producing stronger bilingualism in students than others. Owing to their compulsory (albeit limited) teaching of Thai to children of Thai nationality, international schools can be considered as providing a form of immersion education for Thai students.

The aim of immersion education is supposedly pluralism and enrichment, whilst its intended outcome is bilingualism and biliteracy. However, given that the language of all subject classrooms (with the obvious exception of the Thai classroom) in international schools is English, and remains so throughout the year levels, the form of immersion education provided in international schools is a weak one. The aims and outcomes are likely, therefore, to be correspondingly weak under these circumstances. Again, this is likely to have implications for the linguistic and cultural problems of the students in this study.
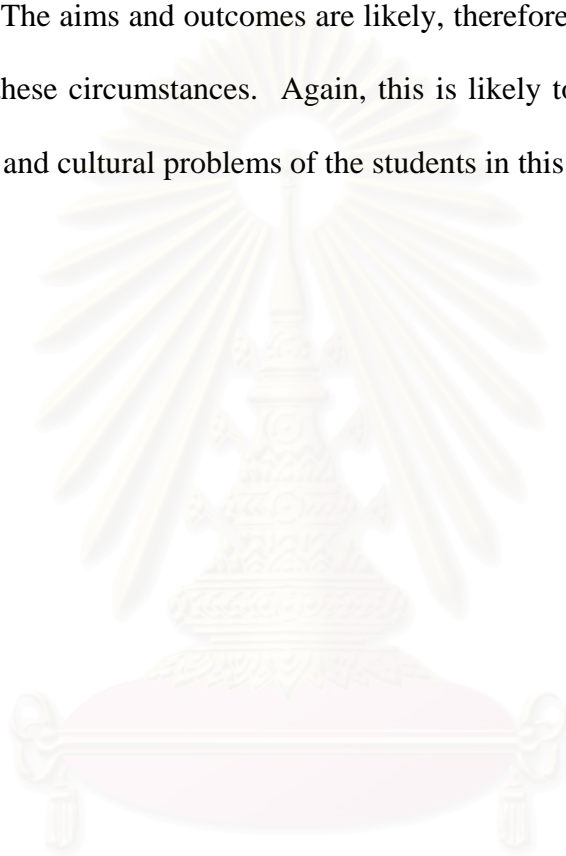
TABLE 3.1: Weak forms of education for bilingualism

WEAK FORMS OF EDUCATION FOR BILINGUALISM				
Type of Programme	**Typical Type of Child**	**Language of the Classroom**	**Societal and Educational Aim**	**Aim in Language Outcome**
SUBMERSION (Structured Immersion)	Language Minority	Majority Language	Assimilation	Monolingualism
SUBMERSION with Withdrawal Classes	Language Minority	Majority Language with "Pull-out" ESL lessons	Assimilation	Monolingualism
SEGREGATIONIST	Language Minority	Minority Language (forced, no choice)	Apartheid	Monolingualism
TRANSITIONAL	Language Minority	Moves from Minority to Majority Language	Assimilation	Relative Monolingualism
MAINSTREAM with Foreign Language Teaching	Language Majority	Majority Language with second or foreign language teaching	Limited Enrichment	Limited Bilingualism
SEPARATIST	Language Minority	Minority Language (out of choice)	Detachment / Autonomy	Limited Bilingualism

TABLE 3.2: Strong forms of education for bilingualism and biliteracy

STRONG FORMS OF EDUCATION FOR BILINGUALISM & BILITERACY				
Type of Programme	**Typical Type of Child**	**Language of the Classroom**	**Societal and Educational Aim**	**Aim in Language Outcome**
IMMERSION	Language Majority	Bilingual with Initial Emphasis on second language	Pluralism and Enrichment	Bilingualism and Biliteracy
MAINTENANCE / HERITAGE LANGUAGE	Language Minority	Bilingual with Emphasis on first language	Maintenance, Pluralism and Enrichment	Bilingualism and Biliteracy
TWO-WAY / DUAL LANGUAGE	Mixed Language Minority and Majority	Minority and Majority	Maintenance, Pluralism and Enrichment	Bilingualism and Biliteracy
BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN MAJORITY LANGUAGES	Language Majority	Two Majority Languages	Maintenance, Pluralism and Enrichment	Bilingualism and Biliteracy

3.2 *Previous Research*

There currently exists relatively little literature on international schools; indeed, no research was found concerning the linguistic and cultural difficulties of Thai students in international schools. The few books that there are exist in the form of practical handbooks or guides for international school teachers and administrators requiring assistance in dealing with their ESL student population.

Moreover, compared to publications in other areas of research, journals in international education are extremely scarce. There are, in fact, only two, both of which were relatively recently established: the International Schools Journal and the Journal of Research in International education. Supported as they are by the European Council of International Schools (ECIS) and the International Baccalaureate Organisation (IBO), the emphasis in these journals still lies very much with majority-English speaking international schools. Nevertheless, some of the articles produced by these publications are of some relevance to the topic of this study.

There does, however, exist vast amounts of research done on various aspects of bilingualism and its educational implications. Some of this work may be related - at least in part - to this study.

The first part of the literature review thus begins with a brief overview of research on issues in bilingualism and education. Given that the Thai students under consideration are bilingual, and are receiving education in their second language, such research has some pertinence, chiefly in regard to cultural and linguistic difficulties. This is followed by an evaluation of work done on the role of English as a Second Language (ESL) and ESL students in international schools. This literature is of direct relevance, in the sense that the students in this study are indeed ESL students studying in international schools. Importantly, it sheds light on some of the cultural and linguistic difficulties experienced by ESL students in international schools, in particular. The section is rounded off by a review of research done on cultural dissonance and

intercultural learning in international schools. Again, this work has clear significance to this study, in that it casts light on the cultural problems experienced by students in international schools.

3.2.1 Bilingualism and education

There currently exists a vast and burgeoning literature on bilingualism and education. Some research focuses on its its social and political aspects (e.g. Phillipson, 1992; Paulston, 1994; Holliday, 1994; Canagarajah, 1999); other research concentrates on its educational implications and its relation to cognitive development (e.g. Baker, 1996). Some research - in the form of large-scale, international and national research projects - considers the effectiveness of bilingual education (e.g. Collier and Thomas, 2001). Another body of work also focuses on bilingual minority students' school experience and ways in which teachers might assist in their transition to learning in English, the majority language (e.g. Gibbons, 1991). However, there are very few research endeavours that have sought to explore testimonies from bilingual students receiving a bilingual education themselves - as does this particular study.

Miller (1983) is one of these. She describes in her book some of the problems of being bilingual in Britain's schools. Drawing on her interviews with ethnic minority bilingual students from a range of schools in London, Miller identifies personal, social and political conflicts in the experiences of these children. In particular, she finds that several children experience problems in their use of

language. Some of the problems are purely linguistic, but most others are cultural. Miller points out that there is often confusion as to the difference between language and attitudes to language. In the case of three Jamaican-British girls, she considers the implications of parental expectations to speak "good English" and their particular school's disinterest in the girls' lack of distinction between language and attitudes to language. In particular, she considers the possibility whereby these circumstances might lead to frustration on the part of the girls in the case of school failure:

> If, for instance, their writing is thought inadequate by standards which have never been made explicit and whose underpinnings have not been explored openly and collaboratively, that is likely to confirm their sense that their own language is at fault. (Miller, 1983: 124)

Thus, Miller claims, culturally and linguistically, these children operate in an "interlanguage" – that is, "a series of overlapping approximations to a version of the target language and culture". Where there is a breakdown in communication – whether for individuals, groups or communities – Miller states that it is not only to do with conflicts between the immigrants and host community and its authorities, but also conflict within families and minority communities which might have supported their children if not for the fact that they themselves had been undermined in their own way of life.

What Miller describes is not entirely relevant to the situation of ESL students in an international school context, however. Miller approaches the topic of bilingualism, culture and education from the perspective of minority children in Britain. As is described in more detail in 4.2.2., ESL in Britain is not seen as a purely linguistic concern. ESL students in Britain tend to be the children of ethnic minority immigrant families who, in turn, typically come from the disadvantaged sectors of society. ESL in Britain has, until recently, been seen as one part of a multicultural and multiracial approach to schooling in general. The emphasis in education is placed on raising the achievement of minorities through inclusion – and this is reflected by the concern with addressing the needs of minorities within the classroom. Although ESL students in international schools have emotional difficulties that are hard to divorce from their linguistic difficulties, they are usually from advantaged backgrounds and within the school population may form a majority rather than a minority (Murphy, 1990). The same may be said for similar studies based in the United States.

3.2.2   English as a Second Language in international schools

ESL in an international school context

Early work on second language students in international schools tended to take the form of handbooks for teachers and administrators – a result, according to Murphy (1990:vii) of there being "nowhere to turn for guidance on how to make

provision for [the] education [of non-English speaking students in international schools]."

In the foreword to one such handbook, Murphy (1990) importantly acknowledges that ESL situation in international schools is different to that in British and American educational contexts:

[ESL] programmes had been in existence in many parts of the English-speaking world for a long time, but in virtually every instance their aim was to help immigrant populations assimilate quickly into mainstream life – not apposite at all to the situation in our kind of school. (Murphy, 1990: vii)

Indeed, whilst immigrant students tend to form a minority group, and usually come from disadvantaged backgrounds, ESL students in international schools can sometimes form a majority group, and most often come from advantaged backgrounds.

The status of ESL as a subject in international schools

Garner (1990), at the same time, however, points out that whilst in countries such as the US, there is an obligation to provide the conditions for immigrant students to achieve their full academic potential, many English-medium overseas international schools are reluctant to provide ESL students with appropriate, specialised English tuition. Garner observes that most schools

adopt a "'sink-or-swim' total-immersion approach, aided perhaps by a little private tuition" (Garner, in Murphy, 1990:8), leaving students to fall short of their full potential, or take much longer to achieve their potential than they would with the right kind of teaching. He also claims that this situation is unsatisfactory in that other foreign languages tend to take precedence over English - the medium of instruction:

> [F]oreign-language departments are likely to be far better staffed
> and equipped than the ESL department.   (Garner, in Murphy,
> 1990: 9)

This is despite the fact that:

> ...through ESL teaching the school is promoting bilingualism at a
> level rarely achieved by foreign-language learners. (Garner, in
> Murphy, 1990: 9)

He also points out that most international schools follow the practice of charging extra fees for ESL tuition, and not only does this stigmatise students but also makes it even more imperative to provide students with adequate support.

Garner thus throws light on the subordinate position of, and lack of commitment to (i.e., lack of status, importance and funds accorded to) the subject of ESL in

international schools - regardless of the fact that, in many cases, is a source of income for the school.

Cultural and linguistic problems experienced by ESL students in international schools

In the same book, Sears (1990) provides some insight into common difficulties amongst ESL students, and how they may be avoided. In particular, she gives a good overview of the various constraints that might be experienced by an ESL student with a limited command of English.

First of all, they may experience "culture shock". Sears describes culture shock as:

> an emotional disturbance arising from the impact of aspects of their new environment such as a new language, different climate, and changed living conditions…[as well as] changed relationships within the family resulting from the new way of life, the possible absence of the extended family, and the relationship with the new school. (Sears, in Murphy, 1990: 131)

Sears thus takes the perspective of children who have moved to an international school from a different, non-English speaking country.

Second, there may be a problem of "linguistic isolation", that is the isolation from emotional support and friendship that results from the inability to communicate in the new language – a source of much stress for many students. Sears points out that the inability to understand school notices leads to additional stress where, for example, it results in visible and potentially embarassing problems, such as forgetting a PE kit, or money for a field trip.

Third, this lack of comprehension, coupled with a different educational/cultural background, may lead to ESL students' reduced participation in extra-curricular activities (ECA) – which would otherwise be a source of relaxed and friendly social interaction. Many families from traditional Asian backgrounds, for instance, do not consider ECA to be necessary to their education.

Fourth, Sears notes that many former high achievers may see themselves as failures in their second language. This is because most ESL students are not able to achieve at the same level as they did in their own national systems. This may lead to a sense of failure and low self-esteem.

Fifth, there may be problems in social life. This might be in the form of: dress, such as feeling uneasy in their accustomed dress or having to change into Western dress; customs, for instance, shared changing facilities in locker rooms and compulsory communal swimming classes; and the different nature of relationships between the sexes, especially where the children come from conservative backgrounds.

Sixth, there may exist a problem of the build-up of fatigue from the physical and emotional stress of the new language environment. This may manifest itself in either passive, depressive behaviour, or disruptive, rude behaviour.

Seventh, field trips may pose a problem in the sense that they isolate the students from all that is familiar to them and produce feelings of fatigue and loneliness. Moreover, often, information regarding the trip is not fully understood, neither by the parents nor the students, leading to an increased feeling of insecurity.

Eighth, students from some cultures may not be accustomed to the relaxed, informal, friendly style of international school teachers. Patterns of learning and activity can also be starkly different.

Finally, there may be strains and tensions within the family which affect ESL students. For example, there may have been a changing of roles within the home as a result of the move, or there may be excessive academic pressure on the students from their families.

More recently, Holderness (2001), like Sears, notes that ESL students may experience culture shock upon arrival at an international school:

Not only is the language of instruction often different but also both the ethos and pedagogy of the new school may be at variance with the school they have come from in, for example, the status of women, relationships between children and adults, responses to

behaviour, social and academic expectations and styles of interaction.

There is now also a well-known and comprehensive body of information on ESL in international schools available on the Internet, researched and organised by Shoebottom of Frankfurt International School (Shoebottom, 2001; Shoebottom, 2003). Designed for teachers, administrators, parents and students, it provides a wealth of useful material concerning all aspects of ESL education. In particular, it includes a good section on ESL students and their experience of culture shock. However, Shoebottom (2003) highlights the fact that matters for ESL students in international schools are particularly complicated because they not only have to contend with the culture of their host country, but also the culture of their new school. He thus renames culture shock as "school shock". Shoebottom attributes the causes of school shock to two main factors: educational differences and social differences. Educational differences between ESL students' national school system and the international school system may include:

1. The method of learning, e.g. rote learning vs. learning by discovery and the use of critical thinking

2. The perception of learning, e.g. learning as being serious vs. learning as being enjoyable

3. The attitude to learning, e.g. maintaining face vs. risk-taking in the classroom

4. The conception of private space, e.g. maintaining personal privacy vs. sharing opinions and beliefs with others

5. The gender of teachers, e.g. same-sex teachers vs. teachers of both sexes

6. The character of teachers, e.g. aloof vs. relaxed and friendly

7. The academic atmosphere, e.g. competitive vs. co-operative

8. The student-teacher relationship, e.g. teacher-dominated decision-making vs. shared decision-making

9. The language of the school

Shoebottom points out that the last difference – the language of the school – is likely to cause ESL students most stress. This is because their entire environment is now based in this language. As a result, students may not only suffer from exhaustion from having to understand difficult content in a new language, but also frustration from being unable to express themselves in this language. Like Sears, he also notes that many students who used to do well in their studies "lose their voice" when they join an international school, to the point that they think themselves "worthless or stupid".

Social differences, Shoebottom states, arise largely from the dominance of English-speaking – in his school's case, American – culture in international schools. Some ESL students may resent this dominance, in the sense that their own culture does not appear to be given much value. Others are torn between the attractions of Western culture – e.g. greater freedom and independence, and equal and uncomplicated relations between the sexes – and the culture of the home.

In another section, Shoebottom gives more of an indication of what linguistic difficulties ESL students might have in the classroom by recording some of their comments. These are listed in Table 3.3.

Shoebottom himself does not analyse these comments, but it is fairly evident from the most popular comments that these ESL students' main difficulties are with unfamiliar vocabulary, the speed of spoken delivery, illegible handwriting, having insufficient time to understand content within the lesson and having their language capability being made fun of.

Meanwhile, Murphy (2003) also argues that while a majority of children from various language backgrounds may benefit from the education offered by monolingual English international schools, some non-English speaking students enrolled at a young age can encounter difficulties. She reviews research on the growth and development of young children and discusses the causes for concern in this context. She also recommends ways in which these difficulties may be lessened or avoided.

Despite the seeming relevance of this research in international education, I would argue that it has yet to deal effectively with the changing circumstances in countries like Thailand (see more details in 4.1.3), where more and more host country nationals are demanding an international education, and are thereby altering the nature of international schools. Authors such as Murphy, Sears, Holderness and Shoebottom describe the linguistic and cultural difficulties of ESL students who are a minority in a majority English-speaking context. Thus,

TABLE 3.3:   Feedback from ESL students at Frankfurt International School

- Please use easier words. Please speak slowly and clearly. **

- Please write more clearly on the board. **

- Please wait after the lesson to explain. *

- You should not make a joke about everything. *

- Stand near me when I must answer question.

- Please tell about tests earlier.

- Give me more time to do my work.

- Give us more time to write down things from the board

- Don't pick on me in lesson because I can't answer.

- Please write answers on the board.

- Teacher always write homework on board when light flashes.

- Explain the homework please.

- Can I speak Japanese in lesson?

- Let us explain things in our own language to people who don't understand something.

- Don't give difficult words in test questions.

- Repeat what other students say when they say question or give an answer.

- I don't understand when teacher reads bulletin.

- When we have a chance to answer a question, make the other students quiet, because

  it takes a time to transfer thoughts in words.

- Punish the students who make fun of our poor English.
- Even I answered wrong, don't laugh.

- Come to ESL students during quiet working to ask how they understood.

- Try to wait if just 2 or 3 people raise their hands for the others.

*** many similar comments * a few more similar comments*

(Adapted from Shoebottom, 2001)

despite some differences, there is at least some degree of comparability possible with ESL education in Britain and America. There is no research to date that has looked at the linguistic and cultural difficulties of ESL students entering into an international school where the majority of students are from the same culture and speak the same language.

3.2.3   Cultural dissonance and intercultural literacy in international schools

Some research has been done, nevertheless on "cultural dissonance" in international schools.   Allan (2002) analysed one hundred and sixty-nine narratives, written by students at an international school in the Netherlands, that gave a fictional account of a new student's arrival at the school. The study finds that a largely monocultural international school can not only cause problems for students from minority cultures but can also inhibit the intercultural learning of those from the majority student culture.

He finds the cause of problems experienced by minority students in the school to be rooted in the social context of the school:

> ...the framework of the international school environment defines
> the situation in which cultural interactions take place, and in doing
> so, it can ameliorate or worsen the process of acculturation of
> different cultural groups. (Allan, 2002:76)

This research thus brings us somewhat closer to the topic at hand.

Allan encourages international schools to acknowledge cultural dissonance in their schools, instead of treating it as a deficiency. He argues that in order to encourage success for all students of all backgrounds, it is essential to recognise and work with the phenomenon of cultural dissonance, such that international understanding is achieved.

Heyward (2002) also looks at intercultural relations in international schools. In particular, he proposes a new model for "intercultural literacy". He defines intercultural literacy as:

> ...the competencies, understandings, attitudes, language proficiencies, participation and identities necessary for cross-cultural engagement. (Heyward, 2002: 9)

He argues that international schools are in a unique position to develop understandings and practice in relation to intercultural literacy - and, indeed believes that they should.

In his paper, Heyward goes one step further than other authors on international schools by acknowledging the fact that global context for international schools has changed, and continues to change:

In the 21st century complex cultural, economic, political and human flows ignore national borders, and national cultural identities form just one layer in the multiple cultural identities of human beings. (Heyward, 2002: 23)

He claims that the implications for international schools are two-fold. First of all, the world in which international schools exist and for which students are being prepared has changed. Indeed, he argues that rigid national curricula are not aligned with the global reality. Second - and especially relevant to this study - international school communities - that is, teachers, students and parents - are different to what they used to be. Heyward states poignantly that:

Without an understanding of intercultural literacy and its implications for students, schools understand neither the world of their students nor the students themselves. (Heyward, 2002: 23)

Moreover, whilst he admits that many children do actually possess characteristics that correspond to intercultural literacy, Heyward refers to Bennett's (1993) distinction between learned and 'accidental' pluralism:

[While 'accidental' pluralists may] understand and even respect the differences with which they are familiar,...they may be unable to recognise or use this sensitivity as part of a generalised skill in adapting to cultural difference. (Heyward, 2002: 25)

Heyward's previous research (2000) also seems to corroborate this claim. In this paper, he finds that international schooling experience does not necessarily result in intercultural literacy; indeed it can in fact lead to prejudice:

> Far from automatically leading to intercultural literacy, international experience and with it the international schooling experience often produce the subtractive, negative responses of cultural chauvinism and distancing from the host culture, marginalization or 'passing'. The cross-cultural experience is thus...a necessary, but not suffcient condition for the development of intercultural literacy. (Heyward, 2002: 19)

Heyward echoes Allan (2002) when he suggests that it is the social context within which cross-cultural experience occurs that is likely to make the difference between intercultural literacy and the lack thereof. The model he proposes highlights the first period of first real engagement with a second culture as the critical point for intercultural literacy. If the right supports are available to students at this point, the result is likely to be intercultural literacy. Conversely, if they are unavailable, the result is like to be cultural distancing.

Heyward concludes his paper (Heyward, 2002) by highlighting three strategies for supporting intercultural literacy learning in international schools: 1) genuine equal-status engagements with local host cultures; 2) support for students in the process of transition, either newly arriving or departing; and 3) intercultural training for teachers and staff, school-based responses in curriculum and the

broader social-cultural strucutring of the school, as well as parent-education programmes.

Like Allan (2002), Heyward stresses that intercultural literacy is an important concern for international schools - and indeed the global community:

> By addressing [the issue of intercultural literacy], schools and educators address the needs of students as individuals to be educated for a globalized future, the needs of schools to understand today's international students and their world, and the needs of humanity to define and create a workable, sustainable and pluralist global community. (Heyward, 2002: 28-29)

Certainly, the concerns raised in both Allan (2002) and Heyward (2002) are reflected in this study - and may, in fact, be considered its driving motivation. Although both studies assume locals to be a minority in international schools (that is, opposite to the situation in Thailand), they nevertheless highlight the potential cultural problems students may experience where their schools do not actively promote intercultural literacy.

