EDUCATION OPPORTUNITIES FOR BURMESE MIGRANT STUDENTS IN TAKUA PA DISTRICT

Miss Charlotte Elizabeth Fraser



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วิทยานิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาศิลปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต สาขาวิชาการพัฒนาระหว่างประเทศ คณะรัฐศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย ปีการศึกษา 2557 ลิขสิทธิ์ของจุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

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ประเด็นการศึกษาสำหรับบุคคลย้ายถิ่นเป็นประเด็นที่โต้แข้งกันบ่อยในภูมิภาคเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้นักเรียนย้ายถิ่น ส่วนมากในประเทศไทยได้รับการศึกษาในโรงเรียนนอกระบบที่ไม่มีหลักสูตรตามมาตรฐานและไม่มีการรับรองคุณภาพทางการ ศึกษาทำให้ทางเลือกในการเข้าศึกษาต่อในระดับมัธยมศึกษาลดน้อยลง การเข้าสู่การศึกษาในระบบเป็นสิ่งที่จำเป็นสำหรับนักเรียน ย้ายถิ่นเพื่อให้โอกาสทางการศึกษาระดับสูงขึ้น ทั้งนี้เพื่อโอกาสในการเข้าสู่ตลาดแรงงานทักษะสูงในอนาคตอีกด้วย ถ้านักเรียนกลุ่ม ดังกล่าวไม่ได้รับโอกาสนี้ พวกเขาจะไม่สามารถหลุดพ้นจากวิลีชีวิตแบบเดิมๆ ได้

งานวิจัยนี้ศึกษาโรงเรียนระดับประถมที่มีเด็กนักเรียนพม่าศึกษาอยู่ ที่อำเภอตะกั่วป่าในภากใต้ของประเทศไทยทั้งสาม รูปแบบ ดังนี้ 1. โรงเรียนไทย 2. สูนย์การเรียนรู้สำหรับนักเรียนพม่าที่จัดตั้งโดยชาวพม่า 3. สูนย์พัฒนาชุมชนที่จัดตั้งโดยชาวต่างชาติ โดยการวิเคราะห์การเตรียมความพร้อมของโรงเรียนให้แก่นักเรียนพม่าสู่การศึกษาในระบบของประเทศไทยเพื่อที่จะสำเร็จการศึกษา ภาคบังคับในโรงเรียนทั้งสามแบบ

งานวิจัขนี้เป็นเชิงคุณภาพโดยใช้วิธีการสัมภาษณ์กึ่งโครงร่าง ผู้ให้สัมภาษณ์คือ นักเรียนชั้นประถมศึกษาปีที่ 6 ครู โรงเรียนและบุคลากรทางการศึกษา รวมทั้งการสังเกตการจัดการในโรงเรียนและห้องเรียน กรอบ 4As ซึ่งปรับเปลี่ยนให้เข้ากับ บริบทมาเป็นกรอบแนวคิดในการคำเนินการวิจัยและการวิเคราะห์ข้อมูลสิทธิทางการศึกษาในโรงเรียนทั้งสามรูปแบบ

งานวิจัยนี้ก้นพบอุปสรรกในการเข้าสู่การศึกษาในระบบสอดกล้องกับงานวิจัยก่อนหน้า เช่น ความสามารถในการจ่าย เพื่อเข้าถึงบริการทางการศึกษาและการเลือกปฏิบัติ ในอำเภอตะกั่วป่า ที่น่าสนใจกืออุปสรรกที่พบบ่อยกือทัศนกดิของผู้ปกกรองชาว พม่าที่หลายท่านกิดว่าการทำงานเพื่อได้รับการตอบแทนดีกว่าการให้ลูกหลานได้รับการศึกษา การตัดสินใจของผู้ปกกรองจึงลด โอกาสในการเข้ารับการศึกษาที่สูงขึ้นและเข้าสู่ตลาดแรงงานที่ให้ผลตอบแทนสูง

หลักสูตรใหม่ MEII ทำให้นักเรียนย้ายถิ่นชาวพม่ามีโอกาสในการเข้าสู่ระบบการศึกษาในระบบ หลักสูตรนี้สร้างขึ้น เพื่อรองรับมาตรฐานในโรงเรียนสำหรับนักเรียนชาวพม่าและเพื่อประกันคุณภาพการศึกษาซึ่งได้การยอมรับทั้งในประเทศไทยและ พม่า ผลของงานวิจัยก้นพบว่าการประกันคุณภาพทางการศึกษาจะช่วยให้นักเรียนเข้าสู่ระบบทั้งโรงเรียนในระบบและนอกระบบ แต่ ปัญหาที่กวรแก้ไขอย่างเร่งด่วนกือปัญหากวามยากจนของกรอบกรัวชาวพม่าย้ายถิ่นซึ่งมีผลกระทบต่ออทัศนกติต่อการศึกษาที่ดึง ลูกหลานออกจากโรงเรียนก่อนสำเร็จการศึกษาระดับประถม ทั้งนี้กวามสำเร็จของหลักสูตร MEII ขึ้นอยู่กับการที่นักเรียนพม่า สามารถเรียนต่อจนจบการศึกษาภากบังกับได้

งานวิจัชนี้จึงได้ข้อสรุปว่า 1.ควรมีการร่วมมือมากขึ้นกับกระทรวงศึกษาธิการในเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้เพื่อที่จะบรรลุ จุดประสงก์ของหลักสูตร MEII 2. ผู้ปกครองของนักเรียนชาวพม่าควรมีโอกาสมากขึ้นที่จะได้รับข้อมูลเกี่ยวกับทางเลือกต่างๆใน การศึกษาและประโยชน์ของการจบการศึกษาภากบังกับที่มีผลต่อการเข้าสู่ตลาดแรงงานและคุณภาพชีวิตที่ดีขึ้นของลูกหลานของ พวกเขาในอนาคต

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KEYWORDS: EDUCATION / INTEGRATION / THAILAND / MYANMAR / ACCREDITATION / CHILDREN CHARLOTTE ELIZABETH FRASER: EDUCATION OPPORTUNITIES FOR BURMESE MIGRANT STUDENTS IN TAKUA PA DISTRICT. ADVISOR: ASST. PROF. NARUEMON THABCHUMPON, Ph.D., CO-ADVISOR: JERROLD W. HUGUET, 75 pp.

The issue of migrant education is a contested topic in the South East Asian region. The majority of migrant students in Thailand attend non-formal migrant schools which lack a standardised curriculum and cannot offer recognised accreditation, limiting students' options for post-primary education. Integration into the formal system is essential for providing migrant students with higher education opportunities and opportunities for skilled work in the future. Without such opportunities, the struggle to escape poverty in the migrant community will continue.

This research takes three different primary education models available for Burmese students in Takua Pa district, southern Thailand: 1. Thai school, 2. Burmese-run migrant learning centre, 3. Foreign-run community development centre. The research intends to examine the extent to which each model prepares its students for integration into the Thai formal system for completion of compulsory education.

The research conducted was predominantly qualitative, involving semi-structured interviews with Grade 6 Burmese students and school teachers and staff. Observations of school and classroom managements were also made. A modified version of the widely-used 4As Framework which is altered to fit the Burmese migrant context is used to examine the fulfilment of the right to education in each model.

The research found that some of the barriers to the formal system named by previous studies, such affordability and discrimination, did not exist in Takua Pa. Rather, the most significant barrier was the attitudes of migrant parents. Many parents with a short-term view of their lives in Thailand prioritise paid work over their children's education. This means the decisions they make regarding their children's future can deprive them of opportunities for higher education and skilled work.

Opportunities for integration are promised with the new MEII curriculum. The MEII hope to standardise the curricula used in migrant schools and create a system of accreditation recognised by both Thailand and Myanmar. This research found that recognition would facilitate integration between the formal and non-formal systems in each country. However, the more immediate problem of poverty among migrant families means children are pulled out of school to work before completion of primary education. The success of the MEII depends on children being able to continue to the end of compulsory education.

The research concludes the need for more collaboration between the Ministries of Education in the region to achieve the vision of the MEII. Migrant parents need to be better informed about the options for their children's education and the importance of their children completing compulsory education to give them the best opportunities for the future.

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CONTENTS

Page
THAI ABSTRACTiv
ENGLISH ABSTRACT
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTSvi
CONTENTSvi
List of figures1
List of Abbreviations
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION
1.1 Problem Statement
1.2 Research Questions
1.3 Research Objectives
1.4 Research Design
1.5 Research Sites
1.6 Point of Entry
1.7 Research Scope
1.8 Ethics
CHAPTER II UNDERSTANDING CONCEPTS: THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION FOR BURMESE MIGRANT STUDENTS
2.1 Introduction
2.2 Fulfilling the right to education: modifying the 4 As Framework10
2.3 Availability11
2.3.1 Thai Government Schools
2.3.2 Migrant Learning Centres (MLCs)12
2.3.3 Community Development Centres (CDC)12
2.4 Accessibility
2.5 Acceptability
2.6 Adaptability
2.7 "Accredibility"
2.8 Education integration

2.9 Conceptual Framework	Page 14
2.10 Literature Review	
2.10.1 Education as a human right: The rights-based approach to educa	tion 15
2.10.2 Fulfilling the right to education and the 4As Framework	16
2.10.3 Policies for the education of migrant children in Thailand	21
2.10.4 Defining "Quality education"	25
2.10.5 The "School-Learning Gap"	27
2.10.6 Accreditation as a barrier to integration	29
2.10.7 The MEII as an opportunity for integration	29
CHAPTER III UNDERSTANDING EDUCATION FOR MIGRANT	
STUDENTS IN THREE SCHOOLS IN TAKUA PA	
3.1 Introduction	
3.2 Ban Pakweep Thai School	32
3.2.1 Background	
3.2.2 The school	
3.2.3 Funding	
3.2.4 Enrolment process	
3.2.5 Students	
3.2.6 Grade 6	36
3.3 Foundation for Education and Development's Unified Learning Centre	36
3.3.1 Background	36
3.3.2 The school	37
3.3.3 Funding	
3.3.4 Registration status	
3.3.5 Students	
3.3.6 Grade 6	
3.4 New Light Foundation's Community Development Centre Ban Nam K	em40
3.4.1 Background	40
3.4.2 The school	41

	Page
3.4.3 Funding	41
3.4.6 Students	
3.4.7 Grade 6	
3.5 Conclusion	
CHAPTER IV FULFILLING THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION FOR MIGR.	
STUDENTS	46
4.1 Introduction	46
4.2 Availability	
4.3 Accessibility	
4.4 Acceptability	
4.5 Adaptability	
4.6 "Accredibility"	56
4.7 Barriers to fulfilment	
4.8 Conclusion	
CHAPTER V CONCLUSION	
5.1 Summary of findings	
5.1.1 Available	
5.1.2 Accessible	
5.1.3 Acceptable	64
5.1.4 Adaptable	64
5.1.5 Accredited	65
5.2 Response to the Research Question	65
5.2.1 Ban Pakweep	65
5.2.2 FED ULC	66
5.2.3 CDC Ban Nam Kem	66
5.3 Opportunities	67
5.4 Summary of Key Findings	
5.5 Conclusion	
5.6 Recommendations	71

5.7 Future Research	Page
REFERENCES	
List of Interviewees	75
VITA	76



จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย Chulalongkorn University

List of figures

Figure 1: Takua Pa location map	8
Figure 2: Research site location map	8
Figure 3: 4As Framework from <u>https://educationaroundtheworld.wordpress.c</u>	<u>20m/</u> 10
Figure 4: Modified 4As Framework	11
Figure 5: Overall Conceptual Framework	13
Figure 6: Ban Pakweep location map	
Figure 7: Ban Pakweep student numbers 2015-16	
Figure 8: Ban Pakweep male/female student ratio	35
Figure 9: Ban Pakweep student nationality ratio	35
Figure 10: Ban Pakweep Grade 6 timetable	
Figure 11: ULC location map	
Figure 12: ULC student numbers 2015-16	
Figure 13: ULC male/female student ratio	
Figure 14: ULC Grade 6 timetable	40
Figure 15: CDC location map	40
Figure 16: CDC student numbers 2015-16	42
Figure 17: CDC male/female student ratio	43
Figure 18: CDC Grade 6 timetable	43
Figure 19: MEII Grade 6 timetable	56

List of Abbreviations

BCC	Basic Core Curriculum		
BEAM	Bridging Educational Access to Migrants (Foundation)		
CDC	Community Development Centre		
CESR	Comprehensive Education Sector Review		
CGD	Centre for Global Development		
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child		
EFA	Education For All		
FED	Foundation for Education and Development		
GVI	Global Volunteers International		
HDR	Human Development Report		
IOM	International Organisation for Migration		
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour		
MEII	Migrant Education Integration Initiative		
MLC	Migrant Learning Centre		
MoE	Ministry of Education		
NEA	National Education Act And ANNERSITY		
NNER	National Network for Educational Reform		
NPA	National Plan of Action		
ONESQA	Office for National Education Standards and Quality Assessment		
ULC	Unified Learning Centre		
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme		
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization		
UPE	Universal Primary Education		

CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problem Statement

Access to education is a fundamental human right that should be enjoyed by all, regardless of nationality, ethnicity, religion, or otherwise. For Burmese migrant children in Thailand however, education isn't always as accessible as it could and should be, resulting in a major underrepresentation of Burmese students in Thailand's educational statistics. Several options for schooling exist for migrant students yet still considering the high numbers of Burmese migrants estimated to be in the country, numbers of Burmese students in school, both formal and non-formal, is low. Barriers to the formal education system has resulted in the establishing of non-formal education institutes such as Migrant Learning Centres (MLCs) around the country to provide migrant students with basic education. According to recent statistics from the 2014 Thailand Migrant Report, there are an estimated 778,258 migrant workers from Myanmar working all over Thailand (United Nations Thematic Working Group on Migration in Thailand, 2014, p. 3). This amounts to approximately 86% of the total migrant workforce. However these figures only account for those migrant workers holding work permits; more accurate figures to include undocumented migrants are unknown but estimated to be up to two or three times this figure. With these speculated numbers in mind, it has been estimates that there are around 400,000 migrant children under 18 in Thailand (Shirley Worland, 2014, p. 1). Figures from the most recent Thailand Migration Report show a total enrolment of migrant students (under 18) in Thai schools to be a mere 49,677 (United Nations Thematic Working Group on Migration in Thailand, 2014, p. 51). The 2011 Migration Report estimates less than 20% of the total migrant student population are represented in educational statistics (Aree Jampakay, 2011, p. 97), meaning this year's figure of migrant students in Thai schools amounts to 12.5% of the total. The remaining number either receive education from MLCs, or receive no education at all.

MLCs are recognised as education providers by the Thai authorities, but are unable to offer a standardised curriculum and legitimate accreditation. Without accreditation recognised by the MOE in Thailand and Myanmar, students may find themselves unable to access the formal system to continue their education beyond primary level in either country. Since many MLCs are only able to provide primary education, students who receive non-formal certification may find the formal system inaccessible for completion of the final 3 years of compulsory education. Faced with no options for continuing schooling, many students have no choice but to start work. Dropping out of school having completed only basic education makes it extremely difficult for these young adults to find skilled work. Instead, they are forced to continue in the same unskilled jobs as their parents, limiting their chances of improving their economic situations in the future. Considering the low enrolment in Thai schools, MLCs are an incredibly important provider of education for migrant communities in Thailand. Were integration into the formal system more possible, there might be the chance for migrant students to earn higher education and go on to skilled work, widening their future opportunities. Being enrolled in the formal education system also gives the opportunity of social security, to access services such as healthcare. This is incredibly important for migrants who may otherwise be unable to receive medical attention otherwise. While the benefits of integration are strong, the cases of successful integration are low.

