CULTURAL CAPITAL AND HIGHER EDUCATION CHOICES OF THAI YOUTH

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Abstract

Employing perspectives from Bourdieu's theory of practice on the three key concepts: cultural capital, habitus and field, the objective of this study is to explain the impact of cultural capital on Thai students' choices of education and careers after graduating from secondary education. The study draws on quantitative and qualitative data of students from different socio-cultural backgrounds to explore their life stories and factors in relation to the notions of practice, habitus and field; and how these interrelations generate forms of cultural capital which also tend to be passively inherited within particular social groups through the context of social value, socio-cultural roles, and norms.

In Thailand, higher education could play an important role in enabling upward social and economic mobility, and eliminating social inequality; as higher education institutions are sources of knowledge and skills, filled with different forms of capitals which could enhance the social opportunities of the participants. However, higher education in Thailand has so far failed to adequately address the problem of social inequality; its existence remains widespread.

Investigating the higher education recruitment system in Thailand and the cultural capital required within the field, in addition to other practices within and/or between each social field in Thai society, the analysis showed that cultural capital is the key hindrance to students from under-privileged social groups in securing access to higher education. Thus, in order to enhance the role of higher education in reducing inequality in the society, widening participation in higher education should be a major component of government education policy in Thailand. Nevertheless, the root causes of social reproduction should not be overlooked.

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Preface

Background Information of Thailand

One theory about the origin of the Thai people is that they are a subgroup of Tai peoples, who migrated from Guangxi Province in south-western China into Southeast Asia – the area of Thailand and Laos today - around the 8th-10th centuries CE. Around the 12th century CE, the first kingdom of Thailand was established at Sukhothai, in the central part of the region. At that time, the country was also known as Siam, which is believed to have derived from the Sanskrit word "syam", meaning "brown race".

The name "Thailand" was invented in 1939 by a military dictator, Phibun Song-kham, the third prime minister of Thailand. The name originates from the name of the country's dominant ethnic group, the Thai. Most Thai (or Central Tai) people live in the central part of Thailand, although other ethnic groups are scattered throughout the country, particularly in the north and northeast.

Thai culture was broadly influenced by the Indian civilisation of the Mon states, which occupied parts of central and northern Thailand during the eighth and ninth centuries. At that time, Theravada Buddhism became widespread in this area. Then, in the eleventh century, the Khmer Empire invaded, putting large parts of Thailand under vassalage, until the Tai people revolted against the Khmer rulers and established the Thai kingdom.

Thai is the official national language of Thailand, and the medium for education and mass communication. However, several other dialects or minority languages are spoken by people throughout the country as their

first language. The largest minority language is Lao, or the Isaan dialect, which is widely spoken (by approximately fifteen million people) in the north-eastern region. The second-largest minority language is Lanna, or the Northern dialect, which is spoken in the Northern part of Thailand (by approximately six million people). The Southern Thai dialect is spoken in the Southern provinces by about five million people.

Geography and Population

Thailand covers a total area of 513,120 square kilometres and can be divided into six regions in terms of geography: the North, the North-East, the East, the Central, the West and the South. Each of the six regions differs from the others in terms of population, natural resources and levels of social and economic development.

Culturally, Thailand can be divided into four regions (North, Central, North-East, and South), with 33.3 % of the Thai population living in urban areas (National Statistical Office (NSO), 2009). Cities and other urban areas are distributed throughout Thailand's regions, although Bangkok and its metropolitan area represent by far the largest urbanised area.

Thailand shares borders with Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia and Myanmar. Its border in the west and part of the northern region connects with Myanmar, while the remainder of the Northern and the North-Eastern area borders Laos. Eastern Thailand connects with Cambodia, and the country's Southern border is with Malaysia.

Bangkok, the capital of Thailand since the late eighteenth century, is the most important city both politically and economically, with a current population of almost 10 million.

According to a report in the year 2018 (Thailand Population 2018, 2018), Thailand has a population exceeding 66 million. About 75% of the population are ethnically Thai, 14% are of Chinese origin, and 3% are Malayan, while the rest belong to minority groups, including Mons, Khmers and various hill tribes. There are approximately 2.2 million legal and illegal migrants in Thailand. 16.93% of citizens are aged 0-14 years, 72.49 % are 15-64 years, and 10.58% are 65 years and older (Thailand Demographics Profile 2018, 2018).