3.3 *Conclusion*

From the foregoing review of literature, it is evident that, whilst there exists a wealth of information is available on bilingual education of minority children in

English-speaking countries, there is comparatively very little in the way of research on ESL students in the context of an international school. It need not be mentioned that there is no existing research on the linguistic and cultural difficulties of Thai students in majority-Thai international schools.

Most of the work done on ESL students in international schools is written in the form of practical guidebooks, and thus relies largely on the experiences and observations of ESL specialists currently working in international schools. Moreover, they are based on the assumption that international schools are invariably majority-English speaking, and that ESL students are students of minority cultures within the school.

The concepts developed in Allan (2002) and Heyward (2002), do however, have relevance to this study, in the sense that they concern conflicts in culture and language in an international school setting, as well as suggest their causes and implications. It is hoped that my work can add to this body of knowledge, as well as throw light on the unique but, so far, unexplored, linguistic and cultural experiences of Thai students, in the context of majority-Thai international schools in Thailand.

CHAPTER 4

BACKGROUND

4.1 *Introduction*

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the background to this study. First of all, it provides the historical background to bilingual education, examining the origins and development of bilingual education in the United Kingdom and in the United States, as well tracing the development of English Language Teaching (ELT) and bilingual education in Thailand. Second, it offers an in-depth description of the international school and Thai school systems. Third, it examines the bilingual educational concept of English as a Second Language (ESL) as it relates to international schools.

I feel that it was important to include this chapter for two main reasons. First of all, I felt it was important to emphasise the distinctiveness of the development of ELT and bilingual education in Thailand, as compared to that of the US and UK. This is because the way in which bilingual education has developed in a particular socio-historical context is likely to influence both its present and its future. Indeed Paulston (Paulston, 1992, in Baker, 1996) observes that:

> Unless we try in some way to account for the socio-historical, cultural and economic-political factors which lead to certain forms of bilingual education, we will never understand the consequences of that education. (Paulston, 1992, in Baker, 1996:165-166)

Second, I believe that, to fully understand the significance of the problems of students in international schools, as detailed this study, it is essential to have a firm understanding of what exactly international schools are, and how they compare with schools that are part of the Thai national system.

The chapter is divided into three parts. The first part gives an overview of the history of bilingual education in the US, UK and Thailand and links this to international schools. The second part describes the three main types of international school in existence in Thailand - British, American and International - as well as the two different types of national school - government and private. The third part examines the concept of English as a Second Language (ESL) as it relates to international schools.

4.2 *The History of Bilingual Education: A Cross-National Perspective*

4.2.1 Bilingual Education in the United States

The history of bilingual education in the United States may be divided into four broad periods: the permissive period; the restrictive period; the period of opportunity; and the dismissive period (Baker, 1996).

Permissive Period

Prior to the arrival of in-migrants, there existed over two hundred indigenous languages in the United States. With in-migration, to these were later added various European languages, including Italian, German, Dutch, French, Polish, Irish and Welsh. Up until the First World War, linguistic diversity was more or less accepted as the norm and encouraged through individual communities' print media, education and religion. For example, during this period, there were both bilingual and monolingual, public and private German-English schools in Ohio and Pennsylvania, and similar Norwegian and Dutch schools elsewhere.

These schools came into existence for four main reasons: competition between public and private educational institutions; the individual initiatives of school administrators; the isolation of certain communities; and ethnic homogeneity in areas. Schools in most large cities were monolingual (that is, used English as the medium of instruction), whilst those in smaller cities were bilingual.

By the twentieth century, Italians and Jews had been placed in mainstream, English-medium schools, but bilingual schools still existed as they depended on local jurisdiction. For example, some Polish in-migrants in Chicago attended Catholic schools, where some amount of teaching was conducted through their mother tongue.

In 1906, however, the Nationality Act was imposed, forcing in-migrants to speak English if they were to be naturalized as citizens. This marked the beginning of the restrictive period.

Restrictive Period

The first two decades of the twentieth century say a major change in attitude towards bilingualism and bilingual education. This was due to four main factors. First of all, there was a massive increase in the number of in-migrants to America. This led to greater congestion in public school classrooms, and therefore resentment towards in-migrants and their languages. Second, in 1919, the Americanisation Department of the United States Bureau of Education proclaimed that "all states [were] to prescribe….[that] classes of all schools be in English." By 1923, thirty-four states at implemented this directive. The third, and perhaps most significant, factor, was the First World War, in 1917. The war created a strong anti-German feeling in America, which evolved into a general prejudice towards all foreign languages. The fourth factor was mandatory attendance laws in public schools, which made it difficult to maintain private schools and which served to assimilate in-migrants into an English-dominated culture.

The Period of Opportunity

The restrictive period began to wane somewhat following 1957, when the Russians launched the Sputnik rocket into space. The launch represented a

national defeat of sorts, and gave rise to serious reflection upon the state of the American educational system - in particular, the extent of its scientific and technological knowledge. This, in turn, resulted in a renewed interest in foreign language learning and greater tolerance in attitudes to other languages.

Another important feature of this period was the rise of the Civil Rights Movement. This began formally in 1964 with the Civil Rights Act, which prohibited discrimination. This led to a less negative attitude to ethnic groups and their languages.

A change in attitude towards bilingual education was also maked by the establishment of a dual language school ("Coral Way Elementary School") in Florida, in 1963, by a group of Cuban exiles. Because of their unquestioned allegiance to the United States, and the supposed temporary nature of their stay in the country, they gained much American sympathy.

A number of laws and lawsuits during this period further contributed to a more positive view of bilingual education. In 1965, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act was passed, enabling "educationally deprived children" to receive funds for their needs. In 1967, the Bilingual Education Act was passed, initially to help failing Spanish students. This Act was amended in 1968 and provided funds for the establishment of bilingual programmes for students who did not speak English and who needed financial assistance. In particular, in 1970, a lawsuit brought forward by a group of Chinese students against the San Fransciso School District established that ESL programmes for language

minorities not proficient in English were necessary if there was to be equality in education. Although initially rejected by the district court, this case was later accepted by the Supreme Court in 1974, and succeeded in outlawing submersion education. The programmes subsequently implemented were still transitional in nature, however,

Thus, this period saw the assertion of a need for equal opportunities in education.

Dismissive Period

Since the 1980s, enthusiasm for bilingual education in the United States has waned. Indeed, there has been a general move towards submersion and transitional bilingual education. Much of this is due to the efforts of nationalistic pressure groups, such as English First and US English, although legislative changes have also played a significant role.

In 1974, the Bilingual Education Act was reauthorized in that grants were available to teach the home language and culture of minority students – as long as the use of the mother tongue improved the students' achievement in English. Some controversy existed, however, about the size of the role of the mother tongue in minority students' education. In 1978, the United States Congress reauthorized transitional bilingual education – that is, the mother tongue was now only to be used to improve students' achievement in English. There was no encouragement regarding the maintenance of students' home language and

culture, and ESL learners were now labelled as "Limited English Proficient". President made state policy toward bilingual education clear in a speech made in 1981, where he stated that:

> It is absolutely wrong and against the American concept to have a bilingual education program that is now openly, admittedly, dedicated to preserving their native language and never getting them adequate in English so they can go out into the job market.
> (in Baker, 1996)

In 1984, more funds began to be allocated to schools that did not provide schooling in the mother tongue of minority students. In 1985, the Secretary of Education, William Bennet, claimed that there was no evidence that children had benefited from the Bilingual Education Act, and therefore proceeded to allocate 25% of its funds to Structured and Sheltered ESL programmes. In other words, there was a dismissal of strong forms of Bilingual Education. Local politicians were left to make their own policies.

From the preceding history of bilingual education in the United States, it may be seen that bilingual education has gone through a variety of different phases, depending on various socio-historical, political and economic phases. Baker points out that there has been "constant movement in ideas, ideology and impetus", and that this will "always occur in bilingual education policy and provision."

Certainly, the same may be said of bilingual education in other countries. However, the sequence of phases experienced in other countries may differ. To broaden the perspective on the history of bilingual education, therefore, we now turn to a short history of bilingual education in the UK.

4.2.2   Bilingual Education in Britain

The history of bilingual education in Britain is similar in some respects to that of the United States, but differs in others due to various socio-historical facts – for example, the Kingdom's much longer history; its imperial legacy of "a racism that has deep historic origins and was, and still, is, grounded in erroneous perceptions of colour" (Gardner, 2001); the economic need for immigrant labour following the Second World War; and the ethnicities of the minorities concerned.

Nevertheless, despite what many Britons are led to believe, like the United States, Britain has a rich legacy of diversity. Britain's earliest inhabitants are said to have had links with the peoples of the Mediterranean and the Near East. Later settlers, such as the Celts, Saxons, Danes and Normans, arrived from Central Europe. African, Indian and other migrant groups have also been thought to have played an important role in early British history (Fryer, 1984).

It is post-war migration to Britain, however, that has received most attention, as it is what has shaped the development of educational responses to ethnic

diversity in Britain. Unlike previous migration, immigrants of the post-war period have helped to "revitalise and transform Britain". Gardner uses Panayi's (1999) classification of phases to describe post-war migration to Britain. In the first phase, labour shortages after 1945 led to the recruitment of Southern and Eastern Europeans to the workforce. In the second phase, as this labour began to be exhausted, the recruitment of workers from the Empire and Commonwealth – largely of Caribbean, African and South Asian origin - was encouraged. The third phase saw government measures to restrict the entry of non-white migrants to Britain in 1962. Thus economic necessity was set off against a deep-seated racism. This tension underlay the beginnings of government moves to respond to ethnic diversity in education.

Like Baker, Gardner (2001) divides Britain's history of bilingual education into four broad periods: an assimilationist phase; an integrationist phase; a multiculturalist/anti-racist phase; and a second assimilationist phase, in chronological order. However, for ease of comparison, these phases shall be renamed, reflecting as best as possible the nature of each: restrictive period; period of opportunity; permissive period; and dismissive period. Each will now be treated in turn.

Restrictive Period

During the 1960s the "major educational task [was] the teaching of English" to immigrants (DES, 1965). In other words, it was believed that a command of the English language was all that was needed for ethnic minorities' educational success. However, this policy disregarded English-speaking pupils of African Carribbean heritage, who were still disadvantaged by such factors as negative teacher attitudes and an ethnocentric curriculum. In 1966, however, it appears that this issue was acknowledged to some extent, as evidenced by Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966, which states that there was a need to:

…make special provision in the exercise of any of their functions in consequence of the presence within their areas of substantial numbers of immigrants from the Commonwealth whose language or customs difer from those of the community…

This grant was gradually increased over the next few years, and then remained constant until 1992. Despite this, however, it was criticised for excluding several minority groups, and lacking comprehensiveness, co-ordination and an effective monitoring system.

From 1966 to the mid 1980s, it was common practice to place minority students in "language units", whereby children were removed from mainstream classes and taught in ESL in withdrawal classes, in the belief that they would acquire English more rapidly. Not only were the teaching and conditions of these units

poor but, also, in some areas, students were bussed to other catchment areas, so as to reduce the high concentration of immigrant children.

Period of Opportunity

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, it came to be recognised that an understanding of immigrants' cultures was necessary if their difficulties of adjusting to life in Britain was to be appreciated; that is, a knowledge of English alone was not sufficient for success amongst minorities. This policy was still, nevertheless, criticised by the growing number of British-born minorities, who claimed a right to the maintenance of their home language.

Permissive Period

By the late 1960s, the achievements of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States had trickled down to Britain, bringing with it the rise of Black Activism. Together with the controversial campaigns of neo-Nazis and the National Front in the 1970s, these it arose a greater awareness of racism in Britain and culminated in the Race Relations Act of 1976, which outlawed racial discrimination.

This paradigmatic shift led to a parellel shift in educational spheres towards multiculturalism within an anti-racist perspective over the period stretching from the late 1970s to the 1990s. This approach gave value to both cultural and linguistic diversity, and was largely influenced by the Swann Report of 1985. In

essence, this document "re-emphasised the need for education to be more responsive to a 'pluralist' society and that multicultural understanding should permeate the work of all schools and all aspects of each school's work".

Dismissive Period

The early 1990s saw the implementation of the National Curriculum, which reversed some of the progress of the multiculturalist period. However, the return to an assimilationist phase was most influenced by the restructuring of Section 11 in 1992. The ammendment demanded greater transparency and monitoring in the allocation of funds. However, it also recommended that funds not be used to advance multicultural education nor teach minority languages. In 1995, a proportion of Section 11 funds was diverted to revive metropolitan areas, and later, in 2000, the entire grant was subsumed under the Ethnic Minority and Travellers Achievement Grant. In return for financial assistance from this grant, schools are required to place special emphasis on the teaching of ESL to minorities. Thus, it would seem that the current approach to education in Britain favours assimilation, paying little attention to the appreciation and maintenance of minority languages and cultures.

In the following section, the Thai experience of bilingual education is explored.

4.2.3. Bilingual Education in Thailand

(N.B. This section draws heavily on my own previous research on the growth and development of international schools in Thailand (Yunibandhu, 2003))

Unlike in the cases of the countries examined above, English bilingual education in Thailand is not a result of the perceived need to incorporate ethnic minorities into a majority culture. Nor – and most strikingly – is it a legacy of British colonisation, as it was for most of Thailand's neighbouring countries. Rather, it originally emerged as a result of missionary efforts by the American Presbyterian Church in the nineteenth century, as well as a response to the *threat* of Western colonisation. Over the following century, bilingual education in Thailand saw constant movement, as changing attitudes and accompanying discourses influenced its development.

However, to fully appreciate the evolution of ELT in Thailand, which began in the 19th century, however, it is first necessary to be acquainted with the global historical context of the 1800s.

The Global Historical Context of the 1800s

Three important developments were taking place during this period: first of all, the expansion of British colonial power; second, the emergence of the United States as the leading economic power (Crystal, 1997); and third, the improvement of communications media. All, whether directly or indirectly,

influenced the spread of English language use – and ultimately the introduction of the use of English in education into Thailand. Each will now be treated in turn.

The beginnings of a British colonial empire in South-east Asia commenced with the work of Stamford Raffles, an administrator in the British East India Company. He set up administrative centres in Penang (1786), Singapore (1819), Malacca (1824) and the Malay states (1867). By the late 1800s, English had become the medium of administration and law in the region, and was the language of the still-running newspaper, *The Straits Times* (Crystal, 1997). Britain's successes in China – the acquisition of Hong Kong island (1824), Kowloon (1860), and the New Territories (1898) – further consolidated the status of English as the language of power.

It was the introduction of the British educational system into Singapore and Malaysia, however, that was to leave an indelible mark on the culture and language of the colonies. Starting in the first English-medium schools in Penang, students were exposed to Standard British English from teachers imported from Britain. English medium instruction was at first confined to the elite, but later, with the large-scale immigration of Chinese and Indians, it was expanded to a greater population. Very soon, English was the prestige lingua franca in the region. (Crystal, 1997)

Although there were already British settlements on American soil in the 1600s, it was not until the 19th century that the United States experienced a strong growth

in population. During this time, there was a massive influx of immigrants from all across Europe, the majority in escape of revolution, poverty and famine. Within one or two generations, the families of these immigrants spoke English. In this period, the United States' economy flourished, which encouraged yet more immigration. This, in turn, resulted in a massive growth in the number of mother-tongue English speakers (Crystal, 1997).

The key development in communications during the 19th century – or, perhaps, even, in the history of communications – was that of the telegraph. According to Goodman and Graddol (1996), 'those who controlled the telegraph effectively controlled the world.' And indeed, in the 19th century, it was the British who controlled the telegraph network. Table 4.1 shows that Britain maintained its dominance over telegraph cables right up until the early 1920s.

TABLE 4.1:   Control of the World's Telegraph Cables, 1892-1923

	1892	1908	1923
Britain	66.3	56.2	50.5
United States	15.8	19.5	24.2
France	8.9	9.4	11.0
Denmark	5.3	3.8	2.6
Other	3.7	11.1	11.7

(Adapted from Goodman and Graddol, 1996)

The very first experiments with electronic signaling took place in Britain in 1759 (see Table 4.2. for a timeline of developments in global communications). By 1865, there was already a telegraph link between Britain and India. It was not, however, completely efficient.   Running through Turkey, it required the involvement of Turkish operators who, although competent in English, took up to a month to process messages – which then frequently arrived at their destination muddled. (Goodman and Graddol, 1996).   Nonetheless, with expansion of the network across the world, the setting of international conventions required an international language. British hegemony in telegraph cables naturally ensured that English was established as the global language of (telegraph) communications.   An extension of this development was the international business the telegraph made possible. Once more, international commercial interests required international working practices – and therefore an international language.

Goodman and Graddol (1996) sum up succinctly the impact the telegraph has made on the world:

Largely because of the British control of the telegraph network, the

English language became firmly established as the key lingua franca

for international trade and services – a position it has never lost.

TABLE 4.2: A Timeline of the Development of Electronic Global Communications, 1759-1976

1759	First experiments with electronic signaling
1837	Telegraph patented by William Cooke and Charle Wheatstone in Britain and Samuel Morse in USA
1844	First commercial telegraph (between Washington and Baltimore in USA)
1852	Transmission of hourly Greenwich time signals electrically signaled to major British cities
1866	First successful Atlantic cable
1868	Nationalization of British telegraph companies brings lower uniform rate permitting a general public use. Buying out the private companies makes them cash-rich and eager to set up new international ventures. International Bureau of Telegraph Administration established in Berne – the world's first permanent international organization.
1876	Alexander Graham Bell patents the telephone

(Adapted from Goodman and Graddol, 1996)

From the above discussion, it is clear that the 1800s was a dynamic period for the world, characterized by significant political, economic and technological change. This in turn gave rise to the prominence of the English language. It was in this global historical context that ELT experienced its beginnings in Thailand.

We now turn to an examination of the development of ELT, and thereby bilingual education, in Thailand.   Using the same categories in the analysis of the history of bilingual education in the US and UK, the Thai experience may

be divided into eight periods - the number of periods reflecting the amount of change and flux in attitudes towards English language learning: dismissive; permissive; dismissive; restrictive; of opportunity; dismissive; of opportunity; and permissive.

Dismissive Period

Although Siam's first contact with the British dates back to the 17th century (Van der Cruysse, 2002), prior to the 1800s, examples of ELT are scant. English played a minor role in the Kingdom – and where diplomatic, military or economic states of affair necessitated them, relations were conducted through foreign interpreters. However, no formal education in foreign languages was available to either royalty or commoners at that time. Moreover, with the violent toppling of King Narai in 1688, and the rise to power of King Petchracha, there ensued a policy of deliberate disengagement from world affairs – which removed the need for the knowledge of other languages - supposedly as a reaction to the threat posed by European powers. This was to last until the 1800s (Chotikapanich, 2001).

Permissive Period

This period extended from the reign of King Rama III to that of King Rama VI (1824-1925), and saw the introduction of ELT into the Kingdom for the first time. Although American Presbyterian missionaries had been present and teaching to a limited extent in the Kingdom from the early nineteenth century, it

was not until 1848 when, reacting to the expanding influence of colonial powers - believing that Thais had to learn the ways of the west so as not to fall under their sway - King Rama III invited these missionaries to teach English to young children in the Siamese court (Aksornkool, 1981).

King Rama IV was of the same belief and, indeed, himself reached a high level of proficiency in English - becoming the first Thai in history to possess a good working knowledge of English. (Aksornkool, 1981). He also employed a large number of foreigners to advise him on technical matters, as well as hired the now famous Anna Leonowens to teach English to his children. Moreover, during his reign,m he also initiated the establishment of English schools outside of the palace walls.

King Rama V was a product of the English school in the palace and, as such, viewed English and Western education positively. Indeed, his travels to Singapore and India in 1872 inspired him to Westernise the existing Thai educational system. During his reign, at least eleven English schools were set up, beyond the palace walls (see Table 4.3). Thus, there was an enormous expansion in the study of English during this period.

TABLE 4.3:   English Schools Established during the Reign of King Rama V

1872	English Palace School. Francis George Patterson, an Englishman, was hired to offer instruction in reading, writing and speaking English in a Palace School. It closed down after three years.
1874	Kullasatri Wang Lang. Set up by American Presbyterian missionaries, this was the Kingdom's first girls' school.
1878	Suan Anand. Samuel McFarland, an American missionary, was granted royal permission to establish an English school at the Nantha-Utthayan palace. Its main purpose was to offer instruction in reading, writing and handwriting "sufficient for clerks." It later moved to the Sunanthalai estate and became popular amongst Chinese trading families and Thai commoners.
1881	Suan Kulap. A royal school, Suan Kulap added English to the curriculum to improve English among the royal elite. Thai and English instruction were each allocated half of each day. It became the most prominent centre of English instruction towards the end of the 1800s.
1888	The New School, a.k.a. Wat Mahannapharam School. This school catered mainly for the Chinese population.
1891	English Palace Schools. Robert Morant, Prince Damrong's closest advisor – as well as a educational consultant and textbook writer - set up a number of schools for princes and princesses, recruiting native English speaking teachers from Britain.
1897	Ratchwitthayalai or King's College. This school offered a 6 year English course, followed by a 2-4 English-medium programme designed to prepare students for study abroad or for work in the Thai Civil Service.
1898	Sunanthalai Girls' Boarding School. This was a boarding school for girls of the upper nobility.
1898	Anglo-Siamese School. This was the successor to McFarland's Sunthanalai School.
1898	Wat Suthat. This was an English evening school teaching only English.
1904	Ratchanee School (later Ratchanee Sunanthalai School).

(Based on Wyatt, 1969, Durongphan et al, 1985)

King Rama VI continued his father's work, first of all, by establishing the country's first university, Chulalongkorn University. English played an important role in the University, as classrooms were normally conducted, and most textbooks were, in English. Furthermore, realising the importance of English as an educational tool, the University also later offered English language courses (Aksornkool, 1981).