One of the largest Burmese migrant populations can be found in Takua Pa district of Phang Nga province in the south of Thailand, which lies just south of the Kawthaung/Ranong border with Myanmar. There are an estimated 15-20,000 migrant workers in the district and the primary area of work for unskilled workers is rubber plantations, with numbers also working in the fishing industry, construction, and the hospitality industry (VSO, 2013, p. 19). Rubber plantations in particular create a unique problem when it comes to accessing education as the remote geographic locations of plantations often mean that children are unable to access education due to distance and lack of transportation to schools, both formal and non-formal. In the entire 600km² district there are only two migrant schools, both of which are included in this study. This significantly limits the options for schooling for migrant students in the district. As neither of these schools has the budget or resources to be able to register with the Thai MOE, they are unable to offer recognised certification upon graduation. Students therefore may struggle to access post-primary education in the formal system.

In an attempt to address this issue, a new initiative called the Migrant Education Integration Initiative hopes provide a solution by designing a standardised curriculum that can be used in all non-formal migrant education providers in Thailand. This will enable the creation of a standardised test, ensuring the quality of graduates from nonformal institutions to be of equal level as their formal counterparts. Networking with the MOE Thailand and Myanmar hopes to ensure that the MEII accreditation is recognised by the formal system to enable integration at any level in either country. If implementation of the Initiative is successful, there should see a rise in numbers of Burmese students pursuing secondary education.

While the parents of migrant students in Takua Pa may be eager to send their child to primary school, their attitudes change when the child reaches the age of 13 or 14 and they are able to start work. With limited options for secondary education, many migrant students are not given the opportunity to complete their compulsory education. Integration into the formal system is an option for secondary education for migrant students in Takua Pa that is not being utilised sufficiently. In preparation for integration into the formal system for secondary education, primary schooling needs to be compatible. This paper takes three examples of migrant education models in Takua Pa. In each model, the right to education is used to examine the extent to which each model prepares its students for integration into the Thai formal system for completion of compulsory education is examined.

Main question:				
How do the three different models for primary migrant education in Takua Pa				
district fulfil the right to education for Burmese migrant students?				
Sub-questions:				
Available	Accessible	Acceptable	Adaptable	Accredited
What	What are	What subjects	How are the	What mechanisms
schooling	the student	are taught?	non-formal	are in place for
options	numbers	How many	school	transferring into
are	and dropout	hours per	curricula	the formal
available	trends in	week?	compatible/no	system?
for	each		t with the	
migrant	model?		formal	
students			systems in	
in Takua			Thailand and	
Pa?			Myanmar?	

1.2 Research Questions

How far do students have to travel to school? What means of transportati on are available?	What are the teachers' qualifications ?	How might implementation of the MEII in non- formal schools effect integration of migrant students into the formal system?
What additional costs are incurred by parents, beyond tuition?	What are the student demographics and are the needs of different groups being met?	How does each model prepare students for continuation/integ ration into the formal system for completion of compulsory education in Thailand?

1.3 Research Objectives

This thesis aims to examine the unique challenges faced by Burmese migrant students in integrating into the formal education system for the completion of compulsory education at the lower-secondary level in Thailand, enabling them to fulfil their right to education. It will look at the three different models for migrant education in Takua Pa district 1. Thai school, 2. Burmese migrant learning centre and 3. Thai/Burmese community development centre. Each model follows a different curriculum and employs different teaching methods which this thesis will identify, compare and analyse how compatible the non-formal models are with the formal system for the final year of primary education. To examine the extent to which each model prepares its students for integration into the formal system, this thesis will compare data on student numbers, dropout trends and methods of monitoring and evaluation. Using the data collected, this thesis aims to discover the barriers and opportunities that migrant students face in each model to evaluate the potential of each model in preparing students for integration into the formal system for lower-secondary education.

1.4 Research Design

The research conducted in this study was predominantly qualitative. It involved semi-structured, face-to-face interviews and observations of teaching and classroom management, and the day-to-day running of all three schools. Key informants were the Burmese Grade 6 students in each school, school directors and other school staff as recommended during initial interviews with school directors. A representative from the MEII committee was also interviewed. Quantitative research was also necessary for student numbers, drop out rates and ratios of boys and girls. During data collection the conceptual framework was used to ensure the research question was being answered and each component of the framework was systematically analysed. The total duration of a week was spent at each site and data was collected in the period of 11th – 29th May 2015. Data collection and analysis were conducted simultaneously. Interviews were transcribed and field notes written up on a daily basis to ensure all details were recorded with as much detail as possible.

Interviews with the students followed the same structure in each school to make it easier for translation and less intimidating for the students. A Thai-English-Burmese-Dawei translator was used in most interviews. According to the preference of the students, student interviews were conducted in Dawei language at the CDC and Burmese at Pakweep and ULC. Interviews with school staff and teachers were kept more flexible to allow for expansion on points that came up when deemed necessary. Interviews with school staff and teachers were conducted in either English, Thai or Burmese, depending on the preference and language skills of the interviewee and an interpreter was used when required.

1.5 Research Sites

The three research sites were located in Takua Pa district of Phang Nga province, southern Thailand.

- 1. Ban Pakweep Thai School, Pakweep,
- 2. FED United Learning Centre, Thonkamin
- 3. Ban Nam Kem Community Development Centre, Ban Nam Kem



Figure 1: Takua Pa location map



Figure 2: Research site location map

1.6 Point of Entry

With the assistance of connections in the area the researcher was able to make contact with participants at the CDC and ULC via email prior to the fieldwork period and prior consent was granted for research to be conducted at these sites. Contacts at the ULC informed the researcher of their relationship with Pakweep School and was told that this was the school with the highest enrolment of Burmese students in the area. Upon arrival in Phang Nga the researcher visited Pakweep to seek permission to conduct research there and it was granted.

1.7 Research Scope

Data collection was restricted to the above three schools. Based on recommendations made by the school directors, teachers and school staff interviewed were selected primarily according to their experience and knowledge on the migrant education situation. Students interviewed in each school were all the Burmese students in Grade 6. Due to the limited time allocated for fieldwork, data collection had to be limited and were more time available, the researcher would have included the parents of the students in the study to hear their views on their children's education. Fortunately the closeness of the Burmese community meant that the Burmese teachers at the ULC and CDC are were able to give a fairly accurate comments on the views the parents. Both migrant schools have outreach programmes which go into the community to talk to the parents about schooling options for their children and many of the views expressed by parents to the teachers in these visits were passed onto me in the interviews.

This study was only able to include success cases in migrant education, since the students who were interviewed were those who were currently enrolled in schools. Any students who have been forced to drop out were not accessible as their whereabouts was unknown. This is partly due to a lack of up-to-date database in the area for children of school age and students enrolled in schools in the district. Without accurate numbers it is hard to know what percentage of children in the area are in schools, and what those who are not in school are doing instead. Interviews with students who have been made to drop out could have offered different information about the access the education in the area.

Further limitations came with physical accessibility to some of the big migrant communities in Takua Pa. Many migrant children live on remote plantations which were inaccessible during fieldwork. Therefore their unique issues with accessing schooling could not be portrayed in this study.

1.8 Ethics

All interviews and recordings were conducted with full consent of interviewees. All interviewees were informed of the researcher's intent and objectives and it was explained prior to the interview that all information given during interviews would be used for academic purposes only. Due to the young age of the student participants of this study, names of students have not been given.

CHAPTER II UNDERSTANDING CONCEPTS: THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION FOR BURMESE MIGRANT STUDENTS 2.1 Introduction

The concepts key to this thesis surround the issue of the right to education for Burmese migrant students. This thesis takes a standard framework commonly used by educators and development workers which looks at the availability, accessibility, acceptability and adaptability of education to evaluate levels of fulfilment of the right to education. This framework however requires modifications to fit the specific context of this thesis. This thesis will used the modified framework throughout as a reference point to evaluate the right to education for the students involved in this study. Two further concepts of education integration and education for human security are included as these concepts are particularly relevant to the Burmese migrant community in Thailand.

2.2 Fulfilling the right to education: modifying the 4 As Framework

The broad concept of migrant education requires a look at the right to education. This thesis uses the Right to Education Project's 4As framework to measure the extent to which Burmese students are able to access basic education in the three schooling models. The 4As Framework is as follows:

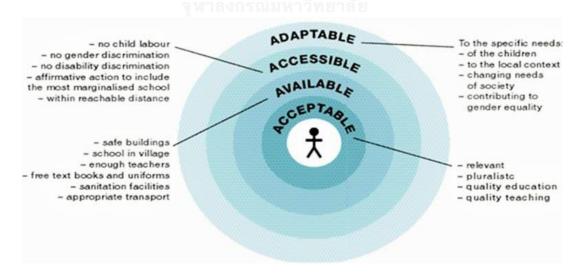


Figure 3: 4As Framework from https://educationaroundtheworld.wordpress.com/

The framework is a template which is used globally to evaluate the right to education in any context. The following Literature Review details each individual component of the 4As Framework within the Thai context. However, this thesis requires more specificity to our local context in order for the framework to be most beneficial. This thesis will therefore use the below modified version of the 4As Framework to make it most relevant to the context of Burmese migrant students in Thailand. The modified version of the framework adds a fifth component:

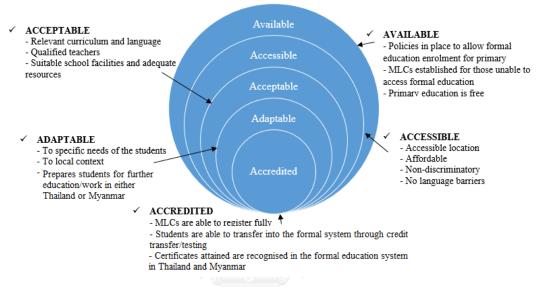


Figure 4: Modified 4As Framework

2.3 Availability

According to the modified 4As Framework, for education to be available there must be adequate policies in place which provide migrant children with free, compulsory education equal to Thai students. Options for non-formal students should be made available for those unable to access the formal system. This thesis looks at three different models that have been made available to migrant students in Takua Pa district, one formal school and two non-formal.

2.3.1 Thai Government Schools

In response to obligations to the Education For All campaign in which they are involved, the Thai government has adopted policies to widen access to the Thai formal education system for Burmese students. Migrant students are entitled to enrol in Thai schools up to the age of 15 but despite this the numerous barriers that exist for migrant students in accessing Thai schools mean numbers of Burmese students in Thai schools remain lows. Despite the various challenges for both students and school staff, many schools around the country, including Ban Pakweep School used in this study, are dedicated to doing all they can to ensure Thai schools are accessible to the migrant community.

2.3.2 Migrant Learning Centres (MLCs)

As a way to provide for the large migrant student population MLCs are established around the country. These schools are considered "non-formal education" institutions and are legalised in the Promotion of Non-Formal and Informal Education Act, B.E. 2551. These centres have a vulnerable, semi-legal status whereby they are recognised by the Thai MOE but are not fully registered schools. MLCs have differing curricula and as a result they are unable to offer recognised certification, as they are considered incompatible with the Thai formal accreditation system. This study uses the Unified Learning Centre (ULC), a school run by Burmese human rights Foundation for Education and Development (FED) in Khuk Khak as an example of a MLC.

2.3.3 Community Development Centres (CDC)

Community Development Centres function in a similar way to MLCs and also fall under the non-formal education category. The example of a CDC in this study is the Ban Nam Kem CDC in Ban Nam Kem which was set up to provide for the those affected by the 2004 tsunami which destroyed much of the Ban Nam Khem area.

2.4 Accessibility

This component deals with more practical problems with accessing education such as school locations and costs. Schools must be within close distance for students to travel there and back. If schools are too far to walk, other transportation options must be available which the parents feel comfortable with. According to government policy, tuition should be free. For low-income migrant families it is often the additional costs such as transportation to and from school, books, uniforms and school meals that add up to make school unaffordable and inaccessible. Costs therefore should be kept to a minimum to ensure that families can afford it. An additional factor that can make schools inaccessible is the potential discrimination that migrant students might face. Parents of migrant children may fear their children will be treated differently from other students by teachers, effecting the education they receive. Finally, schools must ensure that the language needs of its students are met. This is particularly relevant for Burmese migrants who have a diverse range of ethnicities and languages.

2.5 Acceptability

The irrelevancy of the Thai school curriculum is often named as a barrier for Burmese students. Many migrant parents do not believe that learning Thai history, culture and morals will prepare their child adequately, especially if they intend to return to Myanmar. For students who cannot speak Thai, language barriers can make education unacceptable if they are unable to contribute in class. Low school budgets can also mean schools lack sufficient facilities and resources. Overcrowded classrooms and insufficient books and learning materials would make education unacceptable. Many migrant learning centres are unable to afford qualified teachers and classes are run by community members or even older students. This can mean that the quality of education delivered cannot be considered acceptable enough to fulfil the right to education.

2.6 Adaptability

This component is particularly relevant in the case of migrant students. Migrant parents must go whenever they can find work and their children must follow. This means instability in the child's education is inevitable. In order to have the least negative impact on the child's overall development as a result of moving schools, education they receive in any school should be specific to the individual student and to the local context and should prepare the student for life in either Thailand or Myanmar. Perhaps the most important preparation for migrant students is language instruction. Students need adequate instruction in Burmese and Thai in order to survive in each country but also important, particularly for the students in this study, is English language skills. Strong English skills will enable them to find better paid work in the hospitality or tourist industry, rather than in construction or plantations.

2.7 "Accredibility"

Before the right to education for Burmese migrant students can be fulfilled, this thesis deems it necessary to include Accreditation as an additional, vital component. One major barrier preventing integration into the formal system, and to further education, is the lack of accreditation offered by non-formal establishments. Therefore in order for the right to education to be fulfilled completely, certification that is recognised as equal to that of the formal system by education bodies in Thailand and Myanmar needs to be offered.

2.8 Education integration

Having ensured the components of the modified 4As framework are satisfied, integration should available as an option. However, for migrant students who receive primary education from non-formal establishments, the transition from non-formal primary to formal lower-secondary education can be problematic. While Thai law prescribes free and compulsory education for all students up to age 15, many MLCs only provide primary education. With secondary education at Thai schools being difficult to access due to accreditation issues, there is a barrier to students in the last 3 years of compulsory education. For this reason, particular attention should be given to providing for these ages. The MEII holds a potential solution to this in their end goal of "recognition, accreditation, and integration of the migrant education system with existing education systems in both Myanmar and Thailand"(MEII, 2013, p. 1). If this vision is realised, students who graduate from non-formal primary education should be able to move onto any institution, whether formal or informal, to complete their basic education up to age 15. This would not only improve the level of education among the migrant community but also has the potential to lower the rates of child labour, with students being able to continue studying rather than having no option but to work.

2.9 Conceptual Framework

The framework below details the concepts relevant to this thesis. The assumption is that if all 5As in the modified framework are satisfied, students will have the opportunity to integrate into the Thai formal system after Grade 6 in order to complete the final 3 years of compulsory education to fulfil their right to education.

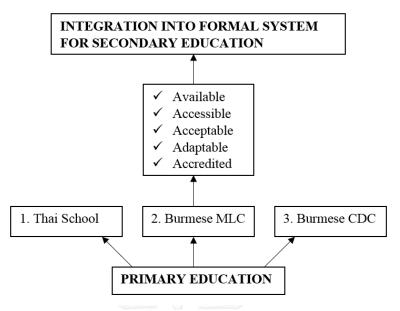


Figure 5: Conceptual Framework

2.10 Literature Review

The Literature Review is separated into the following themes: education as a human right, education for human security, fulfilling the right to education and the 4As Framework, policies for the education of migrant children in Thailand, defining "quality education" and the "school-learning gap", and integration as a barrier to fulfilling the right to education.