Government and Politics

Thailand has never been under European colonial rule. The country was governed by an absolute monarchy until the democratic revolution in 1932, led by a group of young Thais who had studied abroad. This revolution led to the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, with a hereditary monarch as head of state and an elected prime minister as the head of government.

Military dictators ruled the nation until the early 1970s; the military remained a powerful force in national politics into the early 1990s. Since that time, the dominance of the military in domestic politics has diminished, and the first constitution drafted by a popularly elected "Constitutional Drafting Assembly", colloquially known as the People's Constitution, was enacted in 1997 (Ministry of Culture, 2010).

The King of Thailand is deeply influential in all aspects of life within Thailand, with the monarch serving as a key symbol of national identity and unity. The King is revered by the Thai people, with large billboards displaying images of, and praising, the King and Queen seen everywhere in public. Showing disrespect for the King and the Royal Family is a serious criminal offence.

Thailand is a predominantly Buddhist country, and this religion is practised by approximately 95% of the citizens. Almost every house, shop and office in the country has images of the King and Queen hanging on its walls, as well as a shelf with a small shrine containing images of the Buddha or holy objects used for worship. In fact, every school and government department has a special shelf to honour the monarchs and the Buddha.

Economy

According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2007), Thailand is ranked 78th in the Human Development Index. This categorises it as having a medium level of development, measured by the three basic dimensions of life expectancy, education and standard of living.

Thailand has a large commercial sector. Agriculture is very important: Thailand is a major producer and exporter of agricultural products, especially rice, rubber, tapioca, sugar, corn and fruit. Despite the growth of manufacturing and tourism, agriculture and agricultural products still employ over 60% of the workforce. In the past, agricultural products were normally sold through local brokers. However, since the 1980s, market consolidation has occurred, with smaller companies being sold to larger corporations. There is also a large commercial farming sector and fishing industry.

During the past twenty years, there has been a shift in balance of the country's economy from agriculture towards other forms of industry, often dominated by Thai people of Chinese ethnicity. The manufacturing and tourism sectors are now major sources of national income. Thailand manufactures motor vehicle and motorcycle units and parts, computers,

garments and footwear, electrical appliances and plastic products. Its tourism industry is strong, and the country is ranked among the world's top tourist destinations ('UNWTO Tourism Highlights', 2018).

Recently Thailand has been classified by the World Bank as an upper-middle income country. However, economic growth and the corresponding improvement in access to and quality of public services has been concentrated in Bangkok and the central region.

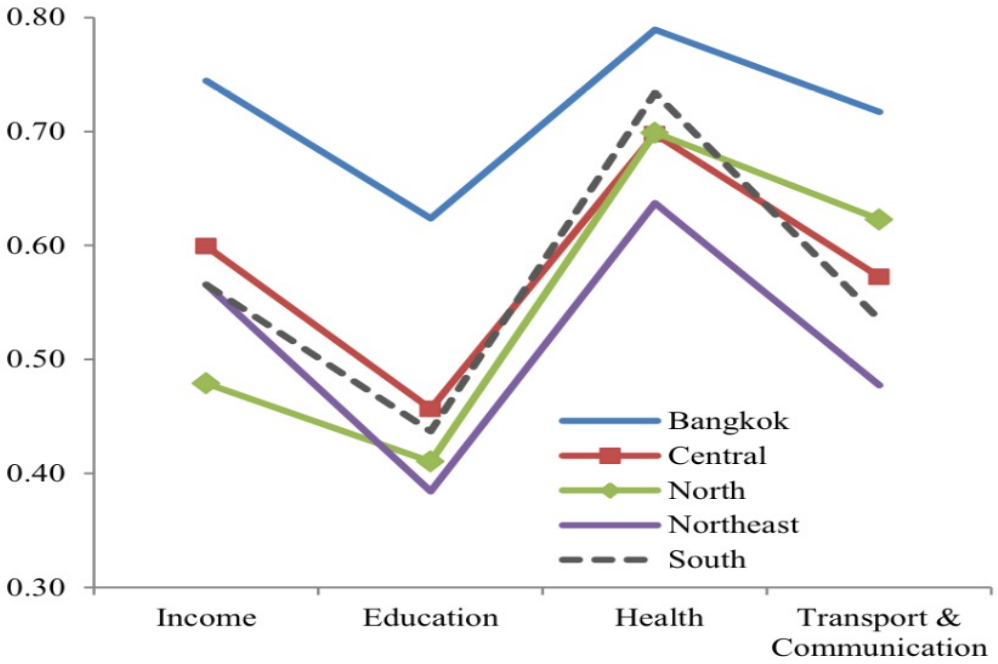
According to the World Bank, Thailand's public expenditure has shown an over-concentration in Bangkok (approximately 72%), leaving significant deficiencies in other parts of the country, especially in the North and Northeast regions, (7% and 6% respectively). The implication is that this inequality in government spending leads to unequal human development outcomes for those living in the North and Northeast. Annette Dixon, the World Bank's country director for Thailand, claimed that the country has one of the world's widest discrepancies in public services between the capital and rural areas (The World Bank, 2012).