Second, he issued the Compulsory Education Act in 1921. This required that all children between eight and fourteen years of age were enrolled in elementary schools. In this same year, English was made a compulsory subject after Grade 4. The result was that number of students learning English rose dramatically. Moreover, not only was English now a required subject, but it also began to take up more teaching hours, vis-à-vis other subjects – including Thai. Durongphan et. al (1985) note that "as many as 7 ½ hours per week were allotted for English instruction in the [1913] intermediary secondary curriculum. Compare this figure to 5 hours each for Thai and calculation methods and fewer than 3 hours per week for all other subjects". Such an emphasis on English was aimed at "provid[ing] children with sufficient knowledge of English to be able to function in English-speaking classrooms, especially at the university level (Aksornkool, 1981).

King Rama VI's introduction of compulsory education – including ELT, beyond Grade 4 – together with the strong emphasis on English in the curricula of 1913 and 1921 are likely to have made English the most prestigious foreign language to learn in Thai society. However, it may be argued that this was the beginning

of the end. This was because, "for the first time in the history of [ELT] in Thailand, Thai teachers were employed on a large scale" (Aksornkool, 1981), for the hiring of native English speaking foreigners was no longer economically viable. This is not to say that Thais would not possess the potential for such an undertaking, but, rather, that teachers during this time were, through no fault of their own, entirely unprepared for this responsibility. Indeed, Aksornkool (1981) notes that "there was no evidence of any official effort to formally disseminate the goals or the curricular objectives to the teachers". Needless to say, there was little or no ELT-specific training offered to these teachers – and, consequently, few students during this period became proficient in English.

Dismissive Period

The reign of King Prachadhipok is the shortest one in the history of the Chakri dynasty, lasting only 10 years, and, as such, it might be deduced that little that was significant was accomplished in the arena of ELT. Prachadipok, unprepared for kingship let alone reform, inherited a Siam racked with financial and political problems – and no doubt education and ELT were a low priority. From what may be gleaned ELT largely continued on from that of the previous reign. There was, however, one notable change made to ELT in the curriculum of 1928. French and German were added as foreign language electives in secondary school – and English was made optional (Aksornkool, 1981).

Restrictive Period

The increasing economic dominance of the Chinese and Westerners in the early 1900s led to the rise of nationalist policies, which culminated in the change in regime in 1932. There were three major developments during the period between 1932 and the late 1950s. First of all, the fallout from the Great Depression in 1929 led to inward-looking economic policies. Second, Kanna Rasadorn, comprising new, young, French-educated leaders, was a fervently nationalistic group. Third, although the new regime had an agenda to democratize education, including English language education, this agenda faded with the rise of semi-fascist Field Marshal Pibul Songkram. English language instruction was completely banned during the Japanese occupation from 1941-45.

Period of Opportunity

This period saw the establishment of Thailand's first international schools. In 1951, the International School of Bangkok (ISB) was established within the grounds of the United States Embassy on Wireless Road to serve the sons and daughters of American diplomats. The language of instruction was English. In 1954, Chiang Mai International School (CMIS) was set up to fulfill the educational needs of children of foreign missionaries working in Chiang Mai. In 1957, Ekamai International School (EIS) was set up by the Seventh Day Adventist Church to teach the beliefs, ideas and customs of the Church. Also in the same year, Ruamrudee International School (RIS) was founded by the

American Redemptorist Fathers and the Sisters of the Holy Infant Jesus for Catholic children. Evidently, then, the first international schools catered to the varied needs of the growing expatriate community.

As for the Thai educational system, following 1932, with the new consciousness of democracy came the awareness of the importance of equal education – including ELT. The victory of the Allies in the Second World War raised the status of English further, and in 1955, English was once more made compulsory in all grades beyond Grade 4.

Thailand benefited from a large inflow of foreign aid and technical assistance intended for the development of ELT during this period. Assistance was provided by organizations such as UNESCO (in 1951), the Fulbright Foundation (in 1952), The British Council, the American University Alumni Association (AUA) and the SEAREP ELT project (Aksornkool, 1981).

However, as ambitious as the goals and vision of the new regime were, they were not readily fulfilled. This was due to three main reasons.

First of all, there was a breakdown in communication between planning authorities and teachers. This was likely a consequence of the massive growth in the number of English language teachers. Second, teachers were mostly native Thai teachers – who were largely unqualified as teachers, let alone qualified to teach English. Aksornkool (1981) points out that in 1961, only 58.6% of teachers had degrees or certification of any kind. Ironically, in a bid to

increase the pool of qualified teachers, teacher training colleges during this period lowered their requirements. The result that graduates of Grade 10 could be accepted onto a two-year training course in ELT. Thus, quality was sacrificed for quantity. Moreover, the extensive use of Thai teachers of English resulted in the medium of instruction shifting from English to Thai. Third, and connected to the previous point, the British and American experts offering technical assistance in ELT at that time advocated the aural-oral approach to language teaching, which consisted of oral drills and habit formation. Thai teachers, used to the teaching methods of grammar and translation, and themselves possessing poor aural and oral skills, quite obviously must have found this new ELT method extremely difficult to implement.

Overall, then, during this period, ELT in the formal education system suffered greatly.

Dismissive Period

In the 1960s and 1970s, Thailand's economy followed a policy of import substitution. While foreign investors were not shunned, the focus of the economy was inward-looking. Exports were confined to agricultural products. As imported products were rare, there was little contact with foreigners, and therefore little need for English language proficiency. Hence institutions offering English language teaching/English medium instruction were not in great demand during this period. It was an unremarkable period for ELT in Thailand

Only more English-medium international school was established during this period. In 1964, Bangkok Patana School (BPS) was set up to meet the needs of British expatriate community for a British system of education.

In the Thai education system, ELT generally continued as it did during the previous period. This is despite the fact that a new curriculum – emphasizing, among other things, "the necessity of the study of English as a medium of international communication" (Aksornkool, 1981) – was put into effect in 1960. A "chicken and egg" situation had arisen, whereby teacher-training colleges continued to produce graduates of poor quality, while well-qualified people were not attracted to the field.

There was, meanwhile, a large influx of expatriate teachers into the country. Attached to American, Canadian and British organizations (such as the Peace Corps, the Canadian University Service Overseas (CUSO), the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations, the United States Operation Mission (OSOM) and the British Council), they took up teaching posts all around Thailand. However, massive student teacher ratios meant that these valuable human resources were not exploited to their full potential (University of Pitsburgh, 1971, in Aksornkool, 1981).

Thus, there was no major headway made into ELT during this time. Instead, ineffective practices from the previous period were carried through, and were conducive to a "strong apathy or even distaste for English" among both teachers and students (Higgins, 1966, in Aksornkool, 1981).

This period, nevertheless, saw the emergence of the first private language schools in Thailand. They were few in number, and were characterized by: their location in rented shop houses, private houses or the residential shop houses of the owners; minimal facilities and materials; informal assessment methods; little diversification in courses; owner-managers; students who were recent graduates interested in languages; and, most importantly, teachers who were Thai, but who were charismatic, Western-educated and well-qualified. There were very few schools of this type during this period. During the 1960s, there were around twenty schools; in the 1970s, this number rose to about fifty (Chotikapanich, 2001). It would seem that there was a small, but significant, demand for a quality of ELT unavailable in the formal education system.

Period of Opportunity

In 1974, Thai students staged a coup that toppled the dictatorial military regime. Following the change in government, there was a concerted effort made to overhaul the educational system. The underlying philosophy of this change was the acceptance of "a more realistic view on education …for the masses", together with an emphasis on lifelong learning (Aksornkool, 1981). ELT had long been a problematic area, and it now came under close scrutiny.

In the 1980s, economic policy was re-oriented towards export promotion – a result of the second oil crisis and the lower commodity prices. This shift led to spectacular economic growth that continued into the mid 1990s. This was followed by increased liberalization, drawing more foreign involvement in the

economic. Meanwhile, the demand for English proficiency rose dramatically: it was now an economic necessity.

Although no further international schools were established during this period, this was a remarkable time for ELT in the Thai education system. During this time, the English curriculum underwent a rigorous analysis. It was found that the problems hitherto experienced in ELT could be traced back to two main factors: unclear goals and inefficiently trained teachers (Aksornkool, 1981). Thus, in 1977, a new foreign language policy was introduced, prohibiting ELT from elementary schools, and thereby delaying it to the secondary level. The rationale behind this move was that ELT would be more effective if students were first allowed to master their mother tongue (Durongphan et al, 1985). Chotikapanich (2001) also notes that those supporting the new bill pointed out that "teachers who themselves did not speak English correctly duplicated their own version of broken English among students, who thus started off learning incorrect English". Furthermore, the policy would have enabled resources to be concentrated, and thereby deployed more efficiently.

However, this policy provoked a negative reaction from parents. Consequently, later that year, it was revised. Any private schools were now permitted to teach English, subject to a case-by-case consideration by the Ministry of Education. The policy finally came into effect in 1978.

This period also saw a change in the face of the private language school industry. Language schools were now characterized by: their location in

department stores, malls and office buildings; the incorporation of the latest ELT technology; standardized tests; varied courses, especially for younger learners and businesspeople; the use of a range of teaching materials; professional, often internationally afilliated, management; students wishing to learn English for specific purposes, namely study abroad or work; and teachers who were native English-speaking. There was also a massive increase in the number of these schools. In Bangkok alone, there were around ninety schools in existence in 1990 (Chotikapanich, 2001); the number nationwide would have been much larger.

Permissive Period

The Thai economy followed the strong growth trend which had begun a decade earlier up until the economic crisis of 1997. Whilst the crisis was to hit hard in all sectors of the economy, the ELT industry was not too sorely affected. Indeed, many students who had previously been studying abroad – in the UK and US, in particular – had to return to Thailand; those who had planned to go abroad had to remain. International schools and Thai universities running English-medium international programmes were able to take advantage of this new market. At the same time, indebted firms desperate for funds found salvation in foreign investors, owing to the relaxation of financial restrictions. Once more, Thailand saw the increasing involvement of foreigners in the economy. Once more, the demand for ELT was on the rise. Today, ELT is more vibrant now than ever.

The fifty-eight year period between 1932 to 1990 saw the establishment of only five English-medium international schools. In 1991, the government issued a law allowing Thai students entry into international schools. Combined with the fact that the 50% cap on the proportion of Thais in international schools stipulated by the Ministry of Education was not strictly enforced, owing to the Ministry of Commerce's Department of Export Promotion's policy to promote Thai children to study in Thailand rather than going abroad (Manowalailao, 2003), the number of international schools sky-rocketed to seventy-one by 2003 (OPEC, 2003). This means that in the space of only just over ten years, sixty-six – or 93% of – international schools were established. This growth in the number of international schools has also meant that the range in the quality and nature of these schools has increased. Most of the schools established in the last five years, for example, have been pre-schools (OPEC, 2003). Moreover, many of the more-recently established schools have Thai student populations of over fifty percent. Admittedly, they are allowed five years from the date of establishment to reach this target, but some, even in their fourth year, seem unlikely to do so. Most students admitted come directly from Thai schools – usually from those offering English programmes. Thus, while virtually all teachers are native-English speakers, and the curricula British, American or international, in a growing number of cases, the majority of students are Thai.

Whilst it is undoubted that the economic boom fuelled the growth of international school industry, it is interesting to note that the crisis of 1997 did not affect it severely, as evidenced by the large number of new schools that have been set up since 1997. Indeed, it perhaps had a positive effect in that it brought

back many students who had previously studied abroad. As elaborated on later in the paper, although international school fees are by no means cheap, they are less expensive than the cost of financing study abroad.

The Thai educational system also underwent several, progressive changes in the area of ELT during this period. In 1990, the English curriculum was revised to stress the importance of learning process over content. According to Chotikapanich (2001), the goal was to "develop knowledge, ability, attitudes and managerial skills to enable learners to acquire analytical and problem-solving skills, to appreciate learning and to apply knowledge for everyday life." She goes on to note that this revision took place during a period of fast, export-led economic growth and that the need for English as a tool of communication was now much more urgent.

In 1994, in response to ongoing requests from Thai parents, the Ministry of Education finally made it possible for Thai private schools to operate English – or, bilingual – programmes. This was to cater to the demand of those parents who could not afford costly international schools (which could cost up to almost half a million baht a year), but yet saw the value of a English language education for their children.

In 1995, three private schools in Bangkok received permits to operate English programmes. These schools were: Bangkok Christian College, Sarasa Ektra School and Udomsuksa School.

No doubt influenced by the success of these three schools, the year 1996 saw the most recent – and perhaps the most historically significant – change in the English curriculum. For the first time, schools permitted to teach English as an elective starting from Grade One. However, as before, it was still up to individual schools to decide whether or not they were yet capable to offer this choice (Chotikapanich, 2001).

English programmes in bilingual schools adhere to a Thai curriculum, following the October 2001 Ministry of Education Rules and Regulations for English Programmes in Thai Private Schools. According to FTC (2002), at the pre-school level, around fifty percent of the curriculum in taught in Thai. At the primary level, four subjects may be taught in English: maths, science, English and physical education. At the secondary level, all subjects may be taught in English, with the exception of Thai history, social studies, Thai language and Thai culture.

The 1990s also saw the acceleration of growth in the number of private language schools. As previously mentioned, in 1990, there were around ninety schools in Bangkok alone; in 1998, there were over two hundred (Chotikapanich, 2001). Needless to say, the country-wide total would have been much higher. Moreover, this period saw the "professionalisation" of teachers. They now operated within the framework of international business organizations, such as English First, inlingua and Berlitz; as Chotikapanich points out, "Thai teachers, who previously were the backbone of the industry, have now been completely marginalized." She goes on to point out that the distinguishing characteristic of

these "brand-named" schools is their emphasis on the recruitment of native English-speaking staff; little is actually done in these schools to develop curricula or to adapt resources to Thai clientele.

In conclusion, it is important to realise that Thailand's early international schools were originally set up to cater to the needs of different foreign interest groups residing in Thailand. The International School of Bangkok (ISB) – Thailand's first modern international school – began as the school of the United States Embassy in 1951, serving as a school for the sons and daughters of Embassy workers. Other schools established in the 1950s include Bangkok Patana School (BPS) [1957], Ruamrudee International School (RIS) [1957] and Ekamai International School (EIS) [1957]. BPS was set up to meet the needs of the expatriate community for a school modeled on the British pattern. EIS was established to teach the beliefs, ideals and customs of the church and to "strive to create a climate marked by a sense of God's presence and action in the world, love for one's neighbour and a concern for social justice and equality." RIS was set up by American Redemptionist Fathers and the Sisters of the Holy Infant Jesus for Catholic children.

International schools, therefore, were not primarily set up to serve Thai students – and indeed they did not serve them on a large scale until 1991. The period between the establishment of the first international school in 1957 and the legal admission of Thai students in 1991 interestingly coincides with slow growth in the number of international schools. This is not to say, however, that there did not exist pent-up demand for international schooling. Indeed, the 1991 law -

along with the lax enforcement of the fifty percent limit on locals - then would seem to have played an important role in releasing this demand, and therefore explaining the spectacular growth in numbers during the 1990s.

Also, a survey of developments in ELT in the state education sector reveal a history racked with troubles. These were rooted in three main problems: a breakdown in communication between planning authorities and teachers; teachers were mostly native Thai teachers – who were largely unqualified as teachers, let alone qualified to teach English; and Thai teachers' unfamiliarity with the aural-oral method of ELT. It is interesting to note that the period beginning 1960 to the present, the private language school industry thrived. As Chotikapanich (2001) points out, it would seem that the growth of the industry was the result of the Thai public's disappointment with the formal educational system. Indeed, she says that "English conversation schools can exist only as long as the formal educational system is unable to "deliver the goods", and the "goods" are English communication skills." It would seem reasonable to say that the growth in the number of international schools, from 1991 onwards, can attributed to the same reason.

Moreover, the spectacular economic growth of the Thai economy in the 1980s and 1990s – which the World Bank., in 1993, labeled an 'economic miracle' – was undoubtedly the driving force behind the huge rise in the number of international schools during the 1990s. As aforementioned, this growth was stimulated by an economic policy of export promotion and the encouragement of foreign investment. This led to greater foreign involvement within the Kingdom

itself – reminiscent of the period following the signing of the Bowring Treaty in 1855 – and from this grew a community of expatriate workers. This community of foreigners required schools for their children that followed the educational systems with which they were familiar. Thus, foreigners' demand for international schooling – which has paralleled Thailand's economic orientation towards the West – has contributed to the growth of the international school industry.

Furthermore, the Asian economic crisis of the late 1990s brought back a large number of students studying abroad in the UK and USA and other countries. While sending children to international schools Thailand was not a cheap option, it was not as costly as financing study abroad.

In addition, it is important to consider one of the most significant socioeconomic legacies of Thailand's boom during the 1980s and 1990s: the widening of the income gap. According to Phongpaichit and Baker (1998), in 1981, the top ten percent of households earned seventeen times as much as the bottom ten percent; by 1994, the multiple was thirty-seven times. They go on to note that half of all the income gains of the boom went to only one tenth of the population. Interestingly, this period corresponds roughly with the acceleration in the growth of the number of international schools.

International school fees are by no means cheap: Harrow International School's tuition fees range from THB 280,000 to THB 360,000 per year (plus a THB 90,000 registration fee); ISB's tuition fees range from THB 404,200 to THB

449,200 per year (plus a THB 200,000 registration fee) (FTC, 2002). Given that the GNP per capita was a mere THB 80,963 in 2001 (The Brooker Group, 2003), and that approximately 20% of Thai citizens control over 60% of the wealth, it is immediately obvious that an international school education is reserved only for the elite – and this group has grown in size over the past decade.

Fifth, the relatively recent establishment of British international schools directly affiliated to well-known "public schools" in the United Kingdom have further stimulated demand from the elite quarters of Thai society. Such schools include Harrow International School (H.I.S.), Bangkok, Shrewsbury International School (S.I.S.), Bangkok (until recently, both located in the centre of Bangkok) and Dulwich International College, Phuket – each of which have over four hundred years of educational history attached.

On its website, H.I.S. boasts that:

> Harrow International School is a privately owned independent school, modelled on the traditions of the British public school system. It is the only school in the world carrying the name of the famous Harrow School in London and operates in association with its great namesake.

It goes on to state that:

The best of British education, grounded in a proven past,

can be found flourishing at Harrow International School.

And, indeed, it does have a "proven past", with 23 Thai princes having graduated from Harrow School (UK) since 1889, including Prince Mahidol, Father of His Majesty the King. With a name familiar to affluent Thais for over a hundred years, Harrow's Thai counterpart has not surprisingly rapidly filled places since it opened five years ago. In 1998, it had one student; in 2003, it caters for over eight hundred.

In its early years, the school started with around 80% of its students Thai. The number is now down to 63%, and its aim for 2003-2004 is 50%. For five years, therefore, the school has had a distinctly Thai cultural flavour. This is indeed one of its main attractions. According to Sharples (2003), "increasingly affluent Thai parents want...their children to be bilingual in Thai and English yet attend schools that still promote Thai culture and values."

Schools such as Harrow International School seem to hark back to the very first English schools set up by King Chulalongkorn and Western missionaries in the mid-19th to early 20th centuries, as detailed earlier in the paper. Both groups of schools were and are held in high regard by Thai parents owing to their perceived quality of language instruction. Both served and serve the purpose of preparing students for new political, economic and social realities. Both provided and provide an avenue for social mobility. But, most importantly, both

offered and offer high quality ELT owing to the employment of native English speaking staff.

4.3 The international and Thai school systems

To be able to fully appreciate the circumstances in which the Thai students in this study find themselves, it also is important to understand what today's international schools are, and second, how they differ from today's Thai schools. A description of both the international and Thai school systems, in their present form, is thus provided below.

International Schools

The Office of the Private Education Commission defines an "**international school**" as The Office of the Private Education Commission (OPEC) defines an "international school" as:

> ..an educational institution which is responsible for providing education for students without any restriction or limitation on nationality, religion or form of government. It adopts an international curriculum and media to which students from various countries can come. English is to be used as the medium of instruction. (OPEC, 2003)

In practice, this definition is not particularly illuminating. There exist a wide range of what may be called "international schools", and they can vary considerably, in several different dimensions.

Very broadly, international schools may be classified into three major categories, based on the origin of their curricula: British, American or International. In actual fact, there also exist schools that are considered by the Office of Private Education Commission as 'international' but in fact use languages other than English as their medium of instruction, such as at the Japanese School and the French School. These schools are excluded from this study as they are not considered relevant to the issues at hand.

British curriculum schools usually follow the National Curriculum for England and Wales. The curriculum and exams are as laid down by the Department of Education in the UK, and are organised into four levels, or "Key Stages", following the Foundation Stage, which covers pre-kindergarten and Reception children. Key Stages One (Years 1 and 2) and Two (Years 3 to 6) are equivalent to the primary level in most schools. Most children are five years of age when they enter the first Key Stage. During these two stages, there is a large emphasis on English and Mathematics, as recommended by the UK government National Literacy and Numeracy Strategies. Students have one teacher throughout the day, with the exception of specialist teachers required for subjects such as Music and Physical Education.

In Key Stage Three (Years 7 to 9), students are exposed to several different specialist teachers, apart from their homeroom teacher. This level is more demanding than the first two Stages and is aimed at preparing students for the following Stage, where they will sit rigorous external exams.

In Key Stage Four (Years 10 and 11), students are groomed for the International General Certificate of Secondary Education, an international version of the British GCSE. It is an external examination, in that the papers are graded in the UK, by the Cambridge University examination board. In Thailand, the IGCSE course is considered equivalent to the work done in Mathayom Five and Mathayom Six in the Thai national system. Therefore, five passes at the IGCSE, with a minimum grade of C, makes Thai students eligible to apply for a place at a Thai university.