2.10.1 Education as a human right: The rights-based approach to education

As ratified parties to key human rights treaties, Thailand has an obligation to comply with international law in ensuring the right to education for all is met. As specified in Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, "Everyone has the right to education."(UN General Assembly, 1948). Furthermore, "Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms."(UN General Assembly, 1948). As a ratified party to the CRC, Thailand is also obliged to "Make primary education compulsory and available free to all"(UN General Assembly, 1990), which the Thai government has satisfied in their policies for migrant education. The CRC expands on the idea of full development, stating education must be aimed at "the development of the child's personality, talents and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential"(UN General Assembly, 1990). Joachim Theis asserts that "Rights-based education recognises children as subjects of rights."(Joachim Theis, 2004, p. 28). With minority groups such as migrant children, their vulnerable legal status means responsibility for ensuring these rights are met is often not taken. Mary Austin emphasises the need for "rights-based discourse as a means of empowering and challenging officials, teachers, parents and children at a local level, and taking rights violations to court, all constitute potentially powerful levers to bring about change in migration policy and practice."(Mary Austin, 2012, p. 408). Rights-based discourse requires the focus to be on an individual level, ensuring the individual student is able to fulfil their right. In order to develop at their full potential, and for the right to education fulfilled, consideration must be given for the child's individual needs.

The CRC further stipulates that education "shall conform to such minimum standards as may be laid down by the State."(UN General Assembly, 1990). These minimum standards are those laid down by the ONESQA (see "Defining quality education"). Oftentimes MLCs are unable to meet these standards because "there are requirements in school curricula, school organization, minimum resources, teaching methods, which are difficult for migrant community-based schools to follow and meet."(BEAM Foundation, 2012, p. 2). In order for successful integration from nonformal to formal education to be a possibility, the standards of the non-formal institutions needs to match the formal equivalent. The objective of the MEII is to standardise the curriculum used in MLCs, improve access to resources and provide teacher training in order to meet the standards of ONESQA so that the right to education may be realised. The curriculum is being design based on comprehensive needsanalysis. Meeting the specific needs of the migrant students should result in an improvement in the standard of education delivered by non-formal institutions to bring them up to the level of the formal system and increase the recognition of the education that such informal schools provide, making it easier for graduates from these schools to continue their education in other establishments.

2.10.2 Fulfilling the right to education and the 4As Framework

The extent to which Thailand is successfully translating their governmental obligations from international law into practice in this thesis will be measured using a modified version of the 4As framework (see Conceptual Framework). The 4As

Framework comes from the Right to Education Project which is a collaborative project first launched in 2000 by Katarina Tomaševski, UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education, and re-launched in 2008 with the support of various rights institutions such as Action Aid, Amnesty International, Save the Children and Human Rights Watch. The project uses the framework as a way to measure the extent to which the right to education is met by assessing how "available, accessible, acceptable and adaptable"(Katarina Tomaševski, 2001, p. 13) it is. In order to fit the context of this research, the framework is modified. To apply the 4As to the context of this thesis it can be seen that attempts to make primary education available and accessible have been made by the Thai government through changes to policy and legislation which permit migrant students under 15 to enrol in Thai state schools, and by recognising MLCs as providers of non-formal education. However, according to the IOM's Migrant Report for Thailand, in 2011 there were an estimated 376,845 migrant students in the country (Aree Jampakay, 2011, p. 97) but less than 20% of these students are represented in Thailand's educational statistics, with 11% studying in Thai schools and 9% in community-based schools or learning centres (Shirley Worland, 2014, pp. 1-2). While the Thai government's policies may succeed in making education available on paper, the low student numbers in reality serve as evidence to show that barriers still exist.

Problems with access to formal education despite its legal availability could be down in part to the translation of international obligations into the policies. Thailand's main education policy is embodied in the 1999 National Education Act. The wording of the NEA however creates some ambiguity as to who it is aimed at, which puts migrant students at risk of being excluded. Despite the supposed non-discriminatory basis of education in the country it is made clear in the Act that its intention is to "further development of the Thai people" (Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 3). Section 6 of the Act states "Education shall aim at the full development of the Thai people in all aspects: physical and mental health; intellect; knowledge; morality; integrity; and desirable way of life so as to be able to live in harmony with other people" (Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 7). Interestingly, Section 10 presents a slight contradiction saying "In the provision of education provided by the State for the duration of at least 12 years. Such education, provided on a nationwide basis, shall be of quality and free of charge."(Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 8). Confusion about precisely who the NEA applies to makes it unclear whether this extends to migrant students or not and presents a degree of ambiguity when considering Thailand's involvement with EFA. This creates room for individual interpretation which schools could use as an excuse not to accept migrant students. Despite growing concerns for the education of migrants in the country, this problem of ambiguity is not addressed in the amended 2008 Basic Core Curriculum, used throughout the current formal education system, which stipulates that "basic education (is) to be provided to all Thai children"(Ministry of Education, 2008a)

accept migrant students. Despite growing concerns for the education of migrants in the country, this problem of ambiguity is not addressed in the amended 2008 Basic Core Curriculum, used throughout the current formal education system, which stipulates that "basic education (is) to be provided to all Thai children" (Ministry of Education, 2008a). Furthermore, the BCC preface states that "Teaching-learning activities organised for all Thai children and youths at basic education level are aimed at enhancing learners' quality regarding essential knowledge and skills required for their lives in an everchanging society" (Ministry of Education, 2008a, p. 3). It goes on to state its aim as "at enhancing capacity of all learners, who constitute the major force of the country... They will fully realise their commitment and responsibilities as Thai citizens as well as members of the world community" (Ministry of Education, 2008a, p. 4). It would seem that while Thai policies are responding to pressure to provide education for all, the predominant formal education legislature is forthcoming with promoting "pride in Thai identity" (Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 7) through knowledge of "Thai society", "Thai wisdom" and "Thai language" (Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 14). The problem here is not with the wording itself, but with how the parents of migrant students and the individual schools interpret this wording. While the formal education system may be open to migrants, it is so only at the expense of their national identity, culture and language. In many cases, this is a price that migrant parents are not willing to pay which renders the formal education system inaccessible for migrant students.

Issues with accessibility further create challenges for migrant students accessing the formal system. A study conducted in Samut Sakhon province in 2006 discovered several barriers to accessibility, acceptability and adaptability. This found that out of a total of approximately 5000 migrant students, 900 were in formal education and 400 in informal education(Zeya Thu, 2006, p. 40). This means "the proportion of children getting access to education in Samut Sakhon is roughly estimated to be around 26 percent: 18 for Thai schools and 8 for migrant schools."(Zeya Thu, 2006, p. 40). One reason for such low enrolment in the formal system could, according to the 4As framework, "be subsumed under 'affordability" (Katarina Tomaševski, 2001, p. 13). While migrant students are entitled to free compulsory education, additional costs beyond tuition such as "school entrance fees or donations, uniforms, books, stationery and transportation costs" (Zeya Thu, 2006, p. 49) may make it unaffordable for a lowincome migrant families. One informant in the study said the formal system "will cost three thousand per child (per year)"(Zeya Thu, 2006, p. 49), which is a "massive burden on the family" (Zeya Thu, 2006, p. 49). A similar study conducted in the same province also found affordability to be a major barrier to migrant education. In this case, the cost of sending a child to school was found to be more than the potential wage that the child could earn working with their parents. This study looked at migrant student numbers in the total 140 Thai schools in the province and it discovered that only 21 schools out of the total had 10 or more migrant students(Kamonwan Petchot, 2014, p. 34). It was found that the cost of sending a child to school each month was "at least 300 Baht for their lunch and at least 500 Baht for transportation while average monthly income of a worker in seafood processing factories is about 2,000 Baht"(Kamonwan Petchot, 2014, p. 32) making it virtually unaffordable. The geographic location of many migrant communities may make formal schools physically inaccessible. Children of migrant workers who work on remote rubber plantations or fishing villages may not be able to get transportation to school. The first study in Samut Sakhon found that "some parents hire moto taxis to take their children to school, but some parents may not afford it. Some parents may be worried about their children's safety when riding a motorbike"(Zeya Thu, 2006, p. 58). Parents who are concerned about financial cost or their child's safety chose not to send their child to formal school. Again, when considering school costs vs. wage potential parents may choose to take their child to work with them. In this respect, it is the migrant parents themselves who create a barrier.

Acceptable in the 4As framework puts the emphasis on the quality of education rather than quantity of students, "urging governments to ensure that education which is available and accessible is of good quality."(Katarina Tomaševski, 2001, p. 13) A preoccupation with meeting targets such as the UN's Millennium Development Goal of universal primary education often means that quality is sacrificed. Migrant learning centres struggle with "overcrowding, limited financial and human resources impacting on basics such as teaching personnel, educational materials, food and

sanitation"(Shirley Worland, 2014, p. 2). This results in education being delivered, but education that is often of significantly lower quality than should be available. For those migrant children studying in Thai school, the relevance of the education they receive may deem it unacceptable according to the 4As framework. The curriculum in Thai schools educates about Thai history, Thai culture, Thai values and, perhaps most problematically, is taught in Thai language. Migrant students who attend Thai school may find themselves either unable to contribute in class due to lack of understanding of the Thai language, or find the content is not relevant to them. The result is a low quality of education which produces a "schooling-learning gap" (Rukmini Banerji Lant Pritchett, Charles Kenny, 2013, p. 5). In his work for the Centre of Global Development, Lant Pritchett attempts to identify the gap between schooling and learning by addressing the differences in the goals of each, saying "Schooling goals like enrolment or completion crept in to replace actual learning goals because they were easier to track."(Amanda Beatty Lant Pritchett, 2012, p. 2). It is here that the gap started to form as assumptions "that if kids attended, teachers would teach, children would learn, and more schooling would produce more learning"(Amanda Beatty Lant Pritchett, 2012, p. 2) were not being actualised. The gap is said by the Centre for Global Development (Rukmini Banerji Lant Pritchett, Charles Kenny, 2013) to be a "systematic issue" (Rukmini Banerji Lant Pritchett, Charles Kenny, 2013, p. 8). The paper identifies that "Schools are needed, as are teaching materials, utility services, and other inputs. Students must be present, motivated, and able to learn. Teachers must be present, motivated, and able to instruct."(Rukmini Banerji Lant Pritchett, Charles Kenny, 2013, p. 8). These are the basic systematic prerequisites that must be present in order for learning to take place. For Burmese students in Thai schools, these basic prerequisites may not be met due to language barriers, discrimination by teachers against migrant students or irrelevant curriculum content. It is not enough to say that children are learning if they are attending school. Schools must have systems in place to ensure that the specific needs of migrant students are considered. The unacceptability of education provided for migrant children stands in the way of them receiving quality education to satisfy their right.

The 4As framework describes the final component Adaptability as being "best conceptualized through the many court cases addressing the right to education of

children with disabilities." In the context of this research, it is migrant children whose needs must be addressed. The main focus here is on meeting the specific needs of the individual student, which may be the most challenging aspect of all. Described by Tomaševski as an "immense" (Katarina Tomaševski, 2001, p. 31) challenge, she describes the necessity for education systems to be able to "adapt to each individual child, against the historical heritage of excluding all the children who were deemed not to be able to adapt to the system of education as it was." (Katarina Tomaševski, 2001, p. 31). Here we find problems with adaptability of the Thai curriculum to the migrant children. The nature of migrant work means children may need to return to Myanmar with their parents in the future. The study in Samut Sakhon found even if migrant students were able to enrol in Thai schools, parents "do not put their children in Thai schools because they will return to Myanmar. And they may think or argue that knowledge of Thai language and education will not be useful in Myanmar."(Zeya Thu, 2006, p. 46). The educational needs of migrant students may be different to their Thai classmates, beyond differences in language. For example, migrant students who may have faced human rights violations such as trafficking, child labour and other exploitations, education on human rights could be considered an essential component of their schooling. While migrant learning centres have the flexibility to include this in their curriculums, the same cannot be said for Thai schools. Adaptable education focuses on meeting the specific needs of the individual student within the local context. The most important need for migrant students is the need for education to fully prepare them for future integration into either the Thai or Myanmar formal systems. MLCs therefore need to prepare students in Thai and Burmese language and the curricula must be compatible with the Thai and Burmese curricula to facilitate integration.

2.10.3 Policies for the education of migrant children in Thailand

Thailand's increasing obligations to improve access to education for migrant students has led to significant changes in policy and attitudes over the past few decades. Basic education policy in Thailand was designed in response to governmental obligations to comply with human rights treaties and international law as well as Millennium Development Goals and UNESCO's Education for All. The MDGs and Education for All goals make commitment to international laws more tangible by, focusing involved governments on "Ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly

girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to, and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality."(UNESCO). Despite changes in law to permit migrant children under the age of 15 to join Thai state schools, significant barriers to formal education still exist. Schools often cite a lack of documentation as a reason to deny a migrant student, but since international obligations do not differentiate between regular and irregular migrants, formal education should be available to all regardless of their immigration status. In an attempt to fill the gaps between formal education policy and migrant education the Thai government revised policies to include the Cabinet Resolution on Education for Unregistered Persons (2005) and the Ministerial Regulation to provide education to children without requirement of evidence for legal status or Thai citizenship (2005) which provides the right to education for all children at all levels regardless of their legal status. This permits the enrolment of all migrant children into any school certified by the Thai Ministry of Education. In addition, the Ministry of Education Regulation on Proof of Admission of Students into Educational Institutes (2004) compels all educational institutes to accept any child of school age.

However, though schools may in principle be willing to accept migrant students the enrolment procedures often present complications. In order to enrol in Thai school, an ID number is required so that children can be entered into the school system to be given a Thai student card and become eligible for social security. For many children of migrant families, the required documentation is incomplete or non-existent as parents of children who are born in Thailand may not register their births. The Thai government policies are widely considered to be "crucial in articulating and establishing the right to education for children, including migrant children, who might be stateless and lack proper documentation such as birth certificates or passports."(Mary Austin, 2012, p. 411) and adequate fulfilment could see the inclusion of migrant children who had previously been excluded from education due to a lack of documentation. The problem with documentation is one particularly relevant to the context of migrant education. Due to problems in Myanmar with political instability, poverty and conflict children born in rural communities are often not given birth certificates and have no documentation. This becomes problematic when these children find themselves in Thailand trying to enrol in Thai schools who require certain documentation for the

students to be enrolled. For those children who are born in Thailand to migrant parents, their births may not be officially registered with the Thai authorities often because the births did not happen in a hospital due to the parent's lack of access to the healthcare system. To try to address the problem with school enrolment procedures for migrant students, the Thai government revised policies in 2005 to include the Cabinet Resolution on Education for Unregistered Persons and the Ministerial Regulation to provide education to children without requirement of evidence for legal status or Thai citizenship. Both policies allow non-Thai students, non-registered migrants included, to access the Thai education system by relaxing the regulations on what documentation is required for enrolment. For those irregular migrants who may not have documentation, the new regulations permit migrant students to present "birth certificates or letters of certification of birth, or other proof issued by government authorities, or documents which are accepted by the Ministry of Education"(IPEC, 2014, p. 9). If they are unable to present these documents, personal history records can be presented or interviews held instead as form of verification. Passing of this regulation should mean that schools are able to be more flexible with migrant student enrolment. A recent study of the migrant communities in Chiang Mai and Mae Sot has confirmed this, finding that "eight times the number of migrant and stateless children attend school in some districts as did so before 2005"(United Nations Thematic Working Group on Migration in Thailand, 2014, p. 49). The study also points out however that there is still work to be done as this number is "still likely to be less than 50 percent of the total number of children". One possible explanation for this problem with policy being realised could be the complex issue of school funding, which acts as a deterrent for Thai schools accepting undocumented migrant students, or those going through the documentation process. The Education For All goals stipulate that "by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to, and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality."(UNESCO). While this may have been achieved through policy changes and a national level, realisation at a local level faces challenges with the public school funding system that are perhaps not recognised by policy makers. As detailed in the National Education Act, government schools are funded on the following basis: "Distribution of general subsidies for per head expenditure commensurate with

the needs of those receiving compulsory and basic education provided by the State and the private sector."(Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 20). Funding on a per-student basis is problematic when migrant students attempt to enrol, as the case seems to be that "budget per head for migrant students is non-existent"(Zeya Thu, 2006, p. 61). This was found to be a particular problem for migrant children in both studies in Samut Sakhorn, which found that "since migrant children do not have the documents that are necessary to request funds for students, they are not eligible for funds provided by the government"(Zeya Thu, 2006, p. 60). Likewise, "schools cannot receive budget from government for children who are without document; therefore the school will have to bear the extra burden of taking on migrant children who have no documents."(Kamonwan Petchot, 2014, p. 11). Since the process for obtaining documentation is extremely time consuming, Thai schools may simply refuse enrolment of migrant students so that they can "spend money on Thai children only."(Zeya Thu, 2006, p. 60).