According to the World Bank, financial policy for the top 1% of earners should focus on reducing monopolies and corruption. It should be rigorously enforced to ensure that top earners are contributing their fair share of the tax base (The World Bank, 2012), (UNDP, 2010).

Problems of Poverty and Social Inequality in Thailand

Against the four indices of the 2010 UNDP Human Achievement Index (HAI)-public expenditure and service delivery (health, education, income, and transportation and communication) Bangkok performs much better than other regions. The North region has the lowest income and is also poorly ranked for education (UNDP, 2010).

Figure P.1 Human Achievements Index in Thailand by Region



Note: 0.8 = highest; 0 = lowest

Source: UNDP, Thailand Development Report 2010

Thailand's system of government is highly centralised. At present, only Bangkok has a democratically elected governor, while the other 76 provinces have a governor directly appointed by the Ministry of the Interior. There is a functional overlap between provincial and local government, causing inefficient operations and redundancies, as well as inefficiency in budget distribution between central and local government.

Overall, there are limited learning facilities such as libraries, exam centres and science laboratories in provincial areas, especially in the smaller cities and rural areas. The distribution of schools is uneven, and there are issues with the quality of teachers available in less urban areas.

Public transportation is essential in Thailand, as without it many citizens cannot easily access public services such as hospitals and schools, and other opportunities for enhancing their employment prospects and wellbeing. Many people in Thailand cannot afford to own their own vehicle. To access higher quality education facilities and other educational services, which are predominantly located in Bangkok, people have to use public transport.

The lack, or high relative cost, of public transport in many rural areas in Thailand results in many families' deciding to have their children take their higher education in their hometowns or local areas. These educational decisions are also affected by the cost of accommodation at university and concerns about security in the capital city.

Poverty Reduction and the Increase in Inequality in Terms of Income Distribution

During the past twenty years, rapid economic growth in Thailand has helped to reduce levels of poverty. However, at the same time, Thailand has faced a problem of increasing income inequality. The country experienced large changes in mean income and income inequality from 1992 to 1999. While the period from 1992 to 1996 saw rapid economic growth and a modest reduction in income inequality, the following Asian economic crisis (1997-1999) was associated with both a sharp decline in mean income and a sharp increase in income inequality (Fofack & Zeufack, 1999).

Some economists suggest that while income growth has a positive effect in reducing poverty, income inequality has a sharply negative effect, particularly in a low-growth environment. It is suggested that the growing income gap causes inequality of opportunity. Reducing the

opportunity gap requires, amongst other measures, expansion of the educational opportunities for students from lower-income families, investment in infrastructure in historically poor and disadvantaged areas, and the provision of fiscal and other incentives to encourage private sector investments in poorer areas.

Like most developing countries, there are very large regional differences in Thailand in both the overall level of poverty and the rate of poverty reduction over time. The Northeast has the highest concentration of poverty, followed by the North, South, Central region and Bangkok. In an overview published in 1988, 48.4 percent of population in the Northeast is classed as poor, compared to only 6 percent in Bangkok. Nationally, about one third of the population is classified as poor. In recent years there has been little change in the rates of poverty in the poorest regions. The most marked decline has been seen in those regions classed as better-off economically.

The provincial variations in living standards are even more obvious than the regional differences. While the North-East and the South regions have the poorest provinces, these regions also have wealthy provinces where the poverty rate is less than 7.5 percent. Provinces with high poverty rates also tend to have large populations, hence, a large number of poor people.