Students who wish to apply for university in the UK, however, have to take the two-year A Level course (Years 12 and 13) (or the equivalent in American or International curriculum schools). Two schools in Bangkok currently offer this course, which requires students to specialise in four subjects in the first year (known as AS Level), and then narrow it down to three in the final year (A Level) (Fredrickson, 2002a).

Although **American** curriculum schools must adhere to certain national and state standards, they are given a great deal of flexibility in designing the curriculum. This approach originates from the way education is organised in the United States – that is, it is organised at state-level. Thus, the curriculum

offered in an American international school tends to offer greater variety and scope than that in a British school. Flexibility also means that the specific needs of a school's individual student population may be catered to (Fredrickson, 2002a).

Nevertheless, most American schools can be divided into three main sections: Elementary School (Kindergarten to Grade 5), Middle School (Grades 6 to 8) and High School (Grades 9 to 12). In the Elementary school, the emphasis is on reading, writing, maths and social science. The main aim is to provide students with a solid foundation in comprehension and to ensure that they meet national standards.

In the Middle School, students are given greater choice. In addition to the core academic subjects, students are also able to take elective courses, which range from health and physical education, to music and languages.

In the High School, students are prepared for university. This "college preparatory program" consists of three years of English, three years of Maths, three years of Science, two years of Social Studies and two years of a foreign language. Some American schools also offer students the Advanced Placement (AP) course, which is considered equivalent to the first year of university study (ISAT, 2004). Most schools will also prepare students for Standard Achievement Tests (SATs), which are required for entry into American universities (FCT, 2003).

International curriculum schools usually offer the International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE) and/or the International Baccalaureate (IB) programme.

The International Baccalaureate programme is offered by the International Baccalaureate Organisation (IBO), a non-profit educational foundation based in Geneva, Switzerland and ams to develop "well-rounded, reflective and compassionate young adults" (ISAT, 2004). The most well-known IB course is the IB Diploma, which is taken by students at ages 17-18. It consists of six subjects – a first language, a foreign language, maths, an experimental science, a social science, and an elective course in another social science or the arts. In addition to these subjects, students must also complete a demanding Theory of Knowledge course, a 4000 word extended essay and 150 hours of creativity (arts and music), action (sports) and community service. Moreover, it encourages "adult attitudes" by emphasising a student's "capacity to understand different points of view and to make informed decisions, their preparedness to work responsibly and ethically, and their ability to work autonomously" (ISAT, 2004). The IB Diploma is much more rigorous than the A-levels or the SATs; indeed some British and American international schools adopt the IB Diploma for the last two years of school, in preference to the A-levels or Advanced Placement programmes.

The IBO also offers primary and middle school programmes as well, the Primary Years Programme (PYP) and Middle Years Programme (MYP). The PYP (ages 3 to 10) is a curriculum framework which individual schools can

adapt to the needs of their students. It is based on six main questions (Fredrickson, 2002a):

1. Who are we?

2. Where are we in time and space?

3. How do we express ourselves?

4. How does the world work?

5. How do we organise ourselves?

6. How do we share the planet?

It can be delivered in Spanish and Chinese, as well as in English. The ultimate aims of the programme is to produce "globally-minded young people that are inquirers, thinkers, communicators, risk-takers, knowledgeable, principled, caring, open-minded, well-balanced and reflective." (ISAT, 2004)

The emphasis in the MYP (ages 11 to 16) is the linkages between subjects; that is, it is interdisciplinary in nature. Importance is also given to intercultural awareness and communication (Fredrickson, 2002). The MYP programme is primarily concerned with that the students develop "a personal value system by which to guide their own lives as thoughtful members of local communites and the larger world" (ISAT, 2004).

Since 1995, all international schools have been required by the Thai Ministry of Education to include Thai Studies in their curriculum. Students of Thai origin are required to take five periods of language and culture per week, whilst non-

Thai students must have one period per week. This programme of study has been, until recently, compulsory from Grade 1 to Grade 9. Beyond this, in Years 10 and 11, Thai IGCSE students can opt to sit for the IGCSE in Thai Language. In Years 12 and 13, Thai IB students can choose to take the demanding, literature-based First Language Thai course (Fredrickson, 2002b; Fredrickson, 2002c).

The 1995 Ministry of Education policy was modified slightly in 2000. Presently, all non-Thai students in Grades 1 to 8 must still attend Thai language and culture classes for one period each week as a compulsory subject, but now, in grades 9 to 12, it may be also be taken as an optional subject. In addition, from 2001, all Thai international school students have had to produce evidence that they have passed tests in Thai language and culture on applying to sit for university entrance exams (Bunnag, 2000).

Within the three broad categories described above, schools may be distinguished further by how recently they were established. Older schools (henceforth **Category A** schools) tend to have a majority of native English-speaking students, the rest of the population consisting of students of a wide variety of nationalities. Newer schools (henceforth **Category B** schools) – mostly established after 1991 - tend to have a higher percentage – if not a majority of – local students. The nature of the more established schools, vis-à-vis more recently established ones – despite common curricula – is, therefore, quite different. Beyond this, as with any educational institutions, international schools differ in calibre owing to a variety of other, random factors.

Thai Schools

Thai schools may be divided into two broad groups: government schools and private schools.

Government schools are currently undergoing extensive reform, owing to the National Education Act of 1999, which calls for far-reaching changes in the national education system. The new, Basic Education Curriculum – upon which this reform is based – was developed in 2000 by the Ministry of Education. It was originally planned that the new curriculum would be fully implemented in the first four years of both the primary and secondary levels by 2006. It draws on the best practices of a large number of educational systems from around the world, and is aimed at addressing two main areas of Thai education. First of all, it intends to address shortcomings in the teaching of mathematics, science, technology and foreign languages – specifically English. Second, it aims to gradually eliminate the practice of rote-learning and instead promote critical thinking and skills for life.

The new curriculum – which is largely a detailed list of guidelines, standards and benchmarks - allows significant flexibility, allowing it to be adjusted to the needs of individual student populations.

Private (fee-paying) schools fall under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education's Office of Private Education Commission (OPEC). These schools can be further divided into normal Thai schools, and bilingual schools – the

latter being an initiative of OPEC's Special Policy School Division (Wijayasinha, 2001).

Both types of school use the Basic Education Curriculum as the basis of their individualised curricula. However, the bilingual schools – first established in 1995 to promote English proficiency in Thai schools – use English as the medium of instruction in all subjects except for Thai Language and Thai Social Studies, which must be taught in Thai. As of 2002, there were 43 bilingual schools nationwide (Rojanaphruk, 2002).

4.4   English as a Second Language (ESL) in the International School Context

Before moving onto the findings of this study, it is important also to be clear on the concept of ESL and its meaning in the context of international schools. As mentioned in 3.2.1. the Thai students considered in this study are - at the very least - bilingual. More specifically, however, their second language is English. These Thai students therefore learn and use English as a Second Language (ESL).

As has been seen in 4.1. ESL is a term that is used in several contexts – most prominently in the context of assimilating ethnic minority immigrants into English-speaking societies. In this study, however, ESL shall be used to describe students or situations where English is used as a second language. "Second language", in this context, does not necessarily refer to the second

language learnt chronologically but, rather a language that is not a student's mother tongue, but yet features prominently in his or her everyday life. In the case of this study, it is used as the main medium of instruction at school.

ESL should not be confused with **EFL**, or English as a Foreign Language. EFL refers to students or situations whereby English is only learnt as a subject, for a few hours a week at most, and thus forms an insignificant part of everyday life (Garner, 1990).

Interviews were guided by a set of questions specified in advance (see 2.4.1).
The exact wording and sequence of the questions was determined during the
course of each interview, and thus allowed for the interviews to remain relaxed
and conversational.

I have chosen to place the findings concerning cultural problems before those
regarding linguistic problems, as during the course of my research, I came to
feel that greater attention should be given to cultural problems than to linguistic
problems.

The reason for this is that I felt that whilst linguistic problems were more or less
to be expected in a study of this kind, cultural problems were less likely to be so.
It was fairly obvious from the outset that Thai students studying in English as a
second language would experience some difficulty in using the language. On
the other hand, it was not obvious that Thai students would experience any
cultural difficulty in adjusting to an international school where the majority of
the other students were also Thai. The fact that research revealed several
different kinds of cultural difficulties therefore served to highlight their
significance.

The findings are organised into two categories, broadly following on from
Shoebottom's (2003) notion of (international) "school shock" as the result of
educational and social differences (see 3.2.2.). The first category concerns
cultural problems that have arisen from educational differences, i.e. differences

between the Thai and international school systems. It comprises cultural conflicts that are the result of differences in five main aspects of school life: the approach to discipline; the teaching methodology; the academic atmosphere; the nature of the student-teacher relationship; and the medium of instruction.

The second group of findings relate to cultural problems that are the result of the differences in the social environments of Thai and international schools. It consists of cultural conflicts that have arisen from differences in two major areas: the presence of foreign students and teachers; and the socio-economic backgrounds of students.

5.2   *Educational Differences*

5.2.1   The approach to discipline

The interviews revealed that most students felt that Thai schools were extremely strict in comparison to international schools. The impression is that, at the former, students operated under a "climate of fear", whereby they were at all times wary of the fact that they might be punished for the smallest indiscretion. Indeed, some students held very negative views of the approach to discipline in Thai schools. On the contrary, students felt that international schools were much more relaxed, apparently being less focused on rules and discipline.

However, at the same time, some contradiction was apparent in their testimonies. In particular, students indicated that, within an international school classroom, the atmosphere was more controlled than that within a Thai classroom. This appeared to be the result of smaller class sizes, i.e. an average of fifteen to twenty students, as opposed to forty to fifty. Outside of the classroom, however, peer conduct was diametrically opposite - that is, relatively uncontrolled. In other words, students' manner was dictated by the extent to which they were held culpable for their actions, which was manifested in a certain duality in their characters. Furthermore, it was evident in students' responses that, at times, the striking difference in the approach to discipline in international schools sometimes resulted in some uncertainty concerning homework policies, as well as nonchalance regarding to the adherence to school rules.

The students interviewed agreed unanimously that the approach to discipline in Thai schools and international schools differed drastically. Indeed, a word association exercise revealed that "Thai school" was most strongly identified with the words "strict teachers" and "rules". Conversely, a similar exercise showed that the "international school" was most firmly associated to the words "relaxed atmosphere" and "few rules".

In particular, at Thai schools, there seems to have been a large emphasis placed on appearance:

Teachers [at my old school] were very strict about uniform…For example, here, if you forget your hat, they just tell you off. But there, if you forget to bring your belt, you're dead!…You'd be punished by being made to run around the sports field. (B3)

This is echoed by XG1:

Teachers were more strict…there was more emphasis on hair. In an all-girls school [like mine] you had to have short, straight hair. But the kids didn't really like short, straight hair, and used to get it layered. If you really transgressed the rule, you'd be punished – perhaps even put on suspension.

Moreover, G6 claims that the slightest disruption in class would result in punishment:

Even if you did the tiniest thing, they would make it into a big deal. For example, if you talked in class, they would have you stand up and walk to the front of the class, and then punish you. There was no real rhyme or reason to anything.

Lateness to school was also considered a major offence in some cases:

If you came to school late, they would tell you off, and sometimes even call our parents….Also, once, I heard some seniors saying

that they'd come late, and that they were really, really scared [of what was going to happen]. (G7)

Even not knowing the answer to a question, or being too slow in completing classwork, would result in being penalised:

Sometimes, if you're in a Thai school, if [the teachers] ask you a question, and you can't answer something, they might punish you. (B14)

I'm the kind of person who works slowly – I just can't do things all in one go. I'm not very clever. So I would always be scolded by the teachers. (G7)

At B14 and B8's schools, the teachers were even harsher, and did not hesitate to employ corporal punishment:

[The teachers] tended to punish kids more than was necessary. For example, if you just talked to your friends in class, they would hit you with a thick stick. It wasn't really fair for the kids. (B14)

[The teacher would use] a ruler. If the teacher didn't have a ruler, they would borrow a student's. [They would hit them so hard] that sometimes the ruler would break. (B8)

From this, it would appear that, at their Thai schools, students operated under a climate of fear, always aware of what the slightest indiscretion might entail. There is evidence that some students' experiences in Thai schools have produced in them negative attitudes towards Thai schools:

It was stressful studying there. There were many rules and severe discipline. If you broke the rules, you'd be punished. It was pretty frequent. (G13)

I think Thai schools are awful. I wouldn't be able to go back and cope with being told off all the time. (G5)

I don't want to go back at all. Everything is rules, rules, rules – it's too stressful. (XG3)

Given the "climate of fear" that seems to exist in several Thai schools, it is of no particular surprise, therefore, that these students tended to identify international schools with relaxedness and freedom – and generally, therefore, held positive views towards them. Certainly, comments such as "*Farang* [Western; caucasian] teachers are more relaxed and easygoing" and "there's a more relaxed atmosphere" were common. Furthermore, rules and regulations barely featured in their discussion of international schools. This perhaps indicates that the students did not feel that they were constantly under pressure to adhere to rules, or rather, that they felt that there were simply very few rules they had to adhere to.

There were, however, also some contradictions in some of the students' responses. Although B1 agreed that Thai teachers were strict, he also claimed that, at his old Thai school, he:

> …was badly behaved – well, not exactly. I would talk on my mobile in the classroom, or chat to my friends…[The teachers] would tell us off.

Thus, in his old Thai school, B1 seems to have been allowed to blatantly transgress the rules on several occasions, his only punishment being a "telling off". G5 also admitted to being disruptive in class, saying that she just "sat at the back, and just chatted all the time." However, it became clear later in the interviews with these students that this was a function of there being forty to fifty students in one classroom; that is, teachers would have been hardpressed to identify the student causing the disruption, let alone reprimand them.

B2 also admitted that "there were few more disruptive kids [at his old school]". However, he also observed some contradiction amongst Thai students in his international school in response to the differing approach to discipline:

> I don't think that Thai school kids are as disciplined as they are here. Here, once the teacher comes into the room, the kids are quiet. Having said that, though, once they're out of the classroom, it's the opposite to what it's like at Thai schools; once Thai international school kids are out of the classroom, they go wild.

Thus, it appears that, in his Thai school, within the classroom, there was not a great deal of order; however, outside of the classroom, rules and discipline were more strongly adhered to. On the other hand, in his international school, within the classroom, students were more disciplined; however, outside of the classroom, they went "wild", behaving "opposite" to how they would (be allowed to) in a Thai school. In other words, it seems that there exists a certain duality in the behaviour of this student's Thai peers.

Students' relatively more disciplined manner seems to result from the fewer number of students in the classroom; on average, international school classrooms consist of only fifteen to twenty students. This means that, unlike in Thai schools, students' misbehaviour would be clearly visible, meaning that students are entirely culpable for their actions within the classroom. Conversely, outside of the classroom, students appeared to interpret their being out of view of teachers to be an opportunity to "go wild". According to various interviews, such behaviour included swearing loudly in Thai and general, unrestrained boisterousness. Students' duality is the result, therefore, of fear and uncertainty of the teachers in the classroom, on the one hand, and the absence of strict enforcement of discipline beyond it, on the other. (However, judging from responses from students regarding their use of English and the English Speaking Policy (see 6.1.), it is likely that the excessive rowdiness observed by B2 is also in part the release of tension and pent-up frustration that has built up over the course of several hours of learning in their second language.)

XG1 also seemed to recognise that some of her peers felt that they could behave as they wished in international schools. She astutely points out that:

Some kids may think that they can relax, as the rules here don't appear as strict but, in actual fact, they can't, because there *are* rules. (XG1)

What XG1 perhaps means to say here is that although there are rules, they are not necessarily enforced in the same way (that is, as frequently, or through the use of corporal punishment) as in Thai schools.

G11 seems to agree with her:

With some things, [the teachers] are actually stricter, as there are fewer students and they can remember them all. If your shirt's not tucked in, they'll certainly tell you off.

G11's comments also reveal that the difference in the approach to discipline at international schools stems from a difference in student numbers. Whilst it is possible to enforce discipline in international schools through direct reprimands, as there are "fewer students" vis-a-vis teachers, it seems that, Thai schools have little choice but to employ the use of fear tactics to ensure discipline, given the considerably larger student-teacher ratios.

Thus, it is the differing method of rule enforcement, rather than the absence of rules themselves, that leads students to behave in ways they should not. XG1 later added that:

> Outside of school, sometimes they'll pull out their shirts and undo their ties and buttons…It makes the school look bad. At Thai schools, that wouldn't really happen. Here, [they think] they're allowed to get away with more things than at a Thai school.

XG1, unlike the peers she speaks of, seems to recognize that, in an international school, the onus is more on the student to respect the rules, rather than on the teachers to enforce them. Certainly, this view is held by one of the teachers at the school, who claims that the approach that most international schools take towards discipline is one of "giving them enough rope to hang themselves with" (Personal communication). In other words, much of the responsibility lies with the students in the first instance.

A similar approach seems to be taken within the classroom:

> [Thai] teachers follow up on homework. Farang teachers allow students to do what they like, they are freer. Sometimes, with Thai kids, who are so used to having Thai teachers on their back all the time, when they come here, they have to adjust themselves. At a Thai school, if you don't hand in your work, they will get on your

case. Here, if you don't hand in your work, they don't say anything much. (B4)

Some care is required in interpreting this response. In particular, it must be noted that this boys' - and others' - attitudes and opinions are relative. Thus, B4's comment that "farang teachers…don't say anything much" about homework not handed in, should not be taken to mean that they allow them to become lax in their studies but, rather, perhaps, they do not punish them as severely as some teachers would in Thai schools. Having considered this, it should therefore be clear that B4, like XG1, sees that students must take responsibility for their own studies.

G6 also touches on the importance given to responsibility and punctuality in the school:

Farang teachers…give more emphasis to punctuality and responsbility than Thai teachers. They have more rules and regulations regarding these qualities. Thai teachers have rules and regulations too, but they don't seem to make much sense.

From the foregoing discussion, it is clear that, despite the fact that students tend to perceive life at an international school as one of "freedom", many – consciously or subconsciously – must still contend with subtle conflicts arising from the stark differences in the approach to discipline. These conflicts are manifest in: switching between quiet obedience and excessive rowdiness,

depending on the presence of teachers; a lack of ability to take responsibility for one's own work; and a weak respect for school rules.

These conflicts may be understood in terms of differing cultural values - namely, the deep-seated Thai belief that children must always respect and obey elders, and by default, await instruction rather than take initiative, vis-a-vis the Western belief that children should be encouraged to be independent. Students' switching between respectful obedience in the presence of teachers is an expression of the above-stated Thai belief, whilst their unruliness outside of the classroom is the result of the absence of direct and explicit instruction from elders on what constitutes appropriate behaviour. Similarly, difficulty in assuming responsibility for handing in homework is the product of not constantly "having teachers on their back all the time"; that is, being constantly told what to do. The same applies to the apparent weak respect for school rules: the lack of strict enforcement is interpreted by some students as licence to transgress them.

No explicit reference is made in the literature reviewed to culture-related disciplinary problems in international schools, such as those discussed above. This may indicate that either such problems have not been of significance in the international schools that have been studied. Alternatively, it may be that it has not been previously thought that some disciplinary problems may be attributed to cultural factors.

5.2.2   The teaching methodology

The interviews also showed that students felt that Thai schools did not provide for a stimulating learning environment, owing to the reluctance to encourage questions, the lack of interest in individual students' difficulties, the promotion of the use of memorisation and firmly text-based lessons. They appeared to view these characteristics with some disdain.   In contrast, students viewed international schools' encouragement of questions and task-based lessons positively.

Nevertheless, many students found it demanding and tiring adjusting to the new style of teaching. Specifically, the lack of explicit, structured, step-by-step guidance in assignments and the effort and stamina required for class tasks and activities, seemed to pose some difficulty for students. Some students also found that the lack of emphasis on memorisation to be a disadvantage at times.

Students concurred that the teaching methodology at international schools was very different to that at Thai schools. At Thai schools, it appears that, at the same time that questions were not encouraged, individual students' problems were often glossed over:

>   At Thai schools, they don't really encourage questions. Here, the teachers help you. (XG3)

I didn't like it there, as the teachers didn't really understand the kids. They just gave out homework…they didn't care, they didn't help to solve [the kids'] problems. (G5)

The feeling is one of disinterestedness on the part of the teachers. This reflects the Thai cultural attitude - seemingly accepted by both students and the teachers themselves - that teachers reign supreme in the classroom, and that their actions are not to be questioned.

Moreover, it seems that there was more of an emphasis on covering the syllabus, rather than ensuring that the students comprehended the material being taught:

Even if it was clear that some kids hadn't understood what the teacher had said, the teacher would just ignore them and keep going. (G5)

The teachers were very different from the way they are here…I didn't really understand what was taught. The teachers just went through the syllabus, they didn't really revise or consolidate anything. (G6)

This too reflects the Thai view that the knowledge transmitted by the all-knowing teacher takes precedence over the process in which this knowledge is transmitted.

Related to this was the pervading use of memorisation as a way to cope with the sheer amount of information students had to learn. It appears from various students' comments that, not only did it lead to tedium but, also, confusion and incomplete understanding:

> I didn't really like the curriculum. They just gave us lots of information which we had to memorise. There, you'd just have to memorise. (G12)

> In Mor 1, I still didn't know what words like "if" and "where" meant. Well, I knew, but they got us to memorise, memorise, memorise – so we acquired words but we couldn't construct sentences. So, we'd get confused, for example, between "Will we" and "We will". (G5)

> In Thai schools, they make us memorise, here they don't. There, they just taught the theory – they didn't give us activities to do to make us understand things better. (XG1)

Furthermore, lessons appear to have been firmly text-based, with great value attached to books. This reliance on textbooks - to the exclusion of groupwork, tasks or activities – apparently led to some degree of boredom:

The Science teacher's classes [at my old school] were really boring [compared to here]. She didn't give us many activities or tasks to do. (B3)

The Thai classes [at this international school are] very different [from those at my Thai school]. At my old school, we had a textbook and, in general, they would emphasise the content of the book – for example, we would have to copy out every single line of a poem [from the textbook]. (G11)

Thus, the general attitude towards teaching and learning methods in Thai schools is somewhat negative. Students appear to have resented the lack of interest of some of the teachers at their old schools regarding their individual problems. Moreover, the intensive use of memorisation and the excessive reliance on textbooks seem to have been demotivating to their studies.