For those students who are still unable to access education, there are options for non-formal education. To fulfil commitments to international law in satisfying the right to education, the government is required "to permit the establishment of educational institutions by non-state actors" (Katarina Tomaševski, 2001, p. 13). Thailand therefore permits the establishment of MLCs to provide basic education. These centres come under the category of "non-formal education" and are legalised in the Promotion of Non-Formal and Informal Education Act, B.E. 2551 as;

"Educational activities which have clear target groups of service users and educational objectives, forms, curricula, methods of provision and course or training durations which are flexible and diverse according to the needs and learning aptitudes of such target groups" (Ministry of Education, 2008b, p. 1)

This being said, the legal status of MLCs is said to be "quasi-legal"(Shirley Worland, 2014, p. 2), since while they are recognised, they are unable to formally register as education bodies or provide any formal accreditation due to generally low standards of education as a result of insufficient funding and resources. This lack of recognised accreditation creates a barrier to students who want to further their education or find skilled employment in either Thailand or Myanmar and prevents migrant students from accessing education as equals with Thai students. At this point, it is

necessary to examine the meaning of "low standards" by looking at the definition of "quality education".

2.10.4 Defining "Quality education"

This thesis is not only concerned with the provision of education for migrant students, but also with the standard of this education. For integration into the formal system to be possible, the standard of education offered by non-formal institutions needs to be of quality. Ensuring the quality of education can be difficult for MLCs with limited budgets, resources and teachers. Such limitations put non-formal education providers at risk of encountering the "school-learning gap", whereby students are attending school but learning nothing. Quality of education in these institutions is therefore very important to this thesis.

Definitions of "quality education" have evolved significantly, though common themes are apparent in most. Earlier definitions tend to be more general, with fewer measurable indicators. In 1971, George G Tankard gave a general definition of quality education as being that which "meets the needs of the young people being served, to the extent that it helps solve their problems and fosters their optimum growth and development."(George G. Tankard, Jr., 1971, p. 331). Definitions like this are problematic as without clear and measurable indicators, it is difficult to assess whether or not education should be considered quality or not. An attempt to make it more measurable can be found in Crombag's 1978 research paper, which makes an important distinction between "quality of graduates" and "efficiency of education". The first he defines as "the average amount of subject matter and the depth in which it is mastered by the graduates" (Hans F. M. Crombag, 1978, p. 390), and the second as "the ratio of the average quality of the graduates and the average costs per graduate" (Hans F. M. Crombag, 1978, p. 390). He adds quantitative indicators such as number of pages studied, time spent and teacher-to-student ratio but this becomes complicated when considering the wide variety of teaching methods and resources used by schools. This is particularly problematic for this study as definitions like this do not give sufficient focus on the specific needs of students.

More recent definitions of quality education show more needs and rights-based approaches and it is these definitions that are most relevant to this thesis. UNESCO's

2000 working paper provides a far more comprehensive definition which goes far beyond previous definitions to incorporate fulfilment of the basic needs of the learners and suitable learning environments as well as relevant curricula, trained teachers and careful monitoring of student progress. It also emphasises "child-centred teaching"(UNESCO, 2000, p. 4). Refocusing to place the learner in the centre should ensure that education is adaptable to fit the needs of individual students. Since this thesis is concerned with adaptability of migrant education, this definition is extremely useful. This need for student-centred learning is further echoed in Joachim Theis's 2004 paper for Save The Children, in which he defines quality education as "child-centred, prepares children for the challenges they face in life and helps every child reach his or her full potential."(Joachim Theis, 2004, p. 28) He goes on to include elements beyond the classroom which are also fundamental to achieving quality; "Quality education is not only concerned with learning, but also with the child's health, nutritional status, wellbeing, safety and protection from abuse and violence." (Joachim Theis, 2004, p. 28). Theis's definition holds particular significance in this research as the challenges faced by migrant children are different to that of children in mainstream education, meaning their education must be sensitive to their specific needs.

For this study it is essential to consider what the Thai government deems to be "quality" education. In a study on the development of primary education in Thailand, it is said that "to improve the quality of the learners, the most important substance of education reform was to emphasize on more learning and less teaching" (Waraiporn Sangnababoworn, 2007, p. 271). In 2003 the Ministry of Education set up the Office for National Education Standards and Quality Assessment whose job is to ensure education delivered in Thai government schools is up to standard. Quality is assessed both internally and externally. ONESQA say:

"Main factors contributing to quality of education provision are formulation of policies corresponding with real situations, cohesion, clarity and practicality. The main recommended guideline is the learner-centered approach. Other factors include highly qualified teachers with extensive knowledge; administrators of high quality, suitable premises, lively classrooms and academic freedom in the educational institution." The ONESQA assessments test three levels of indicators: basic (classroom level), true-identity (schools level) and social responsibility (society level) (Channarong Pornrunroj, 2014). If MLCs are to be compared to Thai schools, it is necessary for the same indicators to be tested.

Furthermore, to ensure quality of the MEII curriculum these indicators also need to be considered. The report on the MEII review seminar in May 2013 shows awareness for the need for quality education, as it makes the recommendation to "develop standards to provide quality education."(MEII, 2013, p. 21) However, it does not provide a definition of quality. With no clear definition there can be no clear indicators and no way to measure whether or not quality is achieved. With previous definitions in mind, this thesis offers to define quality education as student-centred learning in which students are engaged and challenged to think beyond the information given to them by the teacher so that they may have the best chance at personal development both inside the classroom and out. It should be sensitive to the specific needs of the individual learner and adaptable to the changing needs of students in an evolving society. Both this definition and ONESQA's indicators should be in mind when comparing the quality of education in this study.

2.10.5 The "School-Learning Gap"

All these definitions of quality education require more than students, books and a teacher. The students, teachers, classroom and learning materials provide the skeleton, but quality content, solid classroom management and capable, engaging teaching provides the flesh without which the learning process is incomplete. In this thesis, the skeleton can be seen as the "schooling" concept, and the flesh is the "learning". In the case of migrant education in Thailand, schooling has been made possible by the changes in policy to allow migrant students to enrol in Thai state schools for primary education, and to recognise learning centres as legitimate providers of education. Having the structures in place may mean that schooling is possible but does not guarantee education or learning. A common challenge faced by educators in developing countries is the preoccupation with widening access to education but little concern for the quality of the education provided. Research conducted in developing countries in which achieving universal primary education is made a priority provide evidence that widening access does not necessarily lead to a better educated society. A case study carried out in Tanzania revealed that while Tanzania came very close to UPE in the 1980's with 98% primary school enrolment (Ruth Wedgwood, 2007, p. 386), there was a high dropout rate and those who completed the seven years of primary education "80% failed the final examination" (Ruth Wedgwood, 2007, p. 386). Higher school enrolment meant classes were overcrowded and there was limited space and resources. The increased need for teachers led to a shortage of qualified teachers, resulting in unqualified teachers being hired to meet demands. Unqualified teachers were made responsible for large and unruly classes and in many cases they had weak authority in the classroom and were unable to deal with misbehaving students. Those students who wanted to study would be unable to focus in class and would often be absent. All these challenges meant that the quality of education was greatly hindered and as a result, students enrolled and despite students receiving schooling they did not learn.

In his work for the Centre of Global Development, Lant Pritchett attempts to identify the gap between schooling and learning by addressing the differences in the goals of each, saying "Schooling goals like enrolment or completion crept in to replace actual learning goals because they were easier to track."(Amanda Beatty Lant Pritchett, 2012, p. 2). It is here that the gap started to form as assumptions "that if kids attended, teachers would teach, children would learn, and more schooling would produce more learning" (Amanda Beatty Lant Pritchett, 2012, p. 2) were not being actualised. The gap is said by the CGD (Rukmini Banerji Lant Pritchett, Charles Kenny, 2013) to be a "systematic issue" (Rukmini Banerji Lant Pritchett, Charles Kenny, 2013, p. 8). The paper identifies that "Schools are needed, as are teaching materials, utility services, and other inputs. Students must be present, motivated, and able to learn. Teachers must be present, motivated, and able to instruct."(Rukmini Banerji Lant Pritchett, Charles Kenny, 2013, p. 8). These are the basic systematic prerequisites that must be present in order for learning to take place. Learning on the other hand is more difficult to measure. Learning is concerned not with how many students complete education but with how much they learn. Indicators for learning are less clear but can be measured by closely monitoring both student progress and teacher performance through testing. Emphasis is put on assessment as being key to the successful provision of quality education. It is here that migrant education in Thailand falls short, as there is no standardised test that can be used to monitor student progress in learning centres. Hope for a solution to this problem comes in the form of the MEII. The MEII proposes implementation of "standardized assessment/exit exams upon completion of defined levels (e.g. 3rd grade, 6th grade, and 10th grade)"(MEII, 2013, p. 22) which will enable centres to monitor student progress more thoroughly. Close monitoring will enable teachers to identify those students who are not performing well as well as engage teachers and parents in the learning process by rewarding good results.

2.10.6 Accreditation as a barrier to integration

One significant problem that migrant students have in integrating into the formal system for the completion of compulsory education at the lower-secondary level, having completed primary education in a non-formal institution, is their lack of recognised accreditation. The lack of standardised curricula in non-formal institutions means there can be no standardised test, which means no standardised accreditation can be given by these schools. The complex registration process of MLCs as education institutions with the Thai Ministry of Education has many regulations and requirements which many MLCs find difficult to meet. While they may meet the criteria to be considered a non-formal education institution, according to the Promotion of Non-Formal and Informal Education Act B.E. 2551 (2008), in order to become fully registered MLCs must meet further criteria such as "employing a Thai national as the school director and requiring teachers to have a Thai teaching credential."(MEII, 2013, p. 19). This is often not a possibility for MLCs with limited budgets, meaning the MLCs are unable to register. Since such regulations mean Myanmar teachers may be unable to teach in MLCs due to lack of Thai teaching credentials, MLCs may choose not to pursue registration. No registration means no certification and without this the students find themselves unable to progress further in schooling, either in Thailand or Myanmar, causing further problems when trying to find gainful employment in the future. Considering that "The right to certification if an essential part of the right to education."(UNESCO/IIEP, 2008, p. 1), lack of certification can be considered a barrier to the fulfilment of the right to education. With no credit transfer system between nonformal migrant schools and formal Thai schools, transitioning from one to another is a challenge.

2.10.7 The MEII as an opportunity for integration

In an attempt to find a solution to this problem, as well as to other problems faced by the migrant community in accessing education, a collection of 14 educational organisations and NGOs in Thailand, under the guidance of Dr. Cynthia Maung, set up the Migrant Education Integration Initiative in 2012 (MEII, 2013, p. 2). The overarching vision of this migrant education network is to create "A migrant education system which provides accreditation recognized by Myanmar, Thailand, and ASEAN as equal to other national and regional educational standards regardless of ethnicity, status, gender, age, and religion."(MEII, 2013, p. 2). "Migrant" is defined by the MEII as "a catch-all term including stateless children, IDPs, children of migrant workers established in Thailand" (MEII, 2013, p. 20), and this thesis will use the same definition. The MEII hopes to achieve "recognition, accreditation, and integration of the migrant education system with existing education systems in both Myanmar and Thailand"(MEII, 2013, p. 1), the MEII needs to be compatible with existing systems. Currently, curricula used in MLCs varies from "either exclusively Myanmar academic programs, or a combination of Myanmar and Thai programs...(or)...various combinations of Myanmar, Thai, international, and other academic programs."(MEII, 2013, p. 15). In order to achieve this vision, the MEII will create and implement a specialised, migrant-focused, standardised curriculum that is recognised by both Thai and Myanmar governments to be used by all MLCs which is compatible with the Thai and Burmese curricula to facilitate integration, so that migrant children are able to receive a stable education in either country. The Initiative will also develop a standardised system for evaluation of student progress and offer accreditation recognised by both Thai and Myanmar formal education systems. The Initiative is currently in phase 4 and is not yet fully implemented, so its success is yet to be seen. The first phase of the initiative began in February 2013 and involved a discussion between leaders of educational and development foundations about the current conditions for migrant students and the problems they face. A seminar was held in May 2013 for community leaders, educators, and government officials to discuss the findings. Phase 2 of the initiative involved a comprehensive analysis of the current curriculums and accreditation systems in formal and non-formal education in both Thailand and Myanmar. This phase took place between June and September 2013 and worked closely with the National Network for Educational Reform (NNER) and Comprehensive Education Sector Review (CESR), both educational reform bodies in Myanmar. A second seminar was held in September 2013 for concerned organisations and representatives from the Myanmar Embassy and IOM. The seminar discussed the results of the analysis and provided recommendations and strategies for curriculum development. Phase 3 was completed in January 2014 and involved in-depth analysis of the specific needs of migrant students not only educationally but also their social, cultural, economic, psychological, moral, and technological needs. These needs will inform the development of a migrant-specific curriculum. Phase 4 of the initiative is currently underway and is working to develop content for subjects while advocating with local teachers about the standards framework for the integrated curriculum. Training of teachers in schools is also a vital component of this phase, as is continued networking with Thai and Myanmar educational authorities. This new curriculum will dictate the future of migrant education in Thailand. Successful implementation could mean not only an improvement in the standard of education that can be delivered in learning centres but also the chance for migrant students to be considered academically equal to their Thai counterparts, opening a world of opportunities for further education and skilled employment. The recognised accreditation that the MEII hopes to provide will make integration from primary non-formal to secondary formal education a much simpler process, making it an option for many more migrant students. However, since implementation is not complete the ambitious vision of the MEII remains a vision. The MEII hopes to put into motion the shift from schooling to learning for migrant students through needs-specific design of a standard curriculum, monitoring through assessment and teacher training to ensure teachers are adequately qualified to teach. With these tools in place, the quality of education delivered in learning centres should improve enough to be able to offer accreditation that is equal to that offered in the formal education system.

CHAPTER III UNDERSTANDING EDUCATION FOR MIGRANT STUDENTS IN THREE SCHOOLS IN TAKUA PA

3.1 Introduction

Well known for its sandy white beaches and stunning landscapes, the resorts dotted along the Takua Pa coastline are well frequented by tourists. What these tourists may not be aware of however is that the people they interact with on a daily basis in their hotels, shops and restaurants may well be Burmese, rather than Thai. Burmese migrants, predominantly from Tanintharyi, Mon State and Karen State, cross the border from Kawthaung to Ranong by boat approximately 200km from Takua Pa to find work in construction, rubber plantations, sawmills, fishing boats and in restaurants and hotels. There are an estimated 15-20,000 migrant workers in the district, around 10% of which are of school age. Regardless of how long their parents intend to stay in Thailand, these children need to be able to access schools in order to have the best chance at a basic education.

The 2004 tsunami that devastated much of the coastline of Takua Pa had deep impact on the Thai and Burmese communities. Many families lost their relatives, their homes and their livelihoods but with limited access to social services, little help was available for migrants and recovery has been a long and painful process. In the aftermath of the tsunami, many NGOs came to the area to help provide for the communities affected. At that time, small, informal schools were set up to provide basic education for children, Thai or Burmese, who were unable to attend school. Over 10 years after the tsunami, many of these NGOs have moved on and these students have settled in new schools. While it may be easy for Thai students to enrol in new schools, Burmese students cannot enjoy the same flexibility. Many parents of migrant students choose to avoid the sometimes complex process of enrolling their child in Thai school because they can't be sure how long they will remain in Thailand. Rather, they send their children to one of the two migrant schools in Takua Pa. In Takua Pa today, of the thousands of school-age children suspected to be in the district, a mere handful are in school. This chapter details the initial findings at each of the three research sites.

3.2 Ban Pakweep Thai School

3.2.1 Background

Ban Pakweep School is a Thai government primary school located in Ban Pakweep, approximately 20km south of Takua Pa town. It provides education for two Kindergarten levels and Grades 1 - 6. The school was established in BE 2511 (AD 1968) and by BE 2513 (AD 1970) the school was providing education for Grades 1-4. In BE 2516 (AD 1973) a Thai/American Education Foundation supported the establishment of a new building with 4 new classrooms to allow for the school to expand. In BE 2522 (AD 1979) the school extended to Grade 6 and finally Kindergarten 1 and 2 were added in BE 2533 (AD 1990). The school, the students and their families suffered considerable loss in the 2004 tsunami. In September of BE 2548 (AD 2005) the Raks Thai Foundation began building a multi-purpose assembly hall, donated to the

residents of Ban Pakweep who lost loved ones in the tsunami. The building was completed in February of the following year. Now the school is fully functional and open to both Thai and migrant students and provides primary level Thai



government education. Ban Pakweep Figure 6: Ban Pakweep location map

School is easily accessible and visible from main Route 4 in Ban Pakweep.

3.2.2 The school

This academic year Pakweep School has a total enrolment of 121 students. Employed at the school are 8 fully qualified teachers, 2 teaching assistants, and 4 admin staff. The school has 8 classrooms, several administrative rooms, a library, a computer room, a canteen, a multi-purpose hall, and a large outside area with football field and areas for growing vegetables and keeping chickens. Students study the Thai curriculum of Thai, Maths, Science, Social Studies, History, Art, Music, English, Occupations and Technology and Computer with the addition of Farming as an extra-curricular subject. The final period of each day is dedicated to Civic Duty, Guidance, PE, Homeroom, Scouts and Moral. There are 6 periods per day, each one hour long, starting at 08:30 and ending at 15:30 with an hour lunch break at 11:30.

3.2.3 Funding

Funding for Pakweep School comes from the Thai Government, on a per student basis. According to the 2009 Ministerial ruling on the implementation of 15 years free education, tuition in the formal system at primary level has an allocated budget of 1,900 baht per student per year (Ministry of Education, 2009). This allocation is based on students actually enrolled at the school. Additional funding for textbooks, learning materials, school uniforms, and educational activities are also available for students at all levels in the formal system, on a per student basis. Therefore students at Pakweep School pay nothing for tuition, school uniforms or learning materials. There is a token fee of between 50-100 baht per student month to go towards stationary and school meals. Students who use the school bus (lent to the school by the FED ULC) to get to school pay 300 baht per month.

3.2.4 Enrolment process

Pakweep School, as with most of the schools in the area, is open to accepting Burmese students so enrolment is relatively simple, providing the student has the correct documentation. Any students wanting to enrol in Pakweep must provide a passport, birth certificate or ID number to enrol. If they are unable to provide such documentation, it is not possible to register them on the school system. If they have a passport number, enrolment is very easy. They must also take a Thai language test before they can be accepted. For most students who are born in or spent the majority of their lives in Thailand, this test does not pose a problem.

3.2.5 Students

There are a total of 121 students at Pakweep School, 64 boys and 57 girls. Of these, 50 are Thai and 71 are Burmese. While these are the official enrolment numbers, actual numbers of students attending school were reported as much lower. Of the 71 enrolled Burmese students, only 20-25 attend regularly.

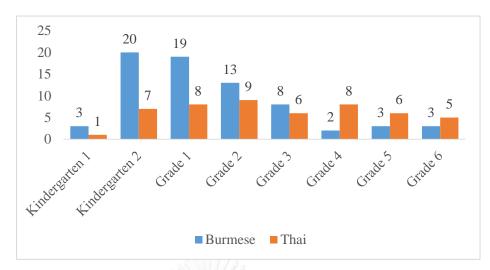


Figure 7: Ban Pakweep student numbers 2015-16

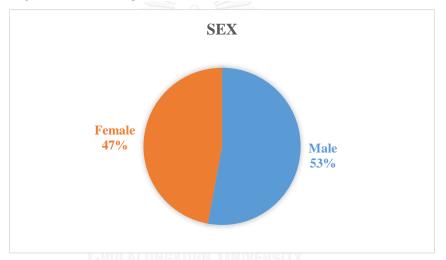


Figure 8: Ban Pakweep male/female student ratio

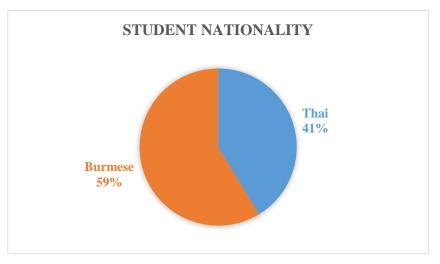


Figure 9: Ban Pakweep student nationality ratio

3.2.6 Grade 6

Grade 6 has a total of 8 students, 5 boys and 3 girls. Of these, 3 are Burmese, 2 boys and 1 girl. They are aged 13 - 14 and 2 were born in Thailand and 1 was born in Kawthaung, Myanmar. Their parents work in hotels in the area or doing general labouring work. All have siblings, most of which work in nearby hotels. One has a younger sister also studying at Pakweep. All would like the opportunity to study at University in the future and all want to work in the restaurant industry as either waiters or chefs.

Subject	Hours per week
Maths	5
Thai	4
English	3
Science	2
Social Studies	2
Occupations and Technology	2
Computer	2
History	1
Art จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทย	าลัย 1
Music	IRSITY 1
Health	1
Civic Duty, Guidance, PE,	5
Homeroom, Scouts and Moral	
Total learning time	30

Each week the Grade 6 study the following subjects:

Figure 10: Ban Pakweep Grade 6 timetable

3.3 Foundation for Education and Development's Unified Learning Centre

3.3.1 Background

The Foundation for Education and Development was founded in 2000 in Sankalaburi in Kanchanaburi province, under the original name of Grassroots Human Rights Education & Development (GHRE). The 2004 tsunami brought FED to Phang Nga province to provide emergency assistance to the migrant community affected by the tsunami who were overlooked by Thai government aid and NGOs. Since then, FED has continued to support the longer-term needs of the Burmese migrant community in Phang Nga by promoting and protecting the rights of the migrant workers. The FED's

Education Programme was started in 2005 to provide educational opportunities for the marginalised Burmese migrant community in Phang Nga province. Due to limited funding at that time the programme comprised of several small learning centres around Takua Pa



district. In 2010 additional funding meant Figure 11: ULC location map

plans for a merging of the small centres became possible and the Unified Learning Centre opened for academic year 2012-13. Since opening, the ULC continues to grow with more students enrolling each year. The FED also runs smaller learning centres in nearby Kuraburi and Khok Kloy and runs an Integration Programme with two Thai schools in Takua Pa district. The ULC is fairly remotely located along a dirt track leading into the mountains, just off road 3138 on main Route 4 in Khuk Khak, approximately 25km south of Takua Pa town.

3.3.2 The school

The ULC provides education for children from Nursery to Grade 9. Total enrolment for the 2015-16 academic year is 296. The school has 10 classrooms, a computer room and library, lunch hall, football field, 2 small playgrounds and a vegetable garden. There are a total of 15 teachers working at the school. Of these, 3 are Thai, 1 is American and 11 are Burmese. Most are high school graduated but 3 have Bachelor's degrees. The school follows the Burmese curriculum and subjects taught are Thai, Burmese, English, Maths, Integrated (Science, History, and Geography), Computer, Art, Music, Performance, Sports and Health. All Burmese curriculum subjects use books from the Myanmar MoE. English classes are prepared by the English teacher and the Thai classes are taken from the Thai curriculum. There are 7 periods per day, each 45 minutes long, and the school day runs from 09:00 - 15:00 with an hour lunch break at 12:00. All classes, other than English, are taught in Burmese.

3.3.3 Funding

The majority of funding for the FED Education Programme which enabled the opening of the ULC came from Child's Dream Foundation. The main school building was funded by Japanese donor Umenohana and Inspirasia. To cover the costs of schooling, students pay a school enrolment fee of 300B per year. In addition, a school fund of 300B per month per student is collected to pay for books, stationary, uniforms and the school bus. Students have to bring lunch with them, though a basic meal can be given to students who cannot bring lunch.

3.3.4 Registration status

Due to unachievable registration standards, the ULC is not a fully registered school. The process of registration requires the employment of qualified teachers and upholding of Thai education system curriculum standards. In addition, the management of the school should be under the Thai Government Education Department. Since the ULC is unable to reach these standards, it is unable to register. Instead, the ULC operates as a long-term project of the FED Education Programme, which is registered as a Thai foundation.

3.3.5 Students

Total enrolment for 2015-2016 at the ULC is 296, 164 boys and 132 girls. Most of the students at the ULC are Burmese. Approximately 70% of students were born in Thailand and at Nursery and Kindergarten levels around 90% were born in Thailand. This year, the ULC accepted 20 Rohingya children from the nearby Phang Nga Women and Children's Temporary Shelter. These students however do not speak Burmese, only their ethnic language, and approximately half had dropped out by the second week of term.

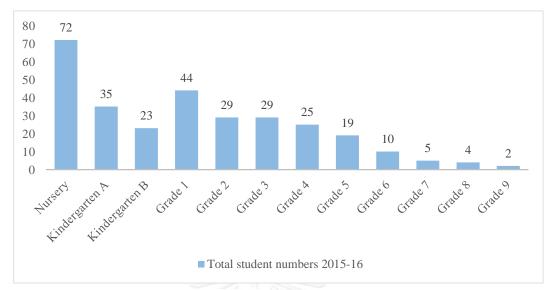


Figure 12: ULC student numbers 2015-16

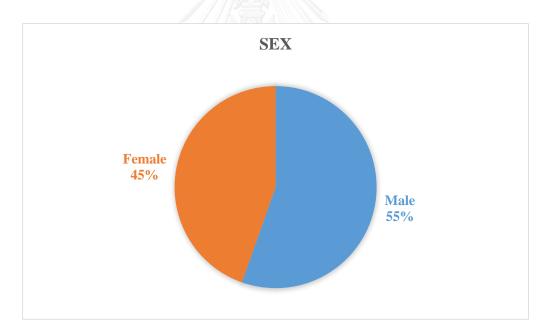


Figure 13: ULC male/female student ratio

3.3.6 Grade 6

This academic year there are 10 Grade 6 students, 5 boys and 5 girls. All students live in the local area and their parents work on plantations, construction or in the hospitality industry. Several have siblings who also study at the ULC. The Grade 6 study the following subjects each week:

Subject	Hours per week
Maths	5.25
Burmese	4.5
Thai	4.5
English	4.5
Integrated (History,	3.75
Geography, Science)	
Computer	2.25
PE/Moral	0.75
Health	0.75
Total learning time (all)	26.25

Figure 14: ULC Grade 6 timetable

3.4 New Light Foundation's Community Development Centre Ban Nam Kem

3.4.1 Background

The Ban Nam Kem Community Development Centre (CDC) in located in the fishing village of Ban Nam Kem in Takua Pa district, Phang Nga. It was founded by an

American missionary in 2005 to provide assistance after the devastating 2004 tsunami that destroyed much of the Ban Nam Kem area. It started with few more than 10 children but by 2006



the school was educating up to 50 students. Desperately in need for expansion, they were approached by the current school Director who offered the use of his nearby facility. The Director, originally from Singapore, had been in Thailand since 1999 with the New Light Foundation and came to Ban Nam Kem after the tsunami. The New Light Foundation is a non-profit, registered Thai organisation which focuses on education, social and community services and social enterprise within the Burmese

community. It exists to foster relationships amongst the residents and to promote the overall development of the community by providing activities, education, skills training, and by creating job opportunities through social enterprise projects. CDC Ban Nam Kem is located in close to the sea a short distance from main Route 4, approximately 10km east of Takua Pa town.

3.4.2 The school

Currently, the school provides education for 170 Burmese children from Ban Nam Kem and surrounding areas. A full *Figure 15: CDC location map*

school programme for Kindergarten to Grade 9 runs during the day for Burmese students and there is an after-school care programme in the evenings for Thai students from nearby schools. The school employs 8 full-time teachers, all of whom are Burmese. Of these teachers, 2 have University level education, 1 has high school level and 5 have Grade 9 level. The school also has a partnership with Global Volunteers International (GVI) who supply foreign English teachers to teach English, Health and Science/Conservation. Though the majority of students communicate in their ethnic Dawei language, all classes are taught in Burmese. The curriculum loosely follows the Burmese curriculum with a few additions. Students learn Burmese, Maths, Science, English (some hours taught by foreign teachers), History and Geography as well as Computer, Health, Music, Moral, Sport and Sewing for girls and Technical Workshop for boys. Burmese curriculum books are issued by the MoE in Myanmar, Thai subject is created by the teachers from any available books and online resources and the GVI teachers are responsible for creating their own lesson plans and making worksheets for English, Health and Science/Conservation. There are 5 periods per day, each an hour long, and the school day runs from 08:45 - 15:00, with a one-hour lunch break at 12:00.

3.4.3 Funding

Funding for the CDC comes mostly from donations from partner organisations to the New Light Foundation and fees collected from volunteers. Tuition is free but students pay a token fee of 20B per day per student. If a family has more than 2 children studying at the centre the fee is waived for all children after the second. A new registration fee of 500B per year was introduced this academic year to help cover the growing expenditure of the school. These fees go towards uniform, book, stationary

and transportation costs. Each new students is supplied with a set of books, stationary and a CDC t-shirt and bag. The school has 3 trucks and 2 tricycles which are used to transport students to and from school. Two meals per day are provided, donated by an organisation called Manna Kitchen.

3.4.5 Registration status

While the CDC is recognised by the Thai government and their existence and work is acknowledged, it is not registered as an educational institute. The reason for this is rooted in the complex and lengthy registration process for migrant learning centres. The option to register as an international school is far too costly a process as it requires fully qualified and certified teachers which the school cannot afford. Further criteria for international schools regarding facilities and resources are impossible for the school to conform to with their limited budget. Therefore, the school operates as an ongoing project of the New Light Foundation.

3.4.6 Students

Registration for the 2015-16 academic year totals 170 students, 97 boys and 73 girls, from Kindergarten to Grade 9. All students are Burmese and the majority originate from Dawei, with others from Mon State and Karen State.

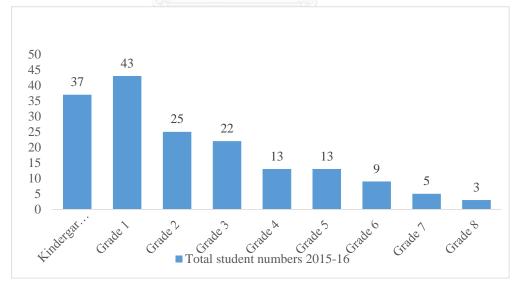


Figure 16: CDC student numbers 2015-16

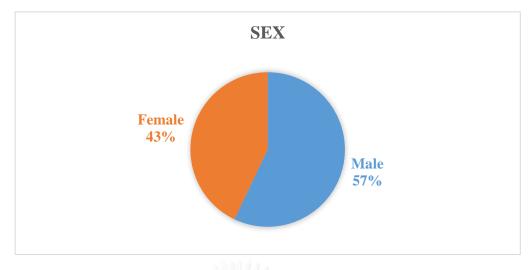


Figure 17: CDC male/female student ratio

3.4.7 Grade 6

This academic year there are 9 Grade 6 students, 3 boys and 6 girls. Their ages range from 12 to 15. 6 were born in Myanmar and 3 in Thailand. Their parents work nearby on rubber or palm oil plantations, construction sites, sawmills, fishing boats or chicken farms. All have between 1 and 5 siblings, some of whom are working already and some go to school at the CDC. Most had attended other schools in the past, including schools in Myanmar, a local Thai school and FED's ULC.