Conversely, their attitude towards the style of teaching in their international schools is generally positive. Certainly, they are appreciative of the fact that questions are encouraged, and that students' academic problems are recognised.

Mr. K. is really really nice. He understands the kids, he's not nasty like teachers at Thai schools. If kids don't understand, he doesn't act as if he's not interested, he comes and helps. (G5)

Regarding the same teacher, G9 remarks:

When kids don't understand something, he encourages us to ask

questions.

They are also aware of the way in which the different approach to teaching in their international schools has contributed to their better understanding of subject material:

Classes [at my old school] were different…they only asked

questions to some kids, whereas here, they ask all the kids. You

have to understand everything. It's good. (G6)

…here…they teach you a little and make sure you understand

before going on. (G12)

Many students also approve of the more interactive mode of studying at their international school. Indeed, B1 is astounded that he has actually been able to learn something from participating in enjoyable and interesting tasks:

I often remark to my friends that much of the time, it doesn't feel

like we're really studying, but yet we come away with more

knowledge, we develop our skills. There are a lot of activities and

tasks for us to do. Like, in Science, the teacher brought in some

pig and chicken organs for us to dissect….[At my Thai school], for

the most part, we studied from books. (B1)

Despite these glowing remarks regarding Western teaching methodology, some, unobvious, difficulties with the new style of teaching were, nevertheless, discerned during the course of the interviews. One student remarked that:

When Thai teachers set homework, they state clearly that we have

to do this question, and that question. It was usually given in the

form of worksheets. But here, you do posters and projects – you

have to do a lot of research, more research. And it's more difficult.

(B2)

Thus, it would seem that some Thai students are accustomed to a more structured approach to their studies, whereby the teacher would guide them through an assignment in a step-by-step manner. Moreover, work seems to have been given in digestible units – in the form of "worksheets" – giving the students identifiable targets to achieve. However, "posters and "projects" are somewhat less structured, and require the students to organise their own work. They must also conduct a great deal of independent research, meaning that they must be able to find, select and systematize large amounts of information on their own.

In addition, the preponderance of "tasks" and "activities" may make classes more enjoyable, but this does not always mean that they necessarily make things

easier to complete or understand. Indeed, they may entail a level of effort and stamina with which students are not famiiar:

> At Thai schools, you have to write things down all the time. But here, there's mainly group work and activities. It's not easier - there's more work. (G6)

> Most people think that international schools are really easy to study in and you don't have to put much effort in it but, really, it is difficult. (XG1)

Lastly, it was possible to discern from some students' responses that the memorisation techniques employed in their Thai schools had actually been an asset. That such techniques were now not promoted had, in actual fact, had an negative impact on their academics in some areas. In B3's case, it was in Thai:

> I think that my knowledge of Thai is less than when I was at my Thai school, because I haven't used it for a long time. In general, you don't have to use Thai much here – what I mean is, you don't have to memorise poetry. But if you were at a Thai school, you'd have to do it every day. (B3)

From the above discussion, it is evident that a generally unenthusiastic attitude towards the method of teaching and learning in Thai schools prevails amongst the students interviewed. This attitude appears to have primed them to

enthusiastically embrace the new teaching methods employed in their international schools. For the most part, this has been for good reason, in that they have genuinely contributed to a better understanding of subject material.

However, it is also apparent, in what seem to be just passing comments, that students have experienced some difficulty in adjusting themselves to these methods. Some students find it hard to cope with assignments that lack structure or direct guidance, whilst others find that carrying out class activities requires extra effort and stamina. Still others believe that the abandonment of previously-used learning techniques has led to weakened performance in some subject areas.

The causes of the first two of these problems are similar to those underlying the problems described in 5.2.1. In other words, being, as they are, so used to being told what to do by their teachers (and elders in general), students find it difficult to deal with tasks that lack structure, and thus require a large amount of input on their part. This is the case whether they need to organise and systematise information gained from independent research, or co-ordinate and delegate responsibilities to peers during group activities.

The last problem concerns the disparity in the expected methods of learning. In Thai schools, emphasis is placed on memorisation and rote-learning, whilst in international schools, emphasis is placed on co-operative learning and critical thinking. The use of memorisation and rote-learning as a learning technique by Thai students is partly related to the fact that Thais have traditionally considered

the teacher - and his or her knowledge - as reigning supreme in the classroom. As a result, the body of knowledge that is transmitted to students is expected to be committed to memory without question.

It is clear from the analysis of student experiences above that rote-learning was, for some, effective as a learning method; that this method is not given importance in their new environment result has resulted in weakened ability in certain subject areas. Thus, the lack of emphasis on traditional learning methods - in which the students are well-versed - appears equivalent to abandoning one way of gaining and developing knowledge.

These findings seem to confirm Shoebottom (2003) (in 3.4.2) where he alludes to the fact that differences in the method of learning - such as in the form of learning by discovery and the use of critical thinking, rather than rote-learning - may result in "school shock", i.e. problems adjusting to both a new culture and school system.

5.2.3 The academic atmosphere

In the interviews, students related that, at Thai schools, the academic atmosphere was more pressurised, with greater emphasis placed on competition and results. In some cases, students also claimed that the academic standards at Thai schools were considerably higher than at international schools. Indeed, both the students themselves, as well as their parents - and others in their

communities - tended to think of international schools as being "easy" to study in.

It was evident that this perception of international schools implicitly produced in some students an academic inferiority complex vis-a-vis their peers at Thai schools.

Most of the students agreed that the academic atmosphere at Thai schools was more competitive and results-focused than at their international schools. They also believed that the material taught in Thai schools was of a more difficult nature than that taught in international schools. In fact, many were of the opinion that international schools were simply "easier" than Thai schools.

The kids [at my old school] were really into their studies, really focused on them. There was a lot of pressure, and a lot of competition. (XG2)

In my opinion, the academic standards at Thai schools – especially in Science and Maths – are better than those at international schools. (B1)

I get also get private tuition in Maths…I think that it's necessary because the Maths here isn't the same as it is at Thai schools. My

mother wants me to have a solid foundation in Maths, so I study Thai maths as a supplement. (G13)

SP was harder than it is here, because there was a lot of information to digest. They took the information from the Thai section and translated it. (G12)

Indeed, this view seems to be held by people outside of the school as well – namely "people" in society in general, as well as students' parents:

People had said that studying in an international school was easier and more relaxed. (G7)

[My parents] said that studying here would be easier. They said that if I stayed on at [my old school], I might fail…International schools are easier to study in. (B8)

Both of these factors – direct experience coupled with societal opinion - appear to reinforce in students the idea that students at Thai schools are somehow more academic than they themselves are. Some anxiety is expressed by one girl:

I don't think that my Thai is as good as my friends' at Thai school. Their Thai's more solid…I am a little worried, because if I want to sit the university entrance exam, I wouldn't be able to compete with them. (G11)

Later, G11 reveals that she does not think of herself and her Thai friends at her
international school as being as bright as students at Thai schools.

> I think that [Thai students at Thai schools] are more clever [than
> us], as they have to follow a more intensive curriculum and
> undertake private tuition every day. (G11)

Thus, it would appear that the differences in the curricula of the two types of
school are perceived by some students as an indication of a lack of academic
rigour. As a result, they also, consciously or subconsciously, see themselves as
possessing a lack of academic prowess.

Again, this perception derives from the Thai cultural values that dictate what
constitutes being a good student. Given that the ideal teacher is someone who is
extremely knowledgeable, it would seem, then, that the ideal student is someone
who successfully acquires the body of knowledge transmitted to them by their
teacher. The emphasis, therefore, is on how much is "known", rather than how
much is truly understood. Indeed, great importance is accorded to test results
and competition. Correspondingly, then, the fact that students believe that they
are not taught as much as they are in Thai schools leads them to believe that they
are somehow not as bright as their peers in Thai schools - despite the fact that
they may actually be learning more. Certainly, one of the other students – a
Thai- and English-speaking Thai-Filipino, who had been educated in a Thai
school - keenly pointed out that, although it did seem relatively "easy" to study

in an international school, it was for the better as far as true understanding was concerned:

> Well, it's easy [to study in an international school], but you really learn. It's not like you learn, understand for a second, and then forget it….I used to think that "inter" kids were pretty stupid, as their maths isn't really hard. But now, I think international schools just approach students differently by giving them easy tasks, and then letting them exercise their thinking skills. In Thai schools, it's hard because they squeeze stuff into you. (XG2)

Some reference in regard to problems arising from differences in academic atmosphere is made by Shoebottom (2003) (in 3.4.2). In particular, he indicates that students may experience "school shock" in response to the non-competitive academic atmosphere in international schools. Certainly, this appears to be the case with some of the students interviewed, where they perceive the relatively smaller amount and less challenging nature of knowledge transmitted, together with the attendant lack of emphasis on competition for high test results, to be an indication of a defiency in academic rigour - and thus in their own academic ability.

5.2.4 The student-teacher relationship

In the interviews, students also spoke of the differences between the student-teacher relationship at their Thai and international schools. In particular, it seems that the large social distance between students and teachers at Thai schools often led to a sense of fear, inhibition - and even strong dislike - on the part of students. Interaction was limited to exchanges of ritual greetings, and little else. This distance was, in part, due to the age factor. Conversely, students felt that the informal, relatively more equal relationship between students and teachers at their international schools made it easier to speak to teachers.

However, the vast difference in the nature of the student-teacher relationship in the two types of schools seemed to lead to instances of confusion regarding what constituted appropriate behaviour and manners - both in the general context of the international school, as well as when switching between classes taught by Western teachers and those taught by Thai teachers. Moreover, some students appeared disappointed with the apparent lack of Thai standards of etiquette in the school.

Another area of school life where students recognised major differences was the in the relationship between students and teachers. Student responses indicated that, at Thai schools, there was a fixed and distinct, formal hierarchical relationship between students and teachers. The social distance between the two

groups was large, and maintained through the strong emphasis on and strict control of decorum:

> We had to wai all the time - you had to have courtesy…There was also the wai khru ceremony – they were very serious about all this…At Thai schools, they teach manners to kids from when they are really young. (XG3)

> At my Thai school, whenever we encountered our teacher, we had to say *sawadeekha khru* and bend our heads in deference. If we didn't, we'd get punished. (G5)

> Thai teachers really, really want you to crawl in front of them…[But] there are limits. Sometimes Thai teachers just want too much. (XG2)

> At my old school, we couldn't really joke around with the teachers – they were very strict and very serious. (G11)

It seems that, in some cases, this social divide resulted in teachers developing a deeply entrenched ego – to the extent that it even made it difficult for parents to communicate with them:

> My parents wanted to know how I was doing at school, but the teachers didn't want to speak to them. They found it insulting –

they'd come back and ask me why I had to have my parents come
and speak with them. (XG3)

The effect of the structure of student-teacher relationships on the students was
one of inhibition. In most cases, this taciturnity was the result of fear of being
reprimanded – but in others, it was the consequence of a strong dislike of the
teacher:

Thai teachers consider themselves above the kids, and don't chat to
them – and so it makes the kids not like them, and not want to talk
to them. In fact, it makes them hate them. (G5)

However, it also seemed that age was a factor; that is, it appears that the
generation gap between students and teachers contributed to the distance in their
relationship:

My Thai teachers tended to be old, and you could not joke around
with them – you had to respect them. But the English teachers are
still young, and easygoing. (G9)

The teachers here are really young….Here, they're younger and
understand the kids better. They're more relaxed. (G13)

From what I've seen, Thai teachers are generally older – they're
not young men like they are here. (B1)

Nevertheless, not all the students appreciated younger teachers:

> I think that older teachers – how shall I say – have more strategies
> to encourage kids to want to learn. Sometimes, at my Thai school,
> there would be trainee teachers coming in to do teaching practice.
> I didn't like them, I didn't want to study with them – I just wasn't
> interested. As for the teacher, they weren't really able to keep the
> class under control. A part of it may have been that I didn't really
> respect them, as they were just students. (B1)

Whilst at first, it appears that B1 prefers and respects older teachers because of their experience, his last remark indicates that it is more likely due to his prejudice concerning age. However, this student did not indicate that age was a negative factor in the case of farang teachers. Thus, it seems that B1 biased against young, Thai teachers. In other words, the criteria by which this student judges teachers differ according to the ethnicity of the teacher being considered.

Converse to the situation in Thai schools, there appeared to be a more informal, more equal, relationship between students and teachers at international schools. The distance between the two groups in this context was, therefore, smaller than in the context of a Thai school:

> The informal nature of the student-teacher relationship is a good
> thing, as it means you're not scared to ask the teachers if you have
> a problem. (XG3)

Teachers here tend to understand kids better, and so become friends with them more easily. For example, Mr. K. is really kind, so the kids like him. The kids are relaxed when talking to him, and don't feel nervous or stressed out. (G5)

They're really informal, and I feel really comfortable…Here, you give the teachers respect, but it's not over the top. (XG2)

However, it is apparent that, in some cases, the boundaries between students and teachers become so unclear that students unknowingly lapse into culturally inappropriate behaviour when interacting with the Thai teacher in the international school:

Here, the students don't really *hen hua ajarn* [respect the seniority/authority of] the Thai teacher. They joke around with them. The teacher has to tell them when to stop. (G11)

Here, there aren't many Thai teachers. We're closer to them because we can joke around with them…We still *wai* our teachers, but it's not the same. Because we can joke around, we sometimes reach the point where we're not showing respect anymore…With teachers at Thai schools…we wouldn't be able to make fun of the teachers….If we're not polite, sometimes they'll tell us off. But not harshly. (XG1)

The Thai kids who have come from other international schools aren't as polite as the other Thai kids. But when the Thai teacher comes into the class or reminds us to have manners, they'll adapt their behaviour. (B2)

Therefore, instead of automatically showing politeness and manners, they must be "told" or "reminded".

There is some evidence that students feel that they are able to behave with less decorum in an international school:

At my Thai school, I was extremely *riabroi* (well-mannered; aware of appropriate decorum). But here, oh my god, when I see my homeroom teacher, I'm like [shout across the room] "MR. K!!!!!!!!!!!!!" (G5)

At my old school, every time we met a teacher, we had to *wai*. But here, meeting teachers is just like meeting friends. (B1)

Here, you don't have to be so polite as [the farang teachers] don't know Thai culture. If we were at a Thai school, we'd always have to be respectful, and not joke around with the teachers. (G12)

The impression is that, in the students' eyes, there is no need for Thai standards of politeness when interacting with Western teachers.

Other students believed that the attention to manners and politeness in Thai schools had been a positive trait:

> In a Thai school, if you pass a teacher, you must *wai*. If pass a teacher here, you don't have to do anything. Thai teachers are more fussy – which is good, as it encourages you to have manners and to be polite at all times. (B4)

The implication here is that these students believe that, in an international school context, they are *not* encouraged "to have manners and be polite at all times". G12 shares a similar view regarding this matter:

> Thai schools inculcate in us a sense of respect for teachers. It doesn't get out of hand. International schools…don't pull you up on customs and things like that. (G12)

G12's comments suggest that, in international schools, things, in her opinion, do sometimes get out of hand - and that they are allowed to some extent become lax in their manners, owing to a lack of enforcement and control over them.

In sum, then, it would seem that whilst students felt that etiquette was given extreme importance at their Thai schools, they felt that little if any importance was given to etiquette in their international schools. This was because of the informal nature of the student-teacher relationship at the latter. However, this belief sometimes lead to instances where students became unsure of what

constituted appropriate or inappropriate behaviour when interacting with their Thai teacher. Moreover, there seems to be a sense of regret amongst some students that their personal standards regarding etiquette had dropped.

Once more, this behaviour may be explained by cultural factors - in particular, by the Thai view of how children should behave in the presence of elders. This is, children should pay utmost respect to adults, expressing this both linguistically - through polite, formal language - and physically - through gestures such as the *wai* [a respectful Thai gesture], and bending the head in deference (or even crawling), so as to ensure that no part of their body is above the head of the elder in question. Thai adults have traditionally taken this approach to child-adult relationships very seriously, as is indeed evidenced by the strong emphasis on appropriate decorum in Thai schools as discussed above.

This rigid, hierarchical relationship, and its manifestations through the use of language and gestures, is not given any significance at all in international schools - excepting, of course, within the Thai language and culture classroom. Moreover, according to the students, the Western teachers appear to accept and even promote informal relations. With the absence of the enforcement of what the students perceive as good Thai manners, and the promotion of what would, in Thai culture, be considered unacceptable behaviour vis-a-vis adults, some students choose to see this as an opportunity to abandon their Thai manners altogether.

Disposing with Thai decorum in a particular situation does not necessarily constitute a problem, however, as it could be considered a form of acculturation to Western values - a form of intercultural learning. Nevertheless, the students do not perceive their change in behaviour in this way but, rather, as simply not being polite. This is evident in some students' remarks regarding how they believe that they behave with less decorum in an international school context.

Moreover, the situation becomes more problematic where students are unable to determine what mode of behaviour is appropriate for different situations - such as in certain interactions with their Thai teacher, as detailed previously.

This lack of knowledge of what is appropriate, when, appears to be an indication of incomplete "intercultural literacy", as discussed by Heyward (2002) (see 3.2.3). In other words, in this particular case, students do not appear to possess "the competencies, understandings....and identities necessary for cross-cultural engagement".

5.3   *Social Differences*

5.3.1   The presence of foreign teachers and students

In the interviews, students also indicated that the presence of foreign students and teachers also required some adjustment to - as of course, their Thai schools had only consisted of Thai students and teachers.

However, it seems from their responses that students had not in fact truly "adjusted" to the few other students from other cultures but had, rather, simply distanced themselves from them. Indeed, some Thai students appeared to have deliberately chosen to segregate themselves from Western students. They alleged sheer cultural difference as the primary reason why, followed by a lack of proficiency in English hindering interaction. Students also noticed that Western students seemed received more social attention from the teachers, as a result of their common cultural backgrounds. Some also pointed out that many teachers' knowledge of Thailand and Thai culture was limited, as was their own knowledge of Western countries and Western culture. Moreover, the Thai teachers in the school did not appear to set positive examples of intercultural learning and friendship, as they were perceived by the students to also tend to keep to themselves, avoiding interaction with Western teachers - and vice versa. These factors appeared to underline students' sense of separateness between cultures.

The general impression from the interviews is that the Thai students – who are in the majority in the school, forming approximately 70% of the student population – largely segregate themselves from the other Western students.

> I've never had farang friends….I don't really interact with them….I've never really spoken to them. I think they asked me once about something they lost…I'm indifferent to them. I'm not

particularly interested in getting to know them…They..I don't know how they differ from us. (B8)

This boy has never had any Western friends, and this seems to be part of the reason why he does not feel particularly motivated to interact with them now. However, he also does not convey any interest whatsoever in changing this situation. He does not even appear to consider, let alone realise, why it is that he does not wish to consort with them. The impression is that the student thinks that Western students are almost simply like a different species altogether. This seems to be corroborated by his later remark that "The English are English, the Thai are Thai". There does not seem to be any attempt at exploring or bridging this superficial distinction.

One reason for segregation appears to be based in cultural differences. G11 states that:

I notice that the farang kids are not very *riabroi* [proper]. The farangs all keep to themselves, and with their friends, they'll mess around with each other a lot more. But the Thai kids, when they talk to each other, they tend to *krengjai* [considerate; aware of others' feelings] each other more. (G11)

G9 also expressed her bafflement at Western social practices:

With Thai kids, they get all uptight if a boy's hand just touches a girl's hand. But farang kids just run towards each other and give their friends a hug…But Thais will just say *sawadee*. We wonder what all the fuss is about. Thais like to have their own private space. (G9)

Nevertheless, it also emerged that, even where the Western students took the initiative to attempt to integrate with the Thai students, they were often rejected:

This farang kid couldn't fit in, so she's leaving soon. She felt left out – she wanted to be part of our group, but we're just so different. So she prefers to hang out with the farangs in the class two years below us. (XG3)

Students also noted the cultural differences between themselves and the Western teachers, and the fact that these differences usually led to a closer relationship between the teachers and Western students:

The teachers probably think that they can't really understand Thai kids, and so just interact more with the farang kids. (G11)

The farang teachers and students have the same culture. They understand each other better. Thai culture is different from farang culture, and that makes understanding each other difficult. (B14)

> If the farang teachers say something funny, the farang kids will laugh, but we won't understand, as they speak English really quickly. (G12)

Nevertheless, it does seem as though Thai students can also feel at ease with their Western teachers – as long as the Western students are not around:

> If we are joking around with the farang teacher, it's usually with only Thai kids around – the farang kids aren't usually there. (G12)

Thus, it seems that some students, at least, sense that the student-teacher relationship between Western teachers and students is – consciously or subconsciously – prioritised, and are therefore at their most relaxed with a Western teacher when they are not in the presence of their Western peers.

B2 observes that the lack of knowledge of Thailand and Thai ways on the part of the teachers also contributed to relatively more distant relations between Thai students and Western teachers:

> I feel that I'm not as close with the farang teachers as with the Thai teachers because Thai teachers, generally, have been in Bangkok for a long time, and know a lot of stuff. But a lot of farang teachers have only just arrived here, or have only been here for a year or two, and so we don't have much in common to talk about.

Sometimes they talk about their own country, about which we don't know much. (B2)

In some cases, the lack of awareness of differences in culture led to anxiety, exasperation – or simply sheer bewilderment on the part of students.