Subject	Hours per week
Thai	5
Maths	4.5
English	4.5
Science/Conservation	2
Music	2
Burmese	1
History/Geography	1
Computer	1
Health	1

Each week the Grade 6 study the following subjects:

Total learning time (all)	25
Cleaning, Chapel	2
workshop (boys)	
Sewing (girls) / Technical	1

Figure 18: CDC Grade 6 timetable

Due to insufficient teachers and low student numbers, the Grades 6 - 9 study together. They are separated into smaller groups and instructed separately using different books. When asked, all Grade 6 students said they would go to University if given the opportunity. Careers they would like to pursue when they leave school included doctor, teacher, seamstress and soldier.

3.5 Conclusion

Data collected at each site provides the foundation for analysis of the concepts key to this thesis. Each model for migrant schooling has its own history, beliefs, priorities and its own objectives and approaches to education, each preparing its students for a different future. Students studying in the Thai school are prepared for further education in Thailand, but not necessarily in Myanmar. The migrant schools both follow the Burmese curriculum which prepares the students for further education in Myanmar, but not necessarily in Thailand. Students in these models could face problems with future integration into the Thai formal system as the Burmese curriculum is not compatible with the Thai curriculum. The researcher observed similar teaching styles and classroom management in each model. Student numbers for each school show similar ratios of boys and girls and similar problems with students dropping out at the higher levels. Grade 6 in all three models enjoy the education they receive and all have similar aspirations for their futures, with many wanting to continue their education to University level. Prior to closer analysis, a conclusion can be drawn that each school in this study does the best that can be done with the resources available to deliver basic education to the Burmese migrant community. The following chapter uses the modified 4As framework to examine in detail the extent to which each model of schooling fulfils the right to education. It will look at how compatible each is with the

formal system and how prepared the students are for integration into the formal system upon completion of primary level education.



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CHAPTER IV FULFILLING THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION FOR MIGRANT STUDENTS

4.1 Introduction

Having detailed the initial findings of fieldwork at each research site in the previous chapter, this thesis goes on to use the modified 4As framework to look more closely at how these findings relate to the relevant concepts, particularly the extent to which the right to education is fulfilled in each model. Using the analysis of the modified framework, the research question can be addressed and answered.

4.2 Availability

All three schools involved in the study are open and accepting of Burmese migrant students at primary level and it can be asserted that the government policies for migrant education are being effectively implemented by a handful of schools in Takua Pa district. The two migrant schools, though unable to register fully, are recognised by the Thai MoE and are permitted to provide education to the migrant community on a long-term basis. However, considering the size of the Burmese community in Takua Pa there are very few migrant schools to provide for all the children. The ULC and CDC are the only two Burmese schools in the 600km² district. Their combined enrolment is 466 students, extremely low considering the number of children of school age suspected to be in the district. The Thai schools in the area, including Ban Pakweep, accept migrant students in accordance with the 2005 Cabinet Resolution and Ministerial Regulation. However, only two Thai schools were reported as having migrant students enrolled: Wat Khuk Khak School and Ban Pakweep School. Tuition in all three models is essentially free, making them financially available to the migrant community, though the migrant schools have to charge a registration fee to cover costs. In order for Burmese students to enrol in Thai school they are required to take a Thai language test which for most students, according to the Headteacher at CDC Ban Nam Kem, is "not difficult. They can read and write Thai subject." (La La, CDC Ban Nam Kem Headteacher, personal communication 12/5/15). With the entrance test not proving to cause problems for most students, the only barrier that might prevent enrolment is the lack of required documentation. This was identified by a representative from Ban Pakweep School as being the most significant problem for integration of Burmese students: "The biggest problem is with the passport number. If students don't have a passport number it is hard for them to be registered at school. They cannot get healthcare, nothing. When they have the passport number it is easy" (Mani Wong, Ban Pakweep teacher, personal communication 20/5/15). In an attempt to help those students faced with this barrier, organisations like the FED are able to provide assistance so that integration can be possible. The Integration Programme Officer for FED described the work of the Programme; "FED helps them to negotiate with principals in Thai schools. We find out what kind of information they need when they go to Thai school" (Ei Ei Chaw, FED Education Programme Assistant and Integration Officer, personal communication 2/5/15). This gives parents who may be unaware of the enrolment process for Thai school the opportunity to send their child to Thai school, if they choose. She spoke of the local Thai schools' attitude towards Burmese students saying that all of the schools in the area are open to accepting migrant students, but "It is very difficult for the Thai teachers and principals to decide whether they will accept Burmese students. If they don't accept Burmese students they will have less students." (Ei Ei Chaw, personal communication 28/5/15). However, despite there being few barriers to the formal system at primary level, the majority of parents still choose to send their children to the Burmese schools. Reasons for this are concluded to be not due to a lack of availability, but to barriers at the other framework components.

The number of migrants in Phang Nga province, both documented and undocumented, is speculated as being around 100,000. Numbers are not available for individual districts but it can be estimated that there are around 15,000 migrants in Takua Pa. Around 10% of these are of school age, meaning the number of students found by this study to be in school is extremely low. Ban Pakweep has the highest migrant student enrolment and it as reported that the other Thai schools in Takua Pa district have less than a handful of migrant students. Considering this and the numbers of students enrolled in the only two migrant schools in the district, it is clear that there are a significant number of children not in school. This could be due to the lack of available options for migrant schools, as well as barriers to accessibility.

4.3 Accessibility

The potential for discrimination and language barriers was reported as creating barriers to the formal system. However, there were contradicting views on discrimination between the migrant schools and the Thai school. An interviewee from the CDC commented that discrimination did exist in Thai schools and this acted as a deterrent for parents in sending their child to Thai school: "We cannot discount the fact that there is discrimination, huge. We cannot blind ourselves from history, the historical context and the conflict between the Burmese and the Thais." (Jason Goh, CDC Director, personal communication 12/5/15). A similar opinion was conveyed by the ULC; "For integration, the most challenging thing is the parents because they are afraid that their children will be discriminated against by Thai students, teachers and community". She went on to clarify, saying: "Mostly, it's not really discrimination it's more that they are just separate. Thai people don't really like Burmese and if the Burmese students are at the Thai school maybe they will fight" (Ei Ei Chaw, 28/5/15). It is partly for this reason that parents would choose the Burmese school over the Thai school. However, these comments contradict what was said by teachers at the Thai school who insisted that: "Everyone gets along fine" (Mani Wong, 20/5/15). During fieldwork the researcher observed the interactions between the Burmese and the Thai students and there was no evidence of discrimination between the two groups. Furthermore, the Burmese students studying in the Thai school reported a very different version of reality, saying that "Students at the Burmese schools have bad attitudes against those who study at Thai school. They say they're not 'real Burmese' because they study at Thai school" (Grade 6 migrant student, Ban Pakweep School, personal communication 21/5/15). It would seem that what the Burmese community fear and what actually occurs in reality are not the same. Parents fear discrimination from the Thai students and teachers, but this does not occur. Instead, discrimination may be felt from with the Burmese community itself.

Further contradictions to issues that have been previously named as barriers to the formal system can be found in the affordability of each model. Previous studies have named financial costs as a barrier to Thai schools, pointing to additional costs for uniforms, books, transportation, and school meals as being unaffordable to most lowincome migrant families. Interestingly, the Thai school in this study works out as the cheapest option for migrant parents. Since Ban Pakweep receives funding from the government on a per-student basis, students do not need to pay for tuition, uniforms or books. The migrant schools rely on funding from donors which is inflexible and cannot be increased if student numbers increase. For both migrant schools financial costs of schooling are expensive. The CDC Director commented on this issue saying: "On an average day for food and teachers' salary, everything included it comes to about 1200 per kid" (Jason Goh, 13/5/15). Finances are therefore limited and both models have had to introduce registration fees and/or daily fees taken from the parents to help cover costs. It cannot be said therefore that in this study Thai schools are unaffordable and therefore inaccessible, as has been portrayed in other studies.

The problem of language acting as a barrier to the formal system was named by several interviewees. The migrant schools teach Thai language, 4.5 hours per week at ULC and 5 hours per week at the CDC. Many of the students in this study were either born in Thailand or moved to Thailand when they were young, meaning their Thai language skills are usually well developed. One representative from Ban Pakweep School commented that: "Language is a problem if the students cannot speak Thai. My teachers cannot speak Burmese. The school wants to support the Burmese students but sometimes it cannot" (Mani Wong, 20/5/15). However, considering Burmese students must pass a Thai language test in order to enrol in the Thai school, language barriers may only be an issue for much younger. Language barriers in the Thai schools may exist in a slightly different form to act as a barrier. Rather than Burmese students not being able to speak Thai, migrant parents may be concerned that their children will not develop proper Burmese language skills. The Development Director at FED named this as a barrier to the formal system: "Parents are concerned that their children may lose their culture or lose the opportunity to learn their own language" (Mark Del Greco, FED Development Director, personal communication 28/5/15). This concern was seen to be a real issue and the interviewee from the CDC reported a case in which some students from the CDC integrated into the Thai school for a short period but left soon after to return to Burmese school: "some of the kids they came back from Thai school because they cannot read Burmese or study Burmese" (La La, 12/5/15). Similarly, the ULC had cases of students integrating into Ban Pakweep School only to return to the ULC shortly after. In this case, the interviewee described how there used to be a Burmese teacher at Ban Pakweep but they had to return to Myanmar. When the Burmese teacher left, the migrant students at the school "felt like they didn't have someone to take care of them. Sometimes they had problems with Thai students, or the teachers didn't really take care of them. So they weren't happy and they came back" (Ei Ei Chaw, 28/5/15). Without the Burmese teacher, the migrant students no longer felt comfortable. The level of Burmese language instruction for Grade 6 students in the migrant schools are surprisingly different, with the ULC teaching 4.5 hours per week but the CDC teaching only 1 hour per week. By Grade 6 it is assumed that the students have sufficiently developed Burmese language skills. While parents may view this as a barrier to the formal system, the Integration classes run by the FED give the Burmese students studying at the Thai school the opportunity to study Burmese on Saturdays. All three migrant students at Ban Pakweep attend these classes. This should therefore reduce this barrier to integration.

The geographic accessibility of the two migrant schools could be problematic for students accessing. The ULC is located several kilometres away from the main road along a remote road that leads into the mountains. For anyone who did not know it was there, the school would be hard to find. However, the school is well known among the local Burmese community and located close to where many of the students live. Similarly, the CDC is located far from the main road, in a remote village close to the sea. The surrounding community is mainly Burmese and most students live in close proximity to the school. The students at ULC and CDC studied at whichever school was closest to their home. Several of the students at the CDC previously studied at the ULC but were forced to move schools when their parents changed jobs. While accessibility in terms of location of the schools was not named as a problem for current students, it would be problematic for any children living outside the radius of either school. Since there are only two migrant schools available in Takua Pa, each reaching a 20km radius or so, those children living in remote plantations or similar communities would not have access to school. Both migrant schools have trucks to pick up children but there are limits to how far the trucks can go. As it is, comments were made by interviewees at both migrant schools who said that some students who live further away have to be picked up as early as 5am to allow enough time to complete the school run in time and many do not arrive home until 8pm. The remote locations of the migrant schools and limits to transportation available create barriers to children in Takua Pa living outside accessible reach of either school.

4.4 Acceptability

The curricula used in each school have several similarities but emphasis is put on different subjects. The basic subjects are similar in all three models. All three models prioritise Thai, Maths and English. The migrant models recognise the importance of Thai language skills for life in Thailand. The researcher, with assistance from the interpreter, observed that the Grade 6 students in all three models had strong Thai language skills in speaking, reading, writing and listening. The schools emphasise the importance of English language skills for finding employment. Interviewees at both migrant schools commented on the importance of English language skills. Both the ULC and CDC have foreign English teachers who provide English instruction. Students learn not only grammar but also practical, everyday English and hospitality English which will prepare them for when they leave school and start work. Those with English language skills have the opportunity to work in the tourist and hospitality industry but those without have fewer options with many being forced into unskilled labour such as construction or plantations. The researcher observed the level of English spoken by Grade 6 students in each model by asking simple questions. It was noted that the level of English of students at the migrant schools was higher than those at the Thai school. This is likely due to the instruction from foreign English teachers that the students at the migrant schools receive.

As is required by Thai law, all teachers at Ban Pakweep School are fully qualified. The qualification level of the teachers in the migrant schools varies from primary school graduate to University graduate. Both schools commented that a lack of finances made it impossible to hire qualified teachers. The CDC school Director named this as one reason the migrant schools are unable to register, as: "You need qualified and certified teachers and that means money" (Jason Goh, 12/5/15). This does not necessarily mean however that the teachers are not of quality. Teachers are usually sourced from within the Burmese community, through recommendations. The researcher's observations of teachers and classes in all three models noted no noticeable differences in the teachers' abilities to manage their classes and students showed similar levels of respect to their teachers in all three schools.

There were some noticeable differences however between the facilities and resources in each model. Space wise, the all three models were fairly similar and each had a large indoor school areas with sufficient classrooms and plenty of outdoor space.

The classrooms at the CDC and ULC were smaller with fewer tables and chairs but adequate to meet the needs of the students. Due to a lack of resources and teachers, the higher Grades at the CDC had to study together. This was manageable because each Grade had only a handful of students but still challenging for the teacher who was required to teach three lessons in one. Another issue with inadequate resources was observed in the ULC. Though the students are supposed to study computer, most of the computers at the school were broken. Students had to share meaning many did not get the opportunity to practice what the teacher was teaching. Similarly, though students at the ULC and CDC supposedly learn Science, neither school had Science equipment so topics that can be taught are limited. This may disadvantage migrant students if they try to integrate into the formal system as they will not have covered many of the topics that the formal schools are able to cover.

Despite any differences in teacher qualifications, facilities or resources, the researcher observed that the education being provided at each school was of a satisfactory quality. Class sizes were manageable in each case and there were, with the acceptation of the higher grades at the CDC, sufficient teachers. All the students interviewed at all schools said they enjoyed the education they received.

4.5 Adaptability

Regardless of which model of schooling the migrant students choose, their specific needs were similar in all. Migrant students need adequate preparation for life in either Thailand or Myanmar, as it is unpredictable whether they will need to return to Myanmar with their parents in the future. This uncertainty for the future can be problematic as migrant parents tend to think only in the short-term, which can have a negative effect on the long-term stability of their children's education. Students often have to adapt to new schools in both countries. Of all the Grade 6 students interviewed, most had studied in more than one school and some in both Myanmar and Thailand. It is easier for students to adapt to a new school if the curriculum is similar so the first choice for parents when they are looking for a new school would be a Burmese school. The enrolment process is much easier and their children would be surrounded by a familiar language and culture. The parents have the mentality that they will at some point return to Myanmar. The CDC Director recalled speaking to parents of the students who said they intend on returning to Myanmar. When asked when they would return,

they did not know. The Director has known these families for almost 10 years and most of the same families are still here. It is this mentality that parents may choose a Burmese school over a Thai school, even though this decision may deprive their children of accreditation and therefore opportunities in the future. It could be asserted that the parents who choose Thai school rather than Burmese school have a longer-term vision of their lives in Thailand. For migrant families who hope to stay in Thailand for the long term, who perhaps have more stable and secure jobs, a Thai education would give their children more opportunities in the future. The unpredictability of migrant life also creates problems for the teachers and school staff at the Burmese schools who have to adapt for students coming and going:

"In an academic year we have to accept all students who come, new or old and that makes it difficult for our teachers to manage their classrooms and their teaching because when new students come they have to restart. But we cannot refuse to accept new students." (Ei Ei Chaw, 28/5/15).