Farang teachers don't understand why girls and boys segregate themselves from each other! Like, if there's an event, they'll make a boy sit in between two girls. I find that really difficult to deal with, but the teachers don't understand, and I have to do it. (G5)

G5 added later that:

Sometimes, the teachers stand on the tables and, in the first few days we were here, we looked at it and felt uncomfortable. (G5)

Another student, suggested that language was a major factor influencing their segregation:

We tend to keep our distance, as we don't have much in common, and don't understand what the other says. Like, the farang kids tend to use a different type of English [from what we're used] – a slang, of sorts. They'll also tell jokes and things which we don't understand. (G11)

This was echoed by B14 and G12:

Here, the Thai kids are in one group and the farangs are in one group, so they don't mix with each other…They've just got a different culture. When Thai people speak their language, they can't really do it effectively, or fluently, so they can't interact with them properly. (B14)

The farangs here, even if they're not the same age, hang out together in a group. They don't really associate with the Thais and the Thais don't really dare to go and associate with them…They're scared cos they would have to speak English with them. (G12)

From the second quotation, it emerges that fear – derived from a lack of command of English – is another factor contributing to segregation. Indeed, this came up several times during interviews:

Thai kids aren't very fluent in English, so they're scared to go and talk to [the farang kids]. (G6)

There's one farang girl who's really nice – she speaks Thai and English. When we speak together, it's not very stressful, as she says I can say things in Thai if I don't know the English….But in general, I don't really speak to the others, as I'm scared of what they'll think of me. (G10)

The English and Thai-speaking Thai-Filipino, who interacted with both the Thai and Western students – and thus had a unique perspective on the situation – believed that this fear was without reason:

> Thai students are a little too timid [and therefore do not] talk to [farang kids]…But I think that, for example, T is actually a very nice person. She's really nice and isn't racist. They don't talk to her very much though…All the farang kids are really nice, as they've been to other international schools, maybe. Also, O, who's come straight from the UK, he's really nice too. (XG2)

Furthermore, it seems that the Thai teachers in the school do not serve as role models of intercultural learning for the Thai students in the school:

> The Thai teachers don't eat lunch with the farang teachers. The Thai teachers stick with the other Thai teachers. (XG3)

From the foregoing discussion, then, it may be gleaned that many Thai students segregate themselves from Western students out of fear.

This fear stems partly from observed cultural or social differences. Moreover, Thai students also seem to sense that Western students and teachers enjoy a closer relationship as a result of their shared culture.

However, it would seem that the most significant, underlying factor is the Thai students' weak command of English. Not only does this restrict their ability to interact with Western students, but it bars them from access to their culture. As a result, Westerners remain an enigma to them – and eventually interest in familiarising themselves with them is lost.

Lastly, it does not seem as though the Thai teachers in the schools make a particular effort to serve as role models of intercultural learning for the Thai students in the school.

It can be seen that the fear of and segregation from foreign students, and the feelings of distance from foreign teachers, are clearly culture-related. Some Thai students simply are not interested in familiarising themselves with foreign students for the simple reason that they have never had any exposure to foreign friends, do not know anything about foreign cultures, and by default, are not particularly interested in getting to know them. Other students notice that the cultural and social practices of their foreign peers are different from their own. For example, some students notice that the foreign students are not as *riabroi* [proper] or *krengjai* [considerate; aware of others' feelings] as the Thai students, and engage in physical displays of friendly affection. Because such behaviour is, in Thai terms, considered improper, students therefore tend to use these differences as the criteria for segregation; they do not appear to express any interest in discovering why they are different.

Some students' feelings of distance from Western teachers may also be understood in terms of cultural differences. In particular, it seems that there is a gap in cultural knowledge on both the part of students and teachers, as is evidenced by student complaints that many Western teachers know little about Thailand and Thai culture, whilst the students themselves tend not to be able to relate to instances where the teachers talk about their own country. Moreover, students consider some of the actions of the teachers to be culturally inappropriate, such as making girls sit close to boys, or standing on tables; because the students interpret these actions using a Thai cultural framework, these actions are seen as strange and out of place, and this leads to a sense of distance. It appears that the feeling is intensified by the closer relationship that the Western students seem to have with the teachers.

It is also apparent that the cultural problems analysed above are also influenced by linguistic problems: students' lack of proficiency in English automatically reduces the amount of possible interaction with Western students. Moreover, it seems that the resulting fear of and segregation from Western students further lead to the exacerbation of existing linguistic problems through the minimal use of English, completing a vicious circle (see 6.1 for more detail regarding problems concerning language use).

The cultural problems experienced by students also appear to be replicated amongst the Thai teachers within the school. As demonstrated by student comments, these teachers are seen to group themselves together, avoiding interaction with other, Western teachers in the school. Personal observations

and informal conversations with some Western teachers in the school confirmed this observation. Given that the Thai teachers technically serve as role models for the Thai students, being of the same nationality, through their behaviour, they appear to perpetuate the idea among students that segregation between Westerners and Thais is a natural state of affairs. Moreover, given that the Thai teachers are a minority amongst a majority of Western teachers, this deliberate segregation is not seen as deriving from greater power but, rather, from lack thereof. This has the further implication that Thais cannot engage in equal-status relations with foreign teachers.

However, it was interesting to note that whilst the Thai teachers did not seem to participate in intensive social interactions with the Western teachers, the Thai kitchen staff and laboratory assistants - who occupy positions far down in the school and Thai social hierarchy - did (Personal communication). It seems that the reasons behind segregation are not purely cultural, but social as well. Thus, another possible factor behind Thai teachers' segregation from Western teachers, therefore, is also that they do not wish to be mistaken for Thais of a lower social class, through their interaction with Westerners; that is, their high-level status is maintained through remaining in their own group. Ironically, however, this choice not to interact with others precludes equal-status engagements with Western teachers - and therefore the chance of their being perceived as of equal status to (i.e. of the same cultural value as) Westerners.

Certainly, Heyward (2002) acknowledges this problem in his paper, claiming that intercultural literacy may be stunted by a lack of equal-status engagements

with local host cultures. In this case, however, the object of engagement is Western culture.

5.3.2 The socio-economic background of students

Finally, interviews showed that students recognised that the "international school society" was very different to the society at Thai schools. In particular, the students at their former schools tended to come from middle-class backgrounds, whilst their friends at their international schools were of a wealthy, social milieu.

Students did not appear to view the different social environment negatively; however, it was apparent that they did feel uneasy in regard to the resentment shown by their peers at Thai schools vis-a-vis the privileged status Thai international school students seemed to have in society.

In coming to an international school, the students interviewed also felt they were entering into a wealthy, elite class of Thai students:

> The society here is not the same as the society at A. To be able to come here, you have to be of a reasonably wealthy background. It's not the same. Here, people lead a pretty extravagant, easy lifestyle – not like at A. (B14)

Before, I didn't really know much about brand-named stuff like Roxy, Billabong and stuff like that – here, everyone's really into it. And I buy it all. Whatever other people have, I'll buy it too. (G9)

Thus, it seems students feel under pressure to adhere to the social norms of the elite, i.e. buying brand-named clothes and products. Although the students themselves didn't feel negatively about this, they did mention instances where their friends at Thai schools had expressed resentment towards either them or international schools in general:

If [my other friends and I] go out, and I get excited about Roxy, and shout ROXY!!!, my friends will look at the price and then say to me, why do you have to act like you're all rich and everything? They'll say stuff like that. (G5)

Thai kids [at my old school] used to say that international schools were really expensive, and why would anyone bother, and stuff like that….They tend to think that everyone is hi-so, and like farangs. (G12)

They think that you've got to be rich and good at English in order to go to international schools. (G6)

It seems that students at Thai schools also tended to judge the behaviour of Thai students at international schools:

> They used to tell me that international schools were full of *dek raad* [children who are overconfident / affected in speech or manner] and that people in international schools are spoilt…International schools give you freedom, and so some people do become *raad* [overconfident / affected in speech or manner]…I think to be confident is good, but to be over-confident isn't. (XG2)

> They think that inter kids aren't really very good – too wild. (XG3)

In some cases, the differences between Thai international students and students from Thai schools are so large that they result in fallings out:

> When I was at my Thai school, I'd always say *kha* [particle used by females; indicates politeness] – there wasn't any instance where I'd say even one swear word. But here, there are boys, and so we just pick it up from each other…Sometimes when I go out with some of my other friends, and I say a swear word, they're really shocked. I say they shouldn't take it so seriously, but they don't really understand. Sometimes, we then just stop meeting up with each other. (G5)

Whilst students did not articulate their uneasiness with their friends' attitudes and remarks, it was evident in the interviews that they did not feel comfortable with them.

Overall, then, it seems that students are under some pressure to adhere to the social norms of the wealthy elite, who have been self-selected to the school by high tuition fees (see 2.3.1). The result, within the school, is one of social gelling. However, outside of the school – beyond the sphere of the wealthy elite - adherence to these norms leads to resentment. Also, it appears that social practices picked up by students from their international school environment - that is, a lack of concern for politeness - seem to conflict with those of their peers at Thai schools, resulting in strained relationships. Both of these problems lead to the stereotyping of international school students amongst Thai students at Thai schools - which, in turn, leads to further division.

These problems are also culture-related in that they result from the differences in the "culture" of international schools vis-a-vis the "culture" of Thai schools. As may be gleaned from the interviews, the former appears to consist of leading an extravagant lifestyle dictated by brand-named products and being less concerned with politeness and etiquette. The latter, presumably, is diametrically opposite. What distinguishes these problems from the others discussed previously is that, first of all, they concern relationships that straddle the divide between international schools and the world external to them, and second, they concern relationships between Thai people themselves.

There is some mention in the literature of problems arising from clashes between the "international school" culture, and the culture of those outside it. Indeed, Heyward (2002) uses the notion of "'accidental' pluralism" (Bennet, 1993) to describe the distance maintained by some Western international school students from local students. Again, however, in this particular case, it is the other way round.

5.4 *Conclusion*

The findings in this section confirm some of the hypotheses regarding cultural problems stated in the introduction to this study. First of all, it is clear that students lack familiarity with certain Western cultural practices. This is evident in the conflict they encounter in dealing with the differing approach to discipline, the teaching methodology, the academic atmosphere and the presence of foreign students and teachers. Second, and related to the first point, it is also apparent that they also experience conflict resulting from different expectations of student-teacher roles and relationships, as detailed in 5.2.4.

The interviews also revealed cultural problems not included in the hypotheses to this study. Specifically, they brought to light students' difficulties regarding the differing socio-economic backgrounds of students.

CHAPTER 6

LINGUISTIC PROBLEMS

The purpose of this chapter is to present findings concerning the linguistic problems experienced by Thai students who have come from Thai secondary schools to study in majority-Thai international schools. The chapter is divided into two main parts: the first part identifies and analyses students difficulties with concern to language use; the second analyses students' difficulties in regard to their language ability.

6.1   Language Use

Interviews with the students indicated that the strictly enforced "English-only" policies in place in their international schools were the source of most language use problems. According to these policies, all students were compelled to speak English at all times, with the exception of break and lunchtimes. Violation could result in a scolding, a note in their pupil diaries, or even a detention.

This rule resulted in anxiety and stress amongst students, for the main reason that the preferred language amongst the students was Thai. This was because of either or both of two factors: first, Thai was, for them, invested with more emotive meaning than was English; and second, some students were simply not proficient enough in English to use it to convey what they wished to say. Their use of Thai, in turn, led to situations that put them in violation of their schools'

English-only policies, and which could subsequently lead to punishment. In some cases, however, students had devised coping mechanisms, such as deliberate concealment of their use of Thai, and immediate code-switching to English in the presence of teachers. These strategies appeared to require a large degree of awareness and alertness - adding to anxiety and stress - with little positive effect on students' English.

The interviews also revealed, however, differences in attitude in regard to students' use of Thai amongst individual teachers. Teachers who did not understand any Thai enforced the policy more strictly, whilst those who understood some Thai often avoided reprimanding students where the use of Thai was seen to be of academic benefit; moreover, occasionally, these teachers' knowledge of Thai was itself of educational use. Thus, in the latter case, students tended to feel less tense. In addition, it seemed that some teachers took especial interest in the Thai language and, from time to time, asked students to teach them some. Students revealed that they felt closer to such teachers - and therefore more relaxed around them.

The interviews also uncovered a latent disregard for Thai - the mother tongue - amongst several students, arising from the importance placed on English by both the school and their parents. This was evidence in their nonchalance regarding the perceived deterioration in their command of Thai.

All of the students interviewed stated that there was a strict "English Speaking Policy" in place at their respective international schools. According to this

policy, all students were compelled to speak English at all times, with the exception of break and lunchtimes, and after school hours. In both of these schools, violating this policy by speaking Thai could entail punishment in the form of a scolding, a note in their pupil diaries and/or even a detention. This policy was viewed with some fear by some of the students:

> When my friends are walking down the corridor, and they're speaking Thai, and they see the shadow of someone coming, they change languages immediately. Some of my friends worry, and go "Uh..uh..what am I going to say?" (XG2)

> We're not allowed to speak Thai, and so it can be quite stressful. Whenever a teacher comes near us, we immediately switch to English. (G10)

> There is a lot of pressure to speak English, and so I don't dare speak Thai. (G7)

However, when asked their opinion of the policy, most approved of it:

> I think it's good, but it must be hard for the Thai kids who have just arrived (this term). Even I don't speak English all the time as I'm not used to it. (G12)

166

I agree with it. Parents send their kids here so that they can improve their English. They should speak English for their own good. (XG1)

It's to be expected, as this is an international school. They want us to improve our English. (B1)

Thus, it seems that students have conflicting attitudes toward the English Speaking Policy. On the one hand, they fear it and find it stressful; on the other hand, however, they approve of policy, as they believe it to be in their best interests in terms of developing their English. In other words, they seem to accept wholeheartedly that they must bear with fear, stress and resentment so as to satisfy the policy as, in their eyes, there is no alternative.

Nevertheless, students acknowledge that it was difficult to adhere to the policy, for social reasons:

It's…awful when you want to speak Thai to your friends. Like, we don't know the words in English that would convey what we want to say. It's more satisfying saying it in Thai…I feel a bit uncomfortable – it's like, why do we have to be forced to do it?…But we understand that we're in an international school. (G5)

It's strange when I speak to my [Thai] friends in English – sometimes, they don't want to speak in English, and they tell me it would be better if we spoke in Thai. (XG3)

The students here are mainly Thai, and they don't really speak English together. In fact, all the ESL kids are more comfortable speaking Thai, so they choose to speak Thai. (B14)

It can be seen that there is great pressure on students to speak to their friends in Thai, as using English with other Thais feels unnatural to them. However, they are aware that they are under the obligation to speak English, and must do their best to repress the urge to use Thai. Students must therefore contend with this conflict at all times - the success of their efforts manifest in whether or not they escape punishment.

Students also expressed the difficulty they had with the policy, given that their level of English was not adequate to communicate effectively – or at all:

Sometimes I just can't speak English, because I don't know how to explain it in English. Sometimes I'll speak a bit of Thai as well, as I don't have the vocabulary. (G6)

[Speaking in English] is not very efficient, as it takes a long time to explain things – and sometimes we even have to use mime! (G7)

> At first, I wondered why the farangs spoke so fast, while I stumbled along. For example, if I wanted to tell a story, it took ages – but they just told it really fast and fluently. (G9)

Interestingly, one student was aware of the challenge of learning a new language – and keenly pointed out that "farangs" would have trouble with Thai if the situation were reversed:

> If you want me to speak English, I can speak it a little at a time – but not like a farang. It's like getting a farang to speak Thai. They probably wouldn't be able to speak it all the time. (G12)

This point was not mentioned by any of the other students.

In addition, it was evident that students also experienced linguistic difficulties in class. Some of these problems concerned their receptive skills:

> The language of the questions in the exam [is a problem] – I don't know what they're asking. (G11)

> I have problems when I'm trying to understand what the teacher is saying, and when I'm doing my work at home. (G6)

I have some problems during class. If the teacher says something I don't understand, I have to ask my friends. Sometimes they get annoyed. (G7)

Others concerned their productive skills:

In Science, when you are explaining things, it's quite difficult, as you have to use scientific words…Some technical terms you don't understand, and therefore are scared to use [as you might use them incorrectly]. (B14)

Language is an obstacle sometimes…Sometimes, in Maths, [I know the answer but] I just don't know how to say it, so I can't answer questions. (B8)

It's difficult to communicate [in English]. When we're talking [in English], we have to think about things before we say them…Before we speak, we have to order it all in our minds [and ask ourselves] whether we are using the correct grammar and vocabulary. If we say it all in one go, and it's full of mistakes, then they won't understand – so we'll have to start all over again. (B14)

We'll speak Thai when we want to say things quickly. If we speak in English, we have to think about how we are going to

construct the sentences in our heads first. If we want to be quick, we have to speak Thai. (G12)

I don't think my English is very good. When I write in English, I still have to ask other people how to do it. I can't really write it all by myself…I'm unsure about the grammar and, also, sometimes I don't know how to say what I want to say in English. (G11)

It is clear from the above comments that students' linguistic problems affect their performance in class, both in terms of comprehension and producing work. In several instances, however, although students may not understand the teacher or the work, they cannot deal with their problems, as they are either not equipped with the vocabulary to ask the teacher a question, or are unable to comprehend the entailing answer. Students must therefore deal with these problems on their own, or ask their friends in Thai:

The first week – no, the first term – I felt no happiness whatsoever. I couldn't adjust myself. When I first arrived, I didn't understand anything in class – I was constantly asking my friends. (B1)

Sometimes, when I don't understand something, I don't know how to ask the farang teacher, so I ask my friends what it's all about. (B14)

Well, when one of us doesn't understand something in class, if we ask in English, we'll get even more confused. We have to ask each other in Thai. When the teacher comes close, we'll speak English again….Some students don't ask the teacher directly, as their English still isn't very good. Even if they ask the teacher, and the teacher explains, they still won't understand. Sometimes they don't understand certain words the teachers uses, and so don't understand what they're trying to explain. (B2)

Sometimes I explain things to friends who don't understand…They may not have the courage to ask the teacher in English or know how to phrase the question. (XG1)

In asking their friends, however, students place themselves in violation of the English Speaking Policy - and frequently suffer the consequences:

[If I don't understand something], then I'll just ask my friend [in Thai], but then I get told off for it. Then the whole thing's a shambles. I don't understand anything then….Some teachers will ask "What language should you be speaking?", and then we'll have to speak English with each other. Other teachers will tell us off, and write in our pupil diaries. (G5)

It is clear, then, that students' linguistic problems not only reduce their ability to socialise effectively in English - as demanded by the English Speaking Policy -

but, also, negatively impact on their ability to comprehend and/or produce work. This, in turn, means that some students must turn to the use of Thai with their friends, but in doing so place themselves at risk of punishment.

The fact that, whilst social and linguistic factors ultimately mean that the use of Thai cannot be eradicated completely, students will still be punished for using Thai, has resulted in students' developing methods for coping with the English Speaking Policy. In some cases, students refrain from speaking at all:

:

> In general, at Thai schools, kids could talk more, and have more fun. Here…they say we can't speak Thai. So we don't speak much. At Thai schools you could talk more. (B2)

> Generally, I want to speak English, but I'm scared, so I keep quiet. (G10)

However, in others, students cope by making a special effort to conceal their use of Thai:

> I've only been told off a bit. I speak Thai, but I hide it. (XG1)

> In class, we whisper very softly [in Thai]. We are usually asking each other about the questions that we are supposed to do. (G11)

Indeed, the constant need to "hide" their use of Thai has led some students to become extremely adept at switching languages on demand:

Most of the Thai kids will secretly speak to each other in Thai. When we're doing work together in class, we'll speak English, but when the teacher's far away, we'll whisper Thai to each other. We'll switch back and forth. (B2)

I don't really get caught out for speaking Thai. My friends do – but they're pretty indifferent to it – they just switch languages immediately [when a teacher appears]. (G13)

Thus, it seems that if students speak English at all, it is to merely pay "lip service" to the use of English in the school. More precisely, they speak English in the presence of a teacher, but once he or she is out of earshot, they immediately revert to the use of Thai. It would seem then, that the English Speaking Policy has a limited positive effect on the development of students' English.

More positively, however, the interviews also revealed that students felt more comfortable speaking English in certain contexts. Students, for instance, remarked that when they were in lessons where the teacher understood or spoke some Thai, they felt more at ease:

The fact that they speak a little Thai makes us have more courage in speaking English with them. Like Mr D – he can speak a little Thai, and we teach him more. And so we get on really well. (G12)

Teachers knowing Thai can make the class feel more fun, because some kids have problems and can ask in Thai a little. As for the teachers who ask kids to teach them Thai, the distance between them is reduced, and they are closer to them. (XG1)

The teachers' understanding of Thai was also beneficial academically. This was pointed out by B2:

If the teachers understand a bit of Thai, when the kids speak Thai, they don't tell them to stop immediately. They might listen to see whether the kids are talking about work or not, and so won't necessarily tell us off. But the ones who don't understand any Thai will tell us to stop and speak English immediately. (B2)

[The fact that some teachers understand Thai] is good sometimes. Like, if I'm asking my friends in Thai about work, they'll hear, and they'll come over and explain it to me. (B14)

We are closer with the teachers who understand a bit of Thai. Sometimes it helps, as when, for example, we want to explain

something but don't know the English, we can explain it in Thai.

And they'll understand. (G11)

Other students claimed that if teachers knew some more Thai, this could be even more beneficial:

If [a teacher knew a lot of Thai] it would be good in the sense that if you didn't understand something, you could just ask. When you are studying with a teacher who doesn't understand a word of Thai, even if they are a good teacher, if you don't understand something, it can be a problem. (B1)

If the teachers knew some Thai, it would be better. With difficult words, it's hard to understand their explanations in English. If they did it in Thai, we'd understand. (B2)

The same was true of classes where mistakes were not stigmatised, and where the teacher was tolerant of mistakes, or otherwise encouraged students to speak English:

[I feel less scared to speak English] in English class…whether we say it correctly or incorrectly, the teacher will help us say it properly. (B14)

> I speak the most [English] in English class, as in other subjects,
> you only speak when you've been asked a question. If you don't
> know the answer, you just don't speak. (G6)

Contrarily, in those classes where the teacher did not understand any Thai - or Thai-English, as in the case below - they felt more inhibited.