A high drop-out rate is noticeable in both migrant schools. As can be seen in the student numbers of each school, when students reach the age of 13 or 14 the drop-out rate increases. When asked about the reasons for students dropping out, interviewees most often said children at this age have to help their parents either by going to work or by looking after their younger siblings while their parents work. This can have a detrimental effect on their education and their future opportunities: "The children who drop out earlier will be the same as their parents" (Ei Ei Chaw, 28/5/15). Those who complete their education will have the opportunity to find skilled work and create a better, more prosperous future for themselves and their families. There is little the schools can do to try to persuade parents to keep their children in school other than make community visits to speak to the parents, as both the ULC and CDC staff do. Unfortunately, if the family does not have enough money to survive, there is no option but to send the older children to work. This is an issue that goes far beyond access to education and is not an issue that a change in policy or implementation of policies can fix. The Burmese schools have the challenge of finding ways to keep the drop out numbers as low as possible. The CDC has a programme which attempts to tackle problems with drop outs and provide an incentive for parents to keep sending their children to school. At Grade 6 the school provides the students with an opportunity to start training to become a teaching assistant. With the parent's consent, students can receive training and are given a stipend of 3000 baht per month and the 20 baht-perday fee is waived. If students are dropping out because of financial constraints of the family, this programme provides an alternative option for the children to contribute to the family. The CDC Director believes that when the parents see what the children can achieve by staying in school, while relieving the pressure of financial constraint, they will be more likely to prolong their children's education.

Issues with adaptability could be seen with the ULC's acceptance of Rohingya students this academic year. Approximately 20 Rohingya children between 6 and 12 years old from the Phang Nga temporary shelter were enrolled at the school at the start of the year, but by the end of the first wee the majority had dropped out. This was largely due to language barriers as the Rohingya students were unable to speak Burmese or Thai. Only one student had the language skills to translate for the rest. Many of the students had never attended school before and did not know how to behave in a classroom environment. This makes it incredibly difficult for teachers to manage their classrooms and deliver a high quality of education to all students. The teachers further reported discrimination towards the Rohingya students by the other ULC students. This comes from the deep-rooted religious conflict between the Muslims and Buddhists in Myanmar. It is therefore incredibly difficult for Rohingya students to adapt to a migrant school like the ULC, creating barriers to them accessing education.

Each school shows an awareness of the future needs of its students within the local context in the extra-curricular subjects they offer. The emphasis is not so much on preparing the students for further education, but rather for finding skilled work. With practical skills, the students will have more opportunities than their parents and able to earn a better wage. In addition to the basic subjects, the CDC provides instruction in sewing for the girls and technical workshop for the boys. This aims to arm the students with practical skills that they can use to find jobs when they leave school. The teaching assistant programme also give students options for paid work upon completion of their studies. The ULC puts a big emphasis on English language instruction and students are able to study English outside class time with the foreign teacher. She prepares them in general conversation and English language that would be most beneficial to them in their future work. Ban Pakweep School embraces the local context by providing

Farming as an additional subject. Students are taught how to farm vegetables, take care of chickens and how to extract rubber safely. This instruction shows an awareness of the precise skills that students, both Thai and Burmese, in Takua Pa district may need in the future if they follow in their parents' footsteps to work on farms and plantations but ensures they will be able to undertake the work safely.

The need for the curricula in the migrant schools to be compatible with that in the Thai school is important when considering possibilities for integration to pursue further education at a secondary level. Integration, both in Thailand and in Myanmar, can be problematic from primary to secondary if students have not studied the same subjects as those in the formal system. In order to facilitate and enable integration, the subjects students learn in primary must be compatible with the formal curriculum. The Thai curriculum requires students to study Thai, Maths, Science, Social Studies, History, Art, Music, English, Occupations and Technology and Computer. In Myanmar, the three main subjects are Myanmar and English language, Mathematics, with upper primary levels also studying General Studies, Basic Science, Geography and History, and Social Studies. Comparing the three Grade 6 timetables in this study one can immediately see differences which could cause problems with future integration. Perhaps the most obvious differences is the total learning time in the migrant schools is up to 5 hours shorter than the Thai school. The subjects taught in all three models are similar with all three models put a heavy emphasis on Thai, Maths and English which is compatible with the formal system. Hours spent on other subjects vary slightly, but fairly insignificant and unlikely to cause problems if students want to integrate for secondary education. What may be problematic is that neither migrant school teaches Social Studies, Art or Occupations and Technology. Without these three core formal system subjects, students may find they are inadequately prepared for formal secondary education.

Problems with incompatibility of curricula are hoped to be addressed by the MEII. The MEII will create a curriculum to be used in all migrant schools in Thailand which will be compatible with and recognised by the formal education systems in both Thailand and Myanmar. During fieldwork the researcher was informed by a representative from the MEII that the development of the migrant curriculum has been completed. According to the Phase 3 Preliminary Report, "schools have a responsibility

of providing a flexible curriculum that is accessible to all students" (MEII, 2014, p. 13). The MEII curriculum is complex and consists of four strands of learning: Basic Knowledge, Social Development, Life Skills are Occupation Skills. For Grade 6, subjects studied are as follows (MEII, 2014, p. 23):

Subject	Hours per week
Thai	4
Burmese	5
English	5
Science, Technology and	4
Environment	2
Mathematics	7
Social Studies	6
Total learning time (all)	31

Figure 19: MEII Grade 6 timetable

Additional subjects include Civics and Citizenship, Peace Education and Community Development and Self-Sufficiency Economics, Reading and Thinking Skills, Research, Arts and Health and PE, Occupational Skills and Development and the Labour Market. With the inclusion of the additional subjects, the MEII curriculum is far more extensive than either of the formal systems in Thailand or Myanmar. The basic curriculum standards however cover most of the formal core subjects making it more compatible with the formal system. Students of this curriculum therefore would be more prepared for further education in both Thailand and Myanmar.

4.6 "Accredibility"

The MEII curriculum also hopes to address the problems with accreditation that can act as a barrier to students who need to move between schools and between countries. At present, if a student needs to move schools their current school can write them a letter detailing their educational achievements. However, whether or not the new school accepts this letter as proof of previous education or not is unpredictable and entirely dependent on the individual school. The migrant schools in this study had mixed experiences with writing letters for students moving schools. The CDC Director commented: "I can come up with a letter of certification to say that such and such a kid has finished up to a certain level and hope, so far all my letters have worked." (Jason Goh, 12/5/15). However, the ULC commented: "We sent students to Burma with our recommendation letter they did not know what our organisation was, so it's kind of difficult for them to accept" (Ei Ei Chaw, 28/5/15). Both schools had experience only of students moving schools within primary level. Moving schools from primary to secondary is more problematic without recognised certification. The MEII hopes to overcome this problem by creating standardised test that students in migrant schools can take at the end of each year. This will ensure the quality of graduates at each level in all MLCs is the same. With certification that will be recognised by both non-formal and formal schools in both Thailand and Myanmar, students will be able to integrate for secondary education. Recognition by both Thailand and Myanmar requires extensive dialogue between the Ministries of Education in both countries, an ongoing strategy of the MEII.

The migrant schools in this study are both unable to register. Reasons for this were given by the CDC as: "You have to have a certified curriculum with the Thai MOE which we cannot get because we cannot possibly import the whole entire Thai MOE curriculum wholesale and teach it to the Burmese kids." (Jason Goh, 11/5/15). The Director also commented that when they attempted to engage in the registration process, the MOE office in Phang Nga encouraged them not to register, but rather to continue as they were because of the lengthy and complex registration process. The ULC faces a similar problem: "You need qualified teachers and curriculum standards of the Thai education system. Also all management should be under the Thai Government Education Department. That is not something we can do" (Ei Ei Chaw, 28/5/15). Both schools overcome this problem by running as projects of their respective Foundations. However does not seem to limit the possibilities of the school in any way and both schools function satisfactorily in this state. It is therefore questionable whether registration is essential for schools to be able to run. The only problem that seems to arise from the lack of registration is the lack of accreditation. With promise of the MEII accreditation, this problem hopes to be overcome.

The two migrant schools showed very different attitudes towards Burmese students transferring into the formal system. The CDC had only a handful of students who transferred to Thai schools. The Director commented that: "The Burmese are never really going to want their child to go to Thai school" (Jason Goh, 11/5/15). In addition, migrant parents do not prioritise their children's education. As seen with the problems with children dropping out to go to work, the number one issue for migrant families is ensuring the family has enough money. This is prioritised over children receiving certification from any school. Parents are unable to see the potential benefits of accredited education. Children with higher education are eligible for more skilled work and better wages, meaning they will be able to contribute more money to the family. The parents however cannot see beyond their short-term problems.

The ULC however shows a contradicting attitude towards Burmese students transferring to Thai schools:

"Some parents want their young children to study Thai to speak fluently and have Thai education. We encourage the parents if they have plans to stay in Thailand for a long time or if they have plan for their children to work in resorts and restaurants. It's a good opportunity for them to study in the Thai school." (Ei Ei Chaw, 28/5/15)

It was for this reason that the ULC started the Integration Programme to assist Burmese students who want to go to Thai school. In the academic year 2014-15 the FED Integration Programme successfully placed 44 Burmese students in Thai schools in Takua Pa (FED Education Programme, 2014, p. 1). These students will have the opportunity to earn certification that can enable them to go on to higher education and find skilled work. Being enrolled in Thai school also gives them the same social security as Thai citizens, which is incredibly important.

Both migrant schooling models are faced with the challenge of students needing to be able to access a consistent education in both Thailand and Myanmar. The MEII curriculum aims to "build a cross border education network and foster educational collaboration between Thailand and Myanmar" (MEII, 2014, p. 7). This study has noted the importance of cross-border education, with stability being a major concern for several of the interviewees. The next stage of the MEII focuses on building dialogue between the MoEs in Thailand and Myanmar as well as between MLCs across Thailand to "find strategies to implement basic curriculum standards" (MEII, 2014, p. 41). This stage relies on the cooperation of MLCs in Thailand. The researcher found that the level of awareness about the MEII among the two migrant schools in this study was very different, indicating a need for more information to be distributed among the learning centre community. The Director and Headteacher at the CDC were familiar with the MEII but knew little about it. The Director expressed concern about implementing an entire new curriculum in the school, but instead recommended that the MEII offered a basic set of core subjects that each school could add to. The CDC were supportive of the MEIIs goal, with the Director commenting that: "I think it will solve a lot of problems or clear a lot of obstacles for the child when they go back to Burma." (Jason Goh, 12/5/15). However it did not seem as though they saw it as something that would happen soon. By contrast, the ULC were more involved with the MEII implementation process, with the ULC Education Programme Coordinator also being an MEII steering committee member. They are therefore able to see implementation of the new curriculum in the near future, and more prepared to make the necessary changes when the time comes.

4.7 Barriers to fulfilment

Many of the barriers to the fulfilment of the right to education that have been named in previous studies such as financial cost, discrimination and enrolment processes, were not found to be major barriers in this research. However this study found the biggest barrier was the parents' attitude towards education. This barrier was stressed by ULC's Education Programme Coordinator, and MEII representative:

"In the education system we rely on each other. Teachers, parents and students. But here most of the parents rely on us because they think if their children come to the school everything is safe, they don't have to worry about their children. But when their children go home from school they never check whether they have homework. The parents have a lack of knowledge on education." (Min Thein Kjaw, ULC Education Programme Coordinator, personal communication 27/5/15)

Parents are unable to see the value of a long-term, stable education. This can result in the children being forced to drop out of school before completion of compulsory education to start work. This hands them the same fate as their parents: unable to find skilled work and unable to make a decent living. The cycle of poverty in inescapable and food and human security always in jeopardy with attitudes that neglect the long-term importance of education. This makes it incredibly hard for the migrant schools to meet the needs of the students: "If the parents don't help the education system, for example with curriculum if we want to improve and develop, if the parents are not interested and don't support us it means it will not be successful" (Ei Ei Chaw, 28/5/15). Children are young and impressionable and the attitudes their parents have are likely to be the ones the children will adopt. If the parents show no interest in what the child is learning in school, the child will be demotivated to show interest too. The three-way relationship between teachers, parents and students will not work without cooperation from all parties, which means the education that the students receive is limited.

It was also reported that there is a difference in attitudes between migrant parents and migrant children. Whereas the migrant parents may be eager to return to Myanmar at some point, for migrant children who were born in Thailand or spent most of their lives in Thailand the pull to return to Myanmar may not be so strong. This results in parents choosing an education that best prepares them for life in Myanmar, when in reality the children may never choose to return to their homeland once they grow up. Instead, they will continue their lives in Thailand but missing out on many opportunities because their parents did not picture their future this way. It is essential to consider the needs and desires of the children but this is problematic when the children are too young to know what they want for their futures. The majority of the Grade 6 students interviewed in this study said they want to go to University in the future and many named doctor or teacher as future careers. Unfortunately, these careers may not be an option for students studying in the migrant schools. Perhaps the children are too young to understand the limitations of the education they currently receive but if they did understand, it is questionable whether they would choose another model of education.

The MEII Phase 3 Preliminary Report identified barriers that were faced in Phase 2 of the Initiative. After extensive needs analysis and research about the current situation it noted that due to the challenges with diversity of ethnicity and language unique to the migrant community, and limited funding and resources: "It may be difficult or impossible for the majority of MLCs to meet the standards of mainstream learning. However, the non-formal systems of both Thailand and Myanmar offer a much more flexible set of criteria in terms of content and method of instruction when compared to the mainstream education systems of both countries. MEII's research found that these non-formal systems offer the potential for integration with the existing network of migrant learning

centres. "(MEII, 2014, p. 2)

The MEII is not confident that MLCs will be able to reach the standard to become compatible with the formal systems, as it once was. The focus for integration has therefore been forced to shift from integration from non-formal to formal, to integration between non-formal institutions.

4.8 Conclusion

Research shows that the three models of migrant schooling in this study are able to satisfy the first two components of the modified 4As framework, but meet problems as components become more demanding. The right to education becomes harder to fulfil at the more complex levels as these components require more flexibility from all models than any can give. Considering that issues encountered in previous research with affordability, discrimination, and language barriers do not seem to pose a problem here, it can be concluded that the situation for migrant education is improving and the right to education is able to be satisfied more. The final component, Accredibility, forms the biggest barrier to integration in all three models. Those students in the migrant schools will graduate from primary education with no certification, potentially problematic for pursuing further education in both Myanmar and Thailand. Those in the Thai school will graduate will Thai certification which will give them opportunities in Thailand but possibly not Myanmar. Perhaps the most promising opportunity for migrant education to overcome the significant barrier of accreditation is with the MEII. Fulfilment of the final component of the framework relies on successful implementation of the MEII curriculum. Unfortunately, since the Initiative has only reached completion of Phase 3, it may be some time before an assessment can be made on the extent to which the MEII can change the opportunities for Burmese migrant students. Integration between systems requires a certain level of compatibility between school curricula and requires recognition of the educational achievements of those students graduating from non-formal institutions. Issues with Acceptability, Adaptability and Accredibility require the focus to be shifted to emphasise the importance of integration within the South East Asian region. An increased awareness of the need to provide for not only Thai students in the formal system could help to mould a curriculum that is more relevant to a wider range of students.



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CHAPTER V CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary of findings

When considering the findings made by previous studies, this research can conclude that some barriers that existed for migrant students fulfilling their right do not seem to be major barriers for students in Takua Pa. However, while fewer barriers exist at the first levels of the framework, barriers become more apparent in the Acceptable, Adaptable and Accredited components as problems become more complex and solutions harder to find.

5.1.1 Available

Options for migrant schooling in Takua Pa are limited with there being only two migrant schools available in 600km². With a total enrolment of 466 it is clear a large proportion of children in the district are not in school. Since each school has limited funding, teachers, facilities and resources the number of students they can provide for is limited. Most of the local Thai government schools are accepting of migrant students and programmes are in place to assist Burmese students who hope to integrate into the formal system. Such programmes also educate migrant parents about their children's right to education in Thailand, which may have an effect on their decision making in terms of whether to pursue formal or non-formal education.