> If they don't know any Thai, it makes us feel tense. Also – the
> teachers who come straight from England, like the gap student –
> when we speak English to him with a bit of a Thai accent, he
> can't really understand us. (G12)

In some cases, students also noted that their Thai-English was sometimes misperceived as simply Thai - and that they were subsequently reprimanded. Thus, it seems that students feel most at ease speaking English where their own language is to some extent understood, and thereby given some form of value, and where their mistakes or accent are not stigmatised but, rather, ironed out.

The English Speaking Policy also seems to impacted students in other ways. In particular, the emphasis on the use of English in the school ironically leads to anxiety in regard to speaking English in front of friends, for fear of losing face:

> I don't think my English is very good. When I was at my old
> school, I had the courage to speak English – but since I've been
> here, I haven't really had the courage…I'm embarrassed to speak

English, because this is an international school…If I make a mistake, I feel as though I'm *khai naa* [losing face].

Moreover, the emphasis on the importance of English at the school, combined with comparatively fewer hours of tuition in Thai, seems to have negatively influenced students' perception of the importance of their mother tongue; even the few hours of Thai per week are viewed with revulsion by one student:

I was never any good at Thai, and now it's just awful…I don't like studying Thai, you see. And now, I think, I'm at an international school, why do I have to learn Thai? I don't like it. (G5)

My Thai has gotten worse as, at school, everything is in English. In Thai class, sometimes I can't really think of the right words. I don't worry much though. Before I didn't like studying Thai anyway. (G6)

I don't really think about using [Thai] in the future, because I can't really write it anyway. (G9)

I'm noticing that my Thai is getting worse. But I don't worry about it too much, because my mother says that if I can speak Thai, and write a little bit, then that's okay. There's no need to

know Thai fully. She says that I should concentrate on and get
through English, and that's fine. (B3)

I think my Thai's deteriorated a little, as we have to read and
understand - do everything – in English. Sometimes, at home,
when I'm trying to write in Thai, I can't remember all the Thai
idioms – I can't remember what they mean. But I don't worry so
much, as in this day and age, you don't have to emphasise
grammar so much in Thai. As long as you can read, write, speak
and understand Thai, it should be fine. (B14)

It is apparent that some students came to their international school with a pre-
existing negative attitude to Thai. This attitude does not appeared to have been
mitigated - and indeed seems reinforced - by the fewer hours of Thai studied in
the school, and their thereby weakened command of the language. Other
students, whilst not expressing explicit negativity towards Thai, viewed the
deterioration in their Thai with a certain nonchalance. Most seemed to believe
that full mastery of their mother tongue was not necessary. In most cases, this
attitude is influenced by the attitude of their parents.

In conclusion, therefore, it would seem that the strict enforcement of the English
Speaking Policy in these students' schools produces in them feelings of fear,
stress and anxiety. This is because, at the same time that students are expected

to speak English at all times, the students themselves find it difficult to do so for both social and linguistic reasons.

Socially, students feel more comfortable speaking Thai with their Thai friends, as it is the language in which they can most effectively express their thoughts, feelings and emotions. Linguistically, their command of English is not yet adequate to allow them to ask questions to the teachers confidently; they often fear that they cannot phrase the question correctly to the teacher, or understand the subsequent answer. Therefore, where they need assistance, they prefer turn to their Thai-speaking friends for help in Thai.

However, in speaking Thai to their friends – whether for social or academic reasons - they are putting themselves at risk of punishment. Thus, they must put a great deal of effort into concealing their use of Thai from their teachers. In some instances, the fear is too great and even inhibits them from speaking in general.

Many students, however, appear to have developed a system for coping with the policy. A number of students have become fairly adept at code-switching to English in the presence of teachers, and code-switching back to Thai once the teachers have gone.

Several students also appreciate the little Thai that some teachers do understand. Not only does it contribute to a more relaxed and open atmosphere in the class – leading to more English being spoken - but, also, it can have academic benefits.

Some students also remarked that a greater knowledge of Thai on behalf of the teachers would be even more useful.

The importance attached to English in the school has, however, also led some students to believe that their peers will think lowly of them if they speak English that is incorrect. This also inhibits them from speaking more English.

Moreover, the emphasis on English has also, by default, influenced students' control of, and attitude towards, their mother tongue – Thai. Many students had observed a weakening in their command in Thai, as a result of the fewer hours of formal teaching offered. However, they were surprisingly nonchalant regarding the matter, believing that a full knowledge of Thai was not required "in this day and age", and that it was more important to focus on English. Thus it seems that the value attached to the Thai language, vis-à-vis the English language, is somewhat less amongst these students.

The problems regarding language use discussed in this section result from a lack of recognition of the social and linguistic reasons why students are not naturally inclined to speak English. It is assumed that students both find it a simple matter to socialise in their second language with first language friends, as well as have the capacity to speak English effectively in the first instance; meting out punishment where students use Thai thus seems justified as they are seen to have made a deliberate choice to speak Thai. Indeed, it is a choice of sorts, but it is one that is racked with structural constraints. Given, therefore, that both the assumptions are false, the English Speaking Policy consequently automatically

sets up for punishment those students with a weak command of English - that is, those that it is supposedly designed to help.

Ironically, where the Policy is not strictly adhered to, students feel more at ease to attempt to speak English. In particular, they feel more inclined to speak English where the use of their mother tongue - either by students or the teachers themselves - is accepted to a limited extent, and in environments and with teachers that do not stigmatise their Thai accents or use of English - but, rather, encourage and assist them in using the language.

6.2	*Language Ability*

As described in 2.4.2., the findings regarding the language ability of Thai students in the transition to international schools derive from tests given to a sample of six students - five males and one female - drawn from a British-curriculum majority-Thai international school. They were selected according to criteria as laid out in 2.3.2. Only six students were tested, owing to practical difficulties in obtaining a larger sample. Like the sample interviewed, these students were also aged between 12 and 15 years of age, and the large majority were of Chinese ethnicity. All of them were at least bilingual in Thai and English. All the students also, once more, came from well-to-do families, with most parents involved in managerial or professional occupations.

The students were tested using a practice test for the University of Cambridge Preliminary Test (PET) (Naylor and Hagger, 2004) to test the competence of the students' English in the four key language skills of Reading, Writing, Listening and Speaking (for details of each section of the test and the assessment criteria for Writing and Speaking, see 2.4.2.).

The test results for the six students are organised according to each skill component. The results for each component are further broken down into scores for each part. The test results are rounded off with total scores for each student.

6.2.1 Reading Results

Below are the results for the Reading Component:

TABLE 6.1:   Reading Scores for Students B1, B3, B4, B8, B15 and G16

	Student					
Part	**B1**	**B3**	**B4**	**B8**	**B15**	**G16**
1	40%	60%	60%	60%	80%	100%
2	100%	90%	90%	60%	80%	60%
3	70%	50%	50%	40%	80%	40%
4	10%	40%	40%	20%	100%	40%
5	40%	40%	10%	30%	30%	40%
Total Reading Score	52%	56%	50%	42%	74%	56%
Total Weighted Score	13%	14%	13%	11%	19%	14%

As a group, B1, B3, B4, B8, B15 and G16 achieved an average score of 55% for the Reading component. They performed the best on Part 2 of the Reading Component, with group average score of 80%. This section emphasised reading for specific information and detailed comprehension. This was followed by average scores of 67% and 55% for Parts 1 and 3, respectively. Part 1 emphasised reading real-world notices and other short texts, whilst Part 3 emphasised processing a factual text and scanning for for specific information. For Part 4, they achieved a fairly poor group average score of 42%; this section

emphasised reading for detailed comprehension, and understanding attitude, opinion and writer purpose.

The students performed the worst on Part 5, with an average score of 32%. This section emphasised the understanding of vocabulary and grammar, and understanding lexico-structural patterns in the text.

6.2.2 Writing Results

Below are the results for the Writing component:

TABLE 6.2:   Writing Scores for Students B1, B3, B4, B8, B15 and G16

	Student					
Part	B1	B3	B4	B8	B15	G16
1	40%	0%	20%	20%	0%	0%
2	80%	60%	80%	40%	30%	90%
3	93%	67%	70%	60%	20%	85%
Total Writing Score	71%	42%	57%	40%	17%	58%
Total Weighted Score	18%	11%	14%	10%	4%	15%

As a group, B1, B3, B4, B8, B15 and G16 achieved an average score of 47% for the Writing component. They performed the best, as a group, on Part 3, with an average score of 66%. This section was a longer piece of continuous writing, and focused on the control and range of language. This part was followed by Part 2, with a group score of 63%. This section was a short piece, which focused on the communication of a specific message.

These students fared the worst on Part 1 of the Writing component, with a group score of 13%. This section emphasised the control and understanding of grammatical structures, and involved the rephrasing and reformulating of information.

6.2.3   Listening Results

Below are the results for the Listening component:

TABLE 6.3:   Listening Scores for Students B1, B3, B4, B8, B15 and G16

Part	Student					
	B1	**B3**	**B4**	**B8**	**B15**	**G16**
1	71%	86%	86%	57%	86%	83%
2	33%	67%	50%	83%	67%	67%
3	42%	50%	33%	50%	50%	50%
4	67%	50%	50%	67%	83%	83%
Total Listening Score	**53%**	**63%**	**55%**	**64%**	**72%**	**71%**
Total Weighted Score	**13%**	**16%**	**14%**	**16%**	**18%**	**18%**

As a group, B1, B3, B4, B8, B15 and G16 achieved an average score of 63% for the Listening component. These students performed the best in Part 1 of the Listening component, with a group average of 78%. This section emphasised listening to identify key information from short exchanges. This was followed by Parts 4 and 2, with group scores of 67% and 61%, respectively. Part 4 focused on listening for detailed meaning and identifying the attitudes and

opinions of the speakers, whilst Part 2 focused on listening to identify specific information and detailed meaning.

They performed most poorly in Part 3, with an average score of 46%. This section required listening to identify, understand and interpret information.

6.2.4 Speaking Results

Below are the results for Speaking component:

TABLE 6.4: Speaking Scores for Students B1, B3, B4, B8, B15 and G16

	Student					
Part	B1	B3	B4	B8	B15	G16
1	60%	60%	60%	50%	70%	60%
2	60%	60%	70%	50%	70%	50%
3	40%	50%	50%	40%	80%	60%
4	50%	50%	60%	40%	70%	50%
Total Speaking Score	53%	55%	60%	45%	73%	55%
Total Weighted Score	13%	14%	15%	11%	18%	14%

As a group, B1, B3, B4, B8, B15 and G16 achieved an average score of 57% for the Speaking component of the test. They achieved the highest marks in Parts 1 and 2 of the Speaking component, with an average of 60% for both parts. Part 1 involved giving information of a factual, personal kind, whilst Part 2 involved using language to make and respond to suggestions, discuss alternatives, make recommendations and make agreements.

Students performed equally poorly on both Parts 3 and 4, with an average score of 53% for both sections. Part 3 required them to describe photographs and manage discourse, using appropriate vocabulary, whilst Part 4 required them to talk with another student about their opinions, likes/dislikes, preferences, experiences, habits etc. Moreover, observations of the students during testing showed that they possessed weak control over grammatical structures, in particular, omitting articles, such as "a" and "the", and auxiliary verbs, such as "do", and not adapting verb forms according to the subject/tense intended.

6.2.5 Complete Test Results

The total scores of all the students tested are summarised below:

TABLE 6.5: Total Scores for Students B1, B3, B4, B8, B15 and G16

	Student					
	B1	**B3**	**B4**	**B8**	**B15**	**G16**
Score	57%	55%	56%	48%	69%	61%

According to the PET Handbook, a "Pass" corresponds to 70% of the total marks, whilst a "Pass with Merit" corresponds to 85%. A "Narrow Fail" indicates that the student was within 5% of the Pass boundary.

As can be seen from the table above, none of the students achieved a Pass, and only B15 achieved a Narrow Fail. In other words, none of the students fulfilled the requirements of the PET Threshold Level.

6.2.6 Summary of Results

By PET criteria, all of the students tested failed. Only one of the six students achieved a Narrow Fail.

Certain patterns emerged from the results for each skill component that are worthy of note:

| **Reading** | Students encountered great difficulty with Part 5, achieving a group average of a mere 32%. In other words, they had trouble understanding vocabulary and grammar in context and understanding patterns in text. |

| **Writing** | Students encountered extreme difficulty with Part 1, achieving a group average of only 13%. This means that all students found it very difficult to control and understand grammatical structures, as well as rephrase and reformulate information. |

| **Listening** | Students encountered great difficulty with Part 3. In other words, they found it a struggle to identify, understand and interpret information. |

| **Speaking** | Students encountered a certain degree of difficulty with both Parts 3 and 4. This means that they had some trouble 1) describing objects and managing discourse, using appropriate vocabulary, in a longer turn, and 2) talking together about their opinions, preferences and experiences. Moreover, they displayed a lack of control over grammatical structures. |

Overall, the skills of the group of students tested ranked as follows:

1. Listening (63%)

2. Speaking (57%)

3. Reading (55%)

4. Writing (48%)

6.3   *Conclusion*

The findings in this section confirm the hypotheses regarding linguistic problems stated in the introduction to this study. First of all, from the ranking of skills above, it is apparent that students' linguistic problems include poor English reading and writing skills. Second, from the summary of Writing results, it is evident that their linguistic problems also include technical inaccuracy in written English. Also, although not illustrated in the scores for the various parts of the Speaking test, observations of students' spoken English during the Speaking test also revealed students to possess a low degree of grammmatical accuracy.

The findings also reveal other problems not included in the hypotheses. These include the stress and anxiety students feel as a result of the strict enforcement of the English Speaking Policy, and the deterioration in their mother tongue, Thai - as well as their nonchalant attitude towards it.

CHAPTER 7

POSSIBLE CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF THE PROBLEMS

This purpose of this chapter is to consider the possible causes and effects of the cultural and linguistic problems discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

7.1. *Possible Causes and Effects of Cultural Problems*

7.1.1 Summary of Cultural Problems

Before going on to discuss the possible causes and effects of the cultural problems, it may be useful to first summarise the problems themselves.

First of all, students appear to have difficulty with the approach to discipline in their international schools. This difficulty includes: uncertainty with regard to appropriate behaviour, as manifest in extreme switches in behaviour, i.e. from quiet obedience in the classroom, to excessive rowdiness outside of the classroom; a lack of ability to take responsibility for one's own work; and a weak respect for school rules.

Second, students experience some difficulty in adjusting to the teaching methodology in international schools. Specifically, they find it hard dealing with assignments that lack structure or direct guidance, as well as exerting the

required effort and stamina for group activities and tasks. Some students also find that the abandonment of the traditional Thai practice of learning by memorization has led to weakened ability in some subjects.

Third, many students have trouble adjusting to the differing academic atmosphere at their international schools. In particular, they tend to believe that international schools do not demand a high level of academic rigour. As a result, they see themselves as academically inferior to their peers at Thai schools.

Fourth, students have some difficulty adapting to the differing nature of the student-teacher relationship at their international schools. Specifically, they are at times unsure of what constitutes appropriate behaviour in different contexts. In addition, many seem to regret that their personal standards with concern to etiquette have dropped.

Fifth, students have definite problems in regard to dealing with the presence of foreign students and, to a lesser extent, teachers. Above all, they appear to fear foreign students. Moreover, in some cases, they seem to view some of the social practices of the foreign students as strange or undesirable. They also feel that they are not as close to their Western teachers as are their Western peers.

Sixth, students experience difficulty in relating to peers outside of their wealthy, elite circle of friends at school.

7.1.2. Possible Causes of Cultural Problems

One of the causes of the problems mentioned in 7.1.1. is the Thai cultural framework with which students perceive their international school environment. Indeed, this framework is often the only cultural reference that these students have, given that, for many, their entry into an international school is their first experience interacting with Westerners - not to mention their first time studying in a Western educational institution.

Certain cultural reference points emerge clearly from the analysis of problems. First of all, it is clear that students use the traditional Thai adult-child hierarchy as a basis for judgement or action. This hierarchy is typically characterised by children respecting and obeying adults, waiting for instruction rather than taking the initiative in doing something. The lack of explicit direction and instruction in the approach to discipline, the teaching methodology and the way in which student-teacher relationships should be handled in international schools thus results in students' apparent lax attitude to discipline outside the classroom, regarding homework and concerning school rules; difficulty completing unstructured assignments or tasks and activities; and lapses in judgement regarding appropriate behaviour in the presence of teachers.

Second, students also seem to respect the Thai view of the teacher as being of supreme authority in the classroom, whose extensive knowledge is to be copied, memorised and replicated. This is reflected in their attitudes to their difficulty adjusting to the effort required to complete tasks and activities. It is also

mirrored in students' views of what constitutes a clever student; that is, a person who faithfully amasses as much knowledge as they can from their teacher. However, given that the emphasis in international school classrooms is evidently more on the learning process rather than sheer quantities of information, this view results in some students believing that they are not as intelligent as their peers in Thai schools - even if this is not necessarily the case.

Third, some students still retain the Thai notion that children one should conduct oneself with utmost decorum and politeness wherever possible, so as to maintain harmony. As a result, they interpret the somewhat different manners of the Western students - for example, their lack of *khwaam riabroi* [propriety; decorum] and *khwaam krengjai* [consideration; awareness of others' feelings] - as out of place or inappropriate.

Fourth, students also keep to Thai custom of maintaining personal space. According to this custom, bodily contact - especially between the sexes - should be kept to a minimum, particularly where one does not know the other person intimately. That this view is problematic is evident in some students' bafflement at some Western students' practices, such as the of hugging friends, as well as in their exasperation at having to sit next to boys during assemblies or at other events.

At times however, through their interaction with the international school "culture" and, to a limited extent, the culture of the foreign students and teachers in the school, it seems that students' cultural reference points also, at times,

become confused. This is the case, for example, where students, in the presence of Thai teachers, behave in ways that are considered inappropriate by the teachers.

Another cause of cultural problems - namely the fear of and maintenance of distance from Westerners - is students' lack of proficiency in English. Not only does their limited ability in English restrict their interaction with Western students in the first instance - through fear - but, also, their lack of knowledge of idiomatic language precludes them from joining in with the jokes and stories that Western students and teachers share together. In other words, they are excluded from the discourse of Western culture through their limited English proficiency.

As for the cause of the difficulty students have in relating to Thai peers outside of their wealthy, elite circle of friends at school, this is likely, once more, to relate to students' cultural frameworks. This time, however, the cultural framework which students base their judgements and actions on is that of the international school. Whilst students' problems within the school may be attributed in part to their reference to a Thai cultural framework, their problems outside the school, with other Thais, may be attributed to their international school cultural framework. This framework is an amalgam of both their Thai cultural reference points, as well as others assimilated from their interaction with the international school environment. In the case of these students, it would seem to include the view that one should live extravagantly, and that one should not give so much concern to politeness and decorum.

Thus, the underlying theme of much of this is that students seem to be unaware of the cultural reasons behind the educational and social practices of their international schools. Rather, they tend to interpret what they see and experience using only Thai culture and their own experience as a reference point. Likewise, they use international school cultural reference points as a basis for judgement and action in their relations with Thai peers who are not part of international school society. In other words, little attempt is made - or, rather, can be made - by students to see things from other cultural perspectives. Within the school, this lack of cultural knowledge is exacerbated by students' lack of proficiency in English, which further hinders them from intercultural engagements that might otherwise lead them to increase this knowledge. Similarly, their unbending adherence to the social norms of the wealthy elite precludes them from relating to less affluent peers, thus forfeiting positive intersocial engagements.

This deficit in cultural knowledge is most visibly due to student's lack of interaction with Westerners; however, the absence of a cultural orientation programme for students, intercultural training for teachers and parents, and the incorporation of intercultural literacy teaching into the curriculum more than likely also contributes. Furthermore, observations of the socio-cultural structure of the school reveal that it is such that most positions of authority (i.e. both teaching and management positions) are taken by Westerners. Where Thais do occupy positions of authority, they are in an extremely small minority, and avoid engagement with equal-status Western peers. Conversely, there is a large concentration of Thais in subordinate positions, ranging from office staff and

teaching assistants to kitchen staff and clearners. Neither does this structure encourage intercultural interaction, nor does it foster social cohesion between Thai social classes beyond the school. The structure seems to reinforce the idea that the Thai elite minority isolates itself from Western peers, at the same time that it avoids association with the masses of the lower class.

These findings support Heyward's (2002) model of intercultural literacy. More precisely, it would seem that these students do not possess full intercultural literacy as a result of their being a lack of the right supports in place during the first period of real engagement with the second culture, namely: support for students in the process of transition, intercultural training for teachers and staff, school, parent education programmes and school-based responses in the curriculum. Moreover, the students lack access to a social-cultural structure that promotes intercultural literacy.

7.1.3. Possible Effects of Cultural Problems

The effects of the cultural problems are three-fold. First of all, as may be gleaned from the interviews, students find themselves at an educational disadvantage owing to the difficulties of coping with the differences in the approach to discipline and teaching methodology. Specifically, they find it hard to conduct independent research, involving as it does a lack of structure. They also find it taxing organising and participating in class tasks and activities, being, as they are, used to writing things down from the board. Moreover, the

lack of constant reminders from teachers also means that some students find it difficult to take responsibility for handing their homework in on time. As a result of this educational disadvantage, students do not fulfil their academic potential.

Second, some students also find themselves increasingly unable to relate to peers outside of their circle of international school friends. In particular, their perceived wealthy elitism, as manifest in their differing social practices and extravagant habits, seems to lead to resentment amongst their peers at Thai schools. It subsequently results in the stereotyping of international school students and, thus, further division between the two groups.

Lastly, some students develop a xenophobic attitude towards students from other cultures. This xenophobia is manifest in either fear, or disdain, of, particularly Western students.