5.1.2 Accessible

The limited options for migrant schools in Takua Pa could prevent children in more remote communities from fulfilling their right. Since there are a high number of migrant communities working on remote rubber plantations in the district, the lack of accessible schools poses a significant barrier to education. Schools that are available were found to be affordable. Whereas previous research named discrimination as a barrier to the formal system, this study found that while discrimination was named as a concern, it rarely occurred in reality. What was in fact found was that Burmese students studying in Thai schools were vulnerable to discrimination from other members of the Burmese community, who felt attending Thai school was a betrayal of Burmese identity. The majority of students in this study were either born in Thailand or had lived in Thailand the majority of their lives. They therefore had strong Thai language skills and language barriers were not an issue when accessing the formal system.

5.1.3 Acceptable

All schools provide good facilities and adequate resources for their students, despite limited funding in the case of the migrant schools. Limited funds does however mean that the migrant schools are unable to employ qualified teachers. They also follow the Burmese curriculum which, while relevant to Burmese students, is not compatible with the Thai formal system. This could potentially create problems for students integrating for secondary education. Students in the Thai school follow the Thai curriculum, which is not compatible with the Myanmar formal system and could create problems with continuation of schooling if the student needs to return to Myanmar.

5.1.4 Adaptable

Each model shows an awareness of the need to prepare students for further education and/or work. Each model however seems to be planning for a slightly different future, giving priority to different things. The CDC focuses on arming the students with practical skills, sewing for girls and tech workshop for boys, to find skilled work after school. It also offers the opportunity for work as a teaching assistant as an incentive for parents to keep their children in school. The ULC prepares students for work in the hospitality and tourist industry through a focus on English language instruction. The hope is with strong English language skills students can find work in hospitality, rather than construction or on plantations. For students who envisage a long-term stay in Thailand the ULC encourages integration into Thai schools so that students have the opportunity to earn recognised certification with which they can go on to higher education. This opportunity becomes an option to all migrant students studying in Thai schools.

A consistent problem that each model faces is with students dropping out before the end of compulsory education to go to work. This is a problem independent of access to education. Whether education satisfies the 4As framework or not, the bigger problem of economic security means students would still be required to go to work to help their families. In the short term, this problem is likely to continue. However, in the long run the relationship between education and increased earning potential means students who continue their studies to complete compulsory education will have more opportunities to earn higher wages. This will relieve some of the financial pressure on migrant families, enabling them to send their children to school without the need to send them to work.

5.1.5 Accredited

Though the registration process is too complex for migrant schools to pursue, recognition is given to them as education institutions which allows them to function as school. However, this becomes problematic when the students graduate from these schools with no official accreditation. Whether they stay in Thailand or go back to Myanmar, options for further study are limited and students rely on the acceptance of recommendation letters by individual schools. Transferring from the non-formal to the formal system in Thailand is relatively straightforward at primary level, providing the student has the necessary documentation. Students are able to take a Thai language test to enrol. Transferring between primary and secondary however can be more complicated because of the incompatibility of formal and non-formal curricula. Though students may pass the Thai language test, credit transfer is not possible for subjects such as Social Studies and Occupations and Technology which are not studied in the Burmese schools. At present, no official recognition is given by neither the MOE Thailand nor Myanmar for educational achievements earned in non-formal institutions in Thailand. Options for further study in either country are therefore limited, giving Burmese students fewer opportunities in study and work than Thai.

5.2 Response to the Research Question

How do the three different models for primary migrant education in Takua Pa district fulfil the right to education for Burmese migrant students?

5.2.1 Ban Pakweep

Ban Pakweep School provides students with a stable, Thai government accredited primary education. Students following this model of education have the opportunity to continue their education at formal secondary schools and pursue further formal or informal education beyond completion of compulsory education. Problems named by previous research with accessing the formal system for primary education were found by this study to be unfounded. Ban Pakweep provides free tuition, uniforms, books and school meals. Students who need transportation to school can pay a fee for the school bus. This makes it the most affordable of the three models. Discrimination that is a deep-rooted fear of migrant parents did not appear a problem in reality. None of the students interviewed in this study commented on any discrimination from Thai students or teachers. Comments were instead made about discrimination from Burmese children studying in the Burmese schools, who believe going to Thai school is a betrayal of Burmese identity. Parent's fear that children will not develop proper language skills are solved by the ULC's weekend Burmese classes for Thai-enrolled students. There is a lower drop-out rate meaning students in this model have a good opportunity to reach completion of compulsory education.

5.2.2 FED ULC

Students at the ULC receive an education that prepares them more for the working world than for secondary education. A focus on English language instruction prepares students to work in local hotels and restaurants, earning better wages than their parents who are working in construction or plantations. The drop-out rate among upper primary level students is high. Students leave school before completion of compulsory education to go to work with their parents, or to take care of younger siblings. Students who drop out before the end of schooling will have limited options for skilled work in the future. The ULC does provide the opportunity for students to integrate into the Thai formal system through the Integration Programme. Assistance is given in gathering the necessary documentation and preparing for the Thai language test. Parents are given information about their children's right to education in Thailand, enabling them to make more informed decision regarding which school to send their child to. Therefore, while some parents may not choose it for their children, the option for integration into the formal system for completion of compulsory education is available.

5.2.3 CDC Ban Nam Kem

As with the ULC, the CDC focuses more on preparing students for entering into skilled employment and students learn skills that will facilitate them in finding employment after school. Unlike the ULC, the CDC does not see integration into the formal system as important for students. Instead, the more urgent need to earn money is prioritised and students are given the opportunity to gain employment as a teaching assistant with the school upon completion of their studies. The curriculum follows the Burmese curriculum and students wanting to integrate into Thai schools may face problems between primary and secondary level. However, a focus on Thai and English language instruction arms CDC students with strong language skills that could help them in pursuing further education or finding skilled employment in the future, which is the most important and immediate need.

5.3 Opportunities

Despite the MEII's doubts about MLCs being able to reach the standards of formal education, the potential for recognised accreditation offers the migrant student community the most valuable opportunity. Education should, no matter what model the student takes, give equal opportunities for further study or skilled employment for the right to be considered fulfilled. Currently, those studying in the formal model have more opportunities for further study and employment because of the certification they receive. Though it is just a piece of paper, it is a piece of paper that can mean the difference between basic level education and higher education, skilled and unskilled work, even life in poverty or not. Most migrant students are able to access primary education with fewer barriers as, whether the parents appreciate the value of the education their child receives or not, most parents are happy to send their young children to school as they know they are safe. Problems arise when the children get older and become able to earn a living with their parents. It is at this point that it becomes important to have opportunities for secondary education and, with many MLCs being unable to provide adequately for secondary students, this is when the opportunity to be able to integrate into the Thai system becomes so important. Whether they choose to take advantage of the opportunity or not is another issue, but the opportunity should be open. The view of the researcher, and one echoed by several interviewees, is that integration provides students with the best opportunities for a future in Thailand. The following quote captures the ever-growing importance of the role that integration plays for the Burmese migrant community:

"Integration of Burmese students into Thai schools is essential for providing migrant children higher education opportunities in the future. However the process of integration takes time, commitment, resources and staff to work with the Thai schools and with the parents to overcome any stigmas between the two cultures that may affect their children's ability or willingness to study at Thai schools. As many parents are not educated themselves, they don't always see the greater good for educating their children in Thai schools." (Mark Del Greco, FED Development Director, personal communication 28/5/15)

This study found that integration was not always the focus for the three models of migrant education. Instead, all three models present opportunities for skills training at primary level which will assist the children in finding skilled employment when they leave school. This thesis can draw the conclusion that the focus is not on secondary education because without accreditation, this is not an option that would be open to the majority of graduates. The migrant schools serve the immediate needs of the migrant community by preparing their students for work. This thesis questions whether this will continue to be case when the MEII curriculum reaches full implementation. If the aim of the MEII is to create a curriculum that will give recognised certification to facilitate integration, the opportunities for migrant students will change and migrant schools will have a responsibility to prepare their students for such opportunities.

5.4 Summary of Key Findings

This research discovered that of the 1500-2000 school-age students estimated to be in Takua Pa district, only one third are enrolled in school. The total students enrolled in the three schools involved in this study is 587, which accounts for the most of the total migrant student enrolment. There is therefore an alarmingly high number of children in the district who are unable to access school.

This thesis made discoveries that contradicted previous research. One issue that is often named as a barrier to Burmese students accessing Thai schools is discrimination. This research found that discrimination does exist in migrant education but only within the Burmese community, and not than from Thai to Burmese. Burmese students who attend Thai schools are vulnerable to being labelled as "not real Burmese", for betraying their country and their culture. In addition, Thai schools were also previously branded as being too expensive for low-income migrant families. However this research found the Thai school to be the most affordable option, as students are not required to pay for tuition, uniforms, meals, books or registration fees. Research found a surprising lack of communication between the two migrant schools in Takua Pa. Considering there are only two, it would not be hard to coordinate between themselves to maximise their reach of the migrant community. The schools would both benefit from increased communication as they will be better informed of what students are enrolled where and what each school is teaching and also any problems that one school may encounter, the other may be able to offer a solution. Progress of the MEII can be better tracked with both schools in communication and implementation could be achieved more quickly and efficiently.

The parents of the students involved in this study were found to prioritise work over education. Parents are unable to see the long-term benefits of education, financial as well as social. Many families in the district struggle to make enough money and so when children reach an age where they are able to work that is what they must do. Of the children who start school, very few make it past Grade 6. Therefore, the short term need to overcome poverty was found to be a greater concern for those families unable to send their children to school for post-primary education.

5.5 Conclusion

This study concludes that if only one third of the school-age migrant population in Takua Pa are enrolled in school, whether formal or non-formal, the right to education is not being satisfied for the majority in the district. Issues with limited availability and inaccessibility may result in children living in remote locations being unable to go to school. For those students this study was able to reach, those enrolled in school, such issues with availability and accessibility were not as problematic but barriers become more apparent in the Acceptable, Adaptable and Accredited components of the framework. It seems that many of the barriers exist only in the attitudes of the migrant parents. Parents in this study prioritise work over education, pulling their children out of school before completion of compulsory education to help earn money for the family. An inability to see beyond their short-term financial problems could a more significant long-term effect, as children with only basic education are fated to follow in the same unskilled, low wage jobs as their parents. A change in attitudes to prioritise education over work has the potential for long term improvements in the economic security of migrant families.

Both formal and non-formal schooling is available to the migrant students involved in this study. Those who choose non-formal education sacrifice the possibility of their child being able to earn recognised certification, jeopardising their chances for further education beyond primary level. This choice was found to be made mainly due to the parents' fear of discrimination from the Thai community, which was not found to be an issue in reality, and the parents' belief that their time in Thailand was only short-term as their strong tie to Myanmar would call them back eventually. Parents therefore prioritise a Myanmar-compatible education over Thai. This contrasts with the views of the students interviewed, many of whom do not feel the same strong link to Myanmar and intend to stay in Thailand in the future. If this is the case, a Thai education would be most beneficial to them. Those parents who envisage a longer-term stay in Thailand may prioritise a Thai education over Burmese schools to give their children the opportunity for further education and skilled work in Thailand. The parents with children in Thai schools in this study have access to information and support from the ULC Integration Programme, a benefit that the students at the CDC do not have. Were the non-formal schools able to offer accreditation with the MEII curriculum, parents' choice between Thai schools and Burmese schools may only be affected if the parents accept a long-term stay in Thailand. Therefore were accreditation available, numbers of students integrating into the formal system may still remain low.

Any opportunities that the MEII may potentially offer for accreditation could be jeopardised by the attitudes of the migrant parents. If parents continue to prioritise paid work over education, students in migrant schools will not be given the opportunity to reach completion of their studies to reap the benefits of the accreditation offered by the MEII. However, the benefits for those who are able to complete their studies would be significant. Recognised accreditation from non-formal schools opens up the opportunity for a stable education in both Thailand and Myanmar. This would give students expanded choices for further education and for higher skilled, higher paid employment. This relies on the students being able to complete their studies. As more migrant students come to appreciate and see the value of education, attitudes will slowly change through generations. If a handful of migrant students go on to complete their compulsory education this year, and slightly more each of the subsequent years, there is hope that in the future the attitudes of the migrant community towards education will have altered enough for windows of opportunity to open that migrant students today may not have thought possible.

5.6 Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, this thesis sees a need for greater collaboration between the nations in the region. Governments need to recognise the educational needs of migrants in order to fulfil international obligations to provide education for all. In order to provide long-term opportunities for migrant students, integration between systems is essential. The current, nation-centric approach to education policy making makes possibility of integration extremely difficult. Education policies in Thailand focus on providing life-long education opportunities for Thai students, but this focus creates barriers for migrant students in accessing long-term education through the formal system. Since such policy revisions cannot be expected to take effect in the near future, the governments must take steps to progressively address issues. An acceptance of the responsibility by the Thai Government to provide for the long-term needs of the migrant community is the first step in ensuring migrant students are able to fulfil their right to education, according to the modified 4As framework used in this thesis. Communication between the Ministries of Education in Thailand and Myanmar could enable the recognition of non-formal certification offered by migrant schools. The MEII offers the chance for open dialogue to inform both countries of the current situation and what can be done to overcome barriers to education. This thesis hopes that increased collaboration between the two countries will give more stability to the long-term education of migrants and widen opportunities for further study in both the formal and non-formal systems in Thailand.

Increased collaboration between schools within Thailand is also seen as necessary. Though the only two in the district, the two migrant schools in this study knew little about the work of the other. Increased communications between non-formal institutes could result in an overall better service to the migrant community. Schools may be able to assist each other by providing information about current students and students who are dropping out, so each is more aware of the situation in the district. In order for the MEII to be effective, all non-formal institutions need to be of a similar attitude, which this research found not to be the case. Communication and cooperation between the MEII and migrant schools will help the implementation process by ensuring all participants are informed of the MEII's progress and aware of what responsibilities each has to achieving the aim. These efforts however are futile without the cooperation of the Burmese and Thai Ministries of Education, who must recognise the MEII curriculum and certification as legitimate, as the MEII envisages.

Furthermore, this study sees the need for greater dissemination of information among the migrant community about their children's right to education in Thailand. This could be done through NGOs working with the migrant community at a local level. Were parents more aware of what options were available, decisions about schooling may be made differently. The biggest and most difficult challenge to overcome is the attitude of the parents towards education. Migrant parents need to appreciate the benefit of completed compulsory education so that their children may enjoy the same opportunities as Thai students, to give them hope of improving their social and financial situations in the future.

5.7 Future Research

This thesis sees the need for further research on the migrant situation to be conducted in Takua Pa district. Having discovered that around only one third of the school-age migrant population are enrolled in some kind of school, further research is needed to find out the reasons for such low enrolment. The needs of the different migrant communities in the area are very different, for example the children of fishing workers will have different problems with accessing education than children living on remote plantations. Further research into the unique problems faced by each community could provide information that may enable local NGOs and CBOs to find ways to widen access to education and increase the number of children enrolled in schools in the district.

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APPENDIX

List of Interviewees

Following is a list of interviewees participating in this study. Due to the young age of the students, their names are not given.

Name	Position	Organisation
3 x Grade 6 students	Students	Ban Pakweep
Mr. Winai Kuesakul	Headteacher	Ban Pakweep
Ms. Darunee Glinbuphba	Teacher	Ban Pakweep
Ms. Mani Wong	Teacher	Ban Pakweep
9 x Grade students	Students	CDC Ban Nam Kem
Mr. Jason Goh	School Director	CDC Ban Nam Kem
Mr. Tha Dah	Teacher	CDC Ban Nam Kem
Ms. La La	Headteacher	CDC Ban Nam Kem
Mr. Mark Del Greco	FED Development Director	ULC
10 x Grade 6 students	Students	ULC
Mr. Min Thein Kyaw	Education Program Coordinator, MEII representative	ULC
Ms. Ei Ei Chaw	Education Program Assistant, Integration Program Officer	ULC

VITA

After completing her BA in English and Drama in London in 2010, Charlotte moved to Thailand and began working as a teacher in Bangkok. She became involved in NGO work and spent time working with ethnic minority children in Chiang Rai, and later with Burmese migrants in Khao Lak which sparked her interest in migrant education. After completed her Masters she intends to continue working to widen access to education for minority groups.



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