Regarding the last two points, it is, furthermore, likely that such attitudes will be perpetuated in the following generations. This is evident in the fact that all of the students interviewed claimed that they would send their children to international schools - some, even, right from kindergarten.

7.2. *Possible Causes and Effects of Linguistic Problems*

7.2.1   Summary of Linguistic Problems

Students' linguistic problems were divided into two categories.   The first category concerned problems with relating to language use; the second category comprised problems concerning language ability.

All of the problems concerning language use relate to the English Speaking Policy in place in the schools.   This policy obligates teachers to mete out punishment where English is not spoken at specified times/in specified places. The main problem experienced by students is the need to contend with the overwhelming pressure to speak Thai - whether for social or academic reasons - on the one hand, and the potential punishment that would entail if they did speak Thai, on the other.   Other problems include extreme self-consciousness of speaking English in front of friends, and the deterioration in their command of Thai.

The problems concerning language ability were revealed in students' test results. These revealed that students' performance, as a group, was poorest in Writing. This was followed by Reading, Speaking and Listening.   In other words, students' oracy skills were relatively better than their literacy skills.

More   specifically,   students   encountered   great   difficulty: understanding vocabulary and grammar in context, and understanding patterns in text;

controlling and understanding grammatical structures, and rephrasing and reformulating information; identifying, understanding and interpreting information; describing objects and managing discourse, using appropriate vocabulary; and taking together about opinions, preferences and experiences.

7.2.2. Possible Causes of Linguistic Problems

The causes of problems concerning language use are rooted in a lack of recognition of the social and linguistic reasons behind students' choice of language, combined with strict enforcement of the English Speaking Policy. Put another way, given the social and linguistic context, the Policy sets up for punishment those students with a weak command of English - ironically, those it sets to help. The overwhelming number of Thais in the school, combined with students' lack of proficiency in English, renders Thai the natural language of choice - but also the language of which use is condemned.

Similar reasons apply to the problem of self-consciousness in speaking English: the students are not yet proficient in English, and still, they are pressured to speak it. They are made to do this without support, as it is assumed that they already have the capacity to do so own their own.

The lack of importance they attribute to their mother tongue, Thai, may also be ascribed to the supreme position of English in the school, as manifest in both the Policy and the few hours of Thai tuition there are per week. Indeed the use of

Thai outside of the Thai classroom is viewed negatively, and is accordingly punished.

The main source of problems regarding language ability interestingly related to the problems in concerning language use. As discussed above, problems in language use ultimately stem a lack in language ability. However, students' problems in regard to language use also influence their language ability.

First of all, the fact that the natural language of choice is Thai, owing to social and linguistic factors, encourages the mixing and switching of English and Thai (i.e. between instances where a teacher is present to where a teacher is not present) rather than the pure use of English. Second, due to the fact that the student population is Thai, more Thai than English is used, and therefore practiced, in social interactions. Third, the predominant use of Thai at home, together with the fact that the language environment beyond the school walls is Thai, means that English serves no communicative purpose outside of the school - and thus there is no immediate reason to acquire English. Moreover, the general fear and self-consciousness in regard to speaking English has cultural effects too. In particular, it inhibits students from participating in interactions with English-speaking peers - this, in turn, means that they forfeit opportunities for practice in using English.

7.2.3. Possible Effects of Linguistic Problems

The effects of the linguistic problems are two-fold. First of all, like the cultural problems, they put students at an educational disadvantage. Not only do they sometimes not comprehend the teacher or work set, but also the fact that they do not possess adequate English to articulate their problem or understand the entailing explanation means that they must ask their friends in Thai. However, this assistance is in actual fact banned through the English Speaking Policy. The result is incomplete understanding.

Second, the emphasis placed on English in the school, vis-a-vis Thai, leads not only to a weakened command of Thai, but also to nonchalant attitudes to this deterioration in the mother tongue. Ultimately, it results in a devaluation of students' own language and culture.

Third, students' lack of proficiency in English, and their resulting self-consciousness, makes them fear English-language interactions with their Western peers. Through this fear, they exclude themselves from the possibility of intercultural engagement, and therefore intercultural learning. Ultimately, in some cases, students develop xenophobic attitudes towards Western students - and Westerners in general.

7.3   *Conclusion*

These findings largely confirm the hypotheses regarding the causes and effects of cultural problems stated in the introduction to this study.

Regarding causes, cultural problems are indeed rooted in the fact that school policies are not adapted - or explained - to the Thai nature of the student population. These include policies regarding the approach to discipline and teaching methodology, the English Speaking Policy, and the socio-cultural structure of the school. (Nevertheless, owing to the highly political nature of this issue, whether this was done for fear of a decrease in enrolments could not be confirmed.)   It also seems clear that cultural problems further result from the fact that students are given little exposure to students from other cultures in their day-to-day life - within and without the school - limiting their opportunities to learn the subtle traits of Western and other cultures. Within the school, they tend to avoid interactions with Western students; outside of the school, the environment is, obviously Thai. Moreover, there is no encouragement on the part of the school to provide the right supports for intercultural literacy. The result is that Thai students miss out on the opportunity to participate in intercultural learning with their foreign peers, and thus to perhaps mitigate some of their cultural problems. In a similar vein, over-exposure to other Thai students from advantaged socio-economic backgrounds coupled with under-exposure to Thai students from less-advantaged backgrounds may leads to problems relating to peers outside of international school circles.

Regarding the effects of cultural problems, the students' testimonies also indicate that the problems do adversely affect their academic performance, as well as produce psychological strain. In particular, students expressed that they experienced difficulty in adjusting to differences in the approach to discipline and teaching methodology. Moreover, many students have also developed superiority-inferiority complexes vis-a-vis their own language and culture, as well as towards Thai contemporaries who have not been educated in the international school system. This is evident in the lack of importance they attach to the deterioration in their mother tongue, Thai, and the rifts that have developed between their peers in Thai schools and themselves.

There are other causes not to consider as well, that were not included in the hypotheses to this study. Specifically, there may be a lack of: genuine engagement with local host cultures; support for students in the process of transition, either newly arriving or departing; or intercultural training for teachers and staff, school-based responses in curriculum and the broader social-cultural structuring of the school, as well as parent-education programmes (Heyward, 2002). Certainly, general observations of the functioning of the schools concerned did not seem to reveal any concerted and concentrated efforts to provide such supports.

These findings also confirm the hypotheses regarding the causes and effects of linguistic problems stated in the introduction to this study.

Regarding the causes of linguistic problems, first of all, it is clear that students are relatively weak in English and, moreover reinforce in each other "Thai-English". This is largely the result of the mixing and switching of English in Thai in response to both a genuine lack of proficiency in English as well as the need to comply to the English Speaking Policy. Second, the dominant social group is indeed Thai, and as such there is a strong and natural motivation to use Thai as the social language. Third, students are rarely exposed to Englsih beyond the confines of the school, giving them little motivation to acquire English. This is evident in the predominant use of Thai at home, as well as the sheer fact that the environment outside of the school is Thai.

Regarding the effects of the problems, the students' testimonies indicate that linguistic problems - in addition to cultural problems - do indeed adversely affect their academic performance, as well as produce psychological strain. This is evident in the educational disadvantage and resulting stress they experience from both comprehension problems in class, as well as the absence of the means to articulate them. Moreover, it seems that the emphasis on English in the school - both in terms of status and amount of teaching - has resulted in students' developing a superiority-inferiority complex vis-a-vis their own language and culture. In particular, they find that they possess a weakened command of their mother tongue, Thai, owing to the weak emphasis on the language in the school; however, in most cases, they did not actually perceive this to be a problem. Nevertheless, through this very nonchalance, it would seem that students value their own language less than they do English.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

This study aimed to identify, analyse and evaluate the cultural and linguistic problems experienced by Thai students making the transition from the Thai school system to the international school system.

8.1   Summary

This study found that the cultural problems experienced by these students included difficulties with: the approach to discipline, such as in taking responsibility for one's own work; the teaching methodology, as in dealing with assignments lacking structure; the academic atmosphere, as manifest in the perception that they are academically inferior to peers at Thai schools; the student-teacher relationship, as in their uncertainty of what constitutes appropriate behaviour in different contexts; the presence of foreign students and, to a lesser extent, teachers, as evident in their fear of interacting with the former; and the socio-economic background of students, as seen in their strained relationships with less wealthy peers at Thai schools.

The causes of the cultural problems were found to include the use of a Thai cultural framework as the basis of judgement and action within the school, and an "international school" framework as that outside of school; a lack of

proficiency in English; and the absence of the correct supports for intercultural literacy.

The effects of these problems were found to include educational disadvantage, division from peers outside of the international school circle, and xenophobic attitudes towards Western students.

This study also identified several linguistic problems experienced by these students. In terms of language use, the main problem experienced by students is the need to contend with the overwhelming pressure to speak Thai - whether for social or academic reasons - on the one hand, and the potential punishment that would entail if they did speak Thai, on the other. Other problems include extreme self-consciousness of speaking English in front of friends, and the deterioration in their command of Thai.

In terms of language ability the students were, as a group, were least proficient in Writing. This was followed by Reading, Speaking and Listening. In other words, students' oracy skills were relatively better than their literacy skills. Moreover, their productive skills were pervaded by grammatical inaccuracy.

The causes of the problems in language use were found to include a lack of recognition of the social and linguistic reasons behind students' choice of language, combined with strict enforcement of the English Speaking Policy, such as the emotive force of students first language and their sheer inability to communicate in English effectively. The weakened command of their mother

tongue, Thai, may also be ascribed to the emphasis of English in the school, in terms of both hours of teaching and the status attached to it.

The main source of problems regarding language ability are related to their use of language. This includes their mixing of Thai and English as well as the sheer amount of Thai that they use. Their use of English is further limited by their fear of interaction with Western students.

The effects of these problems were found to include educational disadvantage, a weakened command of and less than positive attitude towards their mother tongue, Thai, as well as xenophobic attitudes towards Western students.

Whether or not the problems examined in this thesis are of long-term significance is a question that lies outside the scope of the study. The findings presented here are short-term in nature and, as such, it cannot be said from this study alone whether these problems will be mitigated and eliminated in time, or whether they will persist and indelibly influence the cultural and linguistic capacities of these students.

Moreover, the findings may not be applicable to Thai students in majority English-speaking international schools; indeed, it seems unlikely that they would be. However, verification of this claim is, once more, beyond the scope of this study.

What can be said, however, is that there are three main actors that are ultimately responsible for the welfare of the students who form the focus of this study, and others like them: the schools (through school policy), the parents (through their participation in their children's education) and the government (through government policy regarding international education). Each may play a part, either in the perpetuation of these problems - eventually leading to greater division and resentment in the world - or in the creation of linguistically talented and interculturally literate young citizens of the world - and thus greater intercultural understanding and solidarity on a global scale. Heyward (2002) seems to share these sentiments, and sums up the significance of this issue perfectly:

> Intercultural literacy...is a crucial literacy for international students
> - if they are to be prepared for success in a globalized world. This
> is particularly true when we consider...that many international
> school graduates pursue careers leading to senior management
> positions either in overseas missions or business...Without being
> given support to develop intercultural literacy...students (and
> others) are at risk of responding in negative ways to the cross-
> cultural experience. Without intercultural literacy, expatriates and
> others, living and working in an international setting risk
> misunderstandings and intercultural blunders that can be extremely
> costly to both individuals and organisations....On a broader scale,
> intercultural literacy can be seen as a crucial element in the
> creation of a safe, sustainable and just global communitiy...The

siginificance...of the competency that enables indivudals to hold multiple perspectives...cannot be overestimated. The cost to the world of leaders who lack this aspect of intercultural literacy is enormous. (Heyward, 2002: 11)

Heyward's astute observations point clearly to the fact that intercultural literacy is - and should be - a major concern of international schools. Not only will the fostering of intercultural literacy lead to greater understanding of students' needs, but also "the needs of humanity to define and create a workable, sustainable and pluralist global community" (Heyward, 2002: 29).

8.2   *Recommendations for Further Research*

This study merely scratches the surface of the rich, vast, field of international education in Thailand. Indeed, certain issues that have only been glossed over in this study could very well provide the basis of several studies in their own right.

I would like to encourage other researchers to explore other aspects of international education in Thailand - particularly in regard to its influence on Thai students and Thai society. They could, for example, take upon one of the following research endeavours:

- A longtitudinal study of linguistic and cultural difficulties experienced by Thai students studying in international schools

- A survey of the attitudes towards and perceptions of bilingualism amongst monolingual teachers in majority-Thai international schools

- A survey of the attitudes towards bilingualism amongst Thai students in international schools

- A survey of the attitudes towards international schools amongst Thai international school parents

- A survey of the perceptions of Thai students amongst international school administrators and/or teachers

- An examination of the extent of intercultural learning in majority-Thai international schools

- A quantitative analysis of the academic results of Thai students in international schools

- A comparison of bilingual and international schools in Thailand

- Language ecology in majority-Thai international schools

- Multilingualism amongst Thai students in international schools

Given the importance and status attached to international schools in Thailand today - not to mention their sheer number and speed of growth - it is imperative that careful and thorough consideration of their implications for Thai students and society is made without delay.

REFERENCES

Aksornkool, N. EFL Planning in Thailand: A Case Study in Language Planning. Ph.D. Thesis. Georgetown University, 1981.

Allan, M. Cultural borderlands: A case study of cultural dissonance in an international school. Journal of Research in International Education, 1(1) (2002): 63-90.

Baker, C. Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1996.

Bangkok Post. International Schools in Thailand. Bangkok Post Special Publication. Bangkok: Bangkok Post, 2004.

Bennett, M. Towards ethnorelativism: A developmental model of intercultural sensitivity. In M. Paige (Ed.) Education for the Interculutral Experience. Yarmmoth, ME: Intercultural Press, 1993. 21-72.

Bunnag, S. Thai studies compulsory this semester. Bangkok Post (5 November 2000).

Cazden, C. B. and Snow, C. E. Preface to Cazden, C. B. and Snow, C. E. (Eds), English Plus: Issues in Bilingual Education. London: Sage, 1990.

Canagarajah, A. S. <u>Resisting Linguistic Imperialism in English Language Teaching</u>. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Chotikapanich, S. The Development of Non-formal English Language Education in Thailand: A Case Study of English Conversation Schools. M.A. Thesis, Chulalongkorn University, 2001.

Cohen, L., Manion, L., and Morrison K. <u>Research Methods in Education</u>. London: Routledge Falmer, 2000.

Collier, V.P. and Ovando, C. J. <u>Bilingual and ESL Classrooms: Teaching in Multicultural Contexts</u>. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1985.

Collier, V. P., and Thomas, T. P. A National Study of School Effectiveness for Language Minority Students' Long-Term Academic Achievement Final Report: Project 1.1. Center for Research on Education, Diversity and Excellence. (Online).
Available from: www.crede.usc.edu/research/lla/1.1_final.html [2001].

Crystal, D. <u>English as a Global Language</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

De'Ath, C. and Sharples, J. <u>The Complete Guide to International Schools in Thailand 1997-98</u>. Bangkok: Head Line Books, 1997.

DES (Department of Education and Science, UK). Circular 7/65. <u>The Education of Immigrants</u>. London: HMSO, 1965.

Durongphan, M. et al. <u>The Development of English Teaching in Thailand: A Rattanakosin Experience</u>. Bangkok: Aksorn Charoentat Publishing Company, 1982.

Ferguson, C. A., Houghton, C. and Wells, M. H. Bilingual education: An international perspective. In B. Spolsky and R. Cooper (Eds.), <u>Frontiers of Bilingual Education</u>. Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1977.

Fredrickson, T. Taking the big view. <u>Bangkok Post</u>. Bangkok (17 December 2002a).

Fredrickson, T. A place for Thai. <u>Bangkok Post</u>. (16 July 2002b).

Fredrickson, T. British education in a Thai environment. <u>Bangkok Post</u>. (10 December 2002c).

FTC. <u>Education Handbook 2002-2003: International and Bilingual Schools in Thailand</u>. Bangkok: FTC (Thailand), 2002.

Fryer, P. <u>Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain</u>. London: Pluto Press, 1984.

Gardner, P. Teaching and Learning in Multicultural Classrooms. London: David Fulton Publishers, 2001.

Garner, D. The International School ESL Challenge. In E. Murphy (Ed.), ESL: A Handbook for Teachers and Administrators in International Schools. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1990.

Geertz, C. Thick description: towards an interpretive theory of culture. In C. Geertz (Ed.) The Interpretation of Cultures. New York: Basic Books, 1973.

Gibbons, P. Learning to Learn in a Second Language. Newton: Primary English Teaching Association, 1991.

Goodman, S. and Graddol, D. (Eds.). Redesigning English: new texts, new identities. London: Routledge, 1996.

Graddol, D. The Future of Language. Science. 303 (27 February 2004): 1329-1331.

Heyward, M.   Intercultural literacy and the international school. International Schools Journal. 14(2) (2000): 29-36.

Heyward, M. From international to intercultural: Redefining the international school for a globalized world. <u>Journal of Research in International Education</u>. 1(1) (2002): 9-32.

Holderness, J. Teaching and Managing English as an Additional or Second Language in International Schools. In S. Blandford and M. Shaw (Eds.) <u>Managing International Schools</u>. London: Routledge Falmer, 2001.

Holliday. A. <u>Appropriate Methodology and Social Context</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

ISAT (International Schools Association of Thailand). <u>A Guide to International Schools in Thailand</u>. Pamphlet distributed at the International Education Fair, Bangkok, February 2004.

LeCompte, M. and Preissle, J. <u>Ethnography and Qualitative Design in Educational Research</u>**.** London: Academic Press Ltd., 1993.

Mackey, W. F. The importation of bilingual education models. In J. Alatis (Ed.) <u>Georgetown University Roundtable: International Dimensions of Education</u>. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1978.

Manowalailao, R. One local too many? <u>The Nation</u>. (10 December 2003).

Miller, J. Many Voices: Bilingualism, Culture and Education. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983.

Murphy, E. (Ed.) ESL: A Handbook for Teachers and Administrators in International Schools. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1990.

Murphy, E. Monolingual international schools and the young non-English speaking child. Journal of Research in International Education. 2(1) (2003): 25-45.

Naylor, H. and Hagger, S. Insight into PET with answers. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2004.

Nisbet, J. and Watt, J. Case study. In J. Bell, T. Bush, A. Fox, J. Goodey and S. Goulding (Eds.), Conducting Small-scale Investigations in Educational Management. London: Harper and Row, 1984.

NSIS (New Sathorn International School). You are invited... Advertisement inviting applications for enrollment. The Nation. (16 August 2004).

OPEC (Office of the Private Education Commission). สารบัญข้อมูลพื้นฐานโรงเรียนนานาชาติ (Basic information regarding International schools). Available from: www.opec.or.th/froce/froce.html [2003]

Panayi, P. The Impact of Immigration: A documentary history of the effects and experiences of immigrants in Britain since 1945. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.

Paulston, C. B. Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Bilingual Education. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1992.

Paulston, C. B. Linguistic Minorities in Multilingual Settings (Studies in Bilingualism 4). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1994.

Phillipson, R. Linguistic Imperialism. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Prasad, G. International school challenge. Big Chilli Magazine. (March 2003).

PET (Preliminary English Test) Handbook, Cambridge, Cambridge ESOL online. Available from: http://www.cambridgeesol.org/support/dloads/lms.cfm [2004]

Richards, K. Qualitative Inquiry in TESOL. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Rojanaphruk, P. Bilingual schools defended. The Nation. (11 November 2002).

Schmid, R. E. 'World language' on its way out. Bangkok Post. (2004).

Schwindt, E.   The development of a model for international education with special reference to the role of host country nationals.   Journal of Research in International Education. 2(1) (2003): 67-81.

Sears, C. Some Common Difficulties and How They Can Be Avoided. In E. Murphy (Ed.), ESL: A Handbook for Teachers and Administrators in International Schools. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1990.

Sharples, J. Famous names have learnt to keep up the old school Thais. Article published in the Internet edition of the The Telegraph, London. Available from: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/global/main.jhtml?xml=/ global/2003/03/17/edschoo217.xml [17 March 2003].

Shoebottom, P.   Feedback from ESL students.   (Online).   Available from: http://esl.fis.edu/parents/advice/shock.htm. [2001]

Shoebottom, P.   ESL students and culture shock. (Online).   Available from: http://esl.fis.edu/parents/advice/shock.htm. [2003]

Smalley, W. A. Linguistic Diversity and National Unity: Language Ecology in Thailand. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Stoneham, N. The International Education Boom. Bangkok Post. (4 November 2003).

The Brooker Group. <u>Thailand Stats</u>. Bangkok: The Brooker Group PLC, 2003.

Thompson, J. J. International education: Towards a shared understanding. <u>Journal of Research in International Education</u>. 1(1) (2002): 5-8.

Van Der Cruysse, D. <u>Siam and the West, 1500-1700</u>. Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2002.

Wijayasinha, J. An educational alternative. <u>Bangkok Post</u>. (8 March 2001).

Wyatt, D. K. <u>The Politics of Reform in Thailand: Education in the Reign of King Chulalongkorn</u>. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1969.

Yunibandhu, R. Old School Thais: A Study of the International School Boom in Thailand. Chulalongkorn University, 2003. (Unpublished paper).

BIOGRAPHY

Rosalind Yunibandhu, a Thai national, was born in Auckland, New Zealand, in 1980. At the age of thirteen, she and her family moved to Thailand, where she attended the New International School of Thailand. She graduated as Valedictorian of the school in 1998, having achieved the full score of 45 in the International Baccalaureate Diploma. She went on to study at Cambridge University, UK, where she received her B.A. (Hons.) in Economics. Upon graduating, she trained as an English language teacher, and subsequently taught at an international school in Bangkok. In 2002, she began her studies in the Thai Studies Program at the Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University, during the course of which she also obtained her Advanced Certificate in Thai Language. In October 2004, she shall return to the UK, this time, to Oxford University, to study for an MSc. in Applied Linguistics and Second Language Acquisition.