Although the Northern region is the second poorest in Thailand, provinces in the region with the highest incidence of poverty tend to be remote and sparsely populated.

In addition to regional differences in overall income, there are regional differences in income distribution. Income is distributed more equally in the Centre and South than it is in the North and the North-East.

Even though the poverty rate decreased from 21% in 2000 to 8.2% in 2009 due to economic growth, there has been an increase in income inequality (the disparity in the distribution of income among people in the same society). The causes of this disparity are many, and often inter-related. They include preferences, education, budget constraints and other associated variables. Income inequality in Thailand increased significantly during the years between 1975 and 1998. Income inequality indices show the average household income in 1975-76 in Bangkok was 2.6 times larger compared with rural areas. In 1998, this difference had increased to being 3.4 times higher.

Data from 2009 shows that in Thailand, the richest 20% of people earn almost 60% of the national income (this is a higher percentage than in Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines and Vietnam). In contrast, the poorest 20% earned only 4% of the income (the lowest percentage in the south-east Asian countries).

Latthapipat (2010) argues that policies for the top 1% of earners should focus on reducing monopolies and corruption, and that tax administration should be analysed more carefully and fully collected.

Poverty Line

There are many different views on what constitutes the "poverty line" within a country. Different statistical methods have been used to calculate the groups within a country who should be considered to be in poverty.

Since 1996, the officially accepted poverty line has been that developed by the National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB); this has been used as the standard in most poverty analyses within Thailand.

The national average of the official poverty line was 878 baht (around 17 GBP) per person per month in 1998 and 886 baht per person per month in 1999. In 1999, this was about one-seventh (14.4 percent) of GDP per capita. It was significantly lower than the minimum wage (roughly a quarter of the minimum wage) (Deolalikar, 2002).

According to the Encyclopaedia of International Development, the global poverty line is considered to be US$2 a day (Forsyth, 2011). Haslam proposed an alternative estimate (2009), setting the poverty line for less developed countries as a per capita income of less than US$1,000 a year.

Social Classes and Castes

The structure of social stratification in Thailand is complex. Historically, Thai society was divided into two classes, the nobles and the masses. The Sakdina system, formalised in the reign of King Borommatrailokkanat (1448), defined the roles of these two groups of people in society. A strict social order was created, with social ranks created within the nobles and the commoners. At that time, Chinese and non-noble females were considered to be of the lowest rank.

The Sakdina system created rules for relationships and the demonstration of respect between people from different classes. Specific verbal and body language was also created to serve this ranking system. For example, the use of different pronouns to address individuals can identify social status or age.

However, the Sakdina system also reinforces privilege within society. The system seems to have been intended to encourage the belief that people of higher birth and hence social rank were expected to live by

higher standards and innately deserved greater respect. There is no concept of human equality; people from high rank were believed to have higher worth and people of lower rank were considered to have lower worth. The system influenced sentencing policy in the judicial system, for instance, meant that sentences differed according to rank. There is evidence that Sakdina led to corruption, with people using their status for personal gain (Wilding, 2009).

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, classification of Thai society would have included a group of elites and nobles, a small commercial middle class of Chinese and Europeans, and a lower class mostly composed of rural farmers. Nowadays the social structure has become more complex due to development of the economy and also as a result of globalisation. Noble birth continues to lead to higher social status, but the modern class system is based primarily on economic wealth, accompanied by a broadening of the middle class. The growth of towns and cities has given rise to a class of urban poor in addition to the traditional rural poor.

Acceptance of Social Class and Inequality

Social cohesion is a core principle of Buddhism, and some have taken the causes of inequality in Thai society to be explained by the Buddhist theory of Karma.

> The law of karma is seen as a natural law inherent in the nature of things, like a law of physics. It is not operated by a God, and indeed the gods are themselves under its sway. Good and bad rebirths are not, therefore seen as 'rewards' and 'punishments', but as simply the natural results of certain kinds of action. An action is thus like a seed which will sooner or later, as part of a natural

> maturation process, result in certain fruits arising to the doer of the action (Harvey, 2000, p. 16).

It is possible that people identify the social inequalities that they experience with the theory of Karma, perceiving that they are the 'natural results of certain kinds of action' in their past lives, which must be accepted in the present.

On the other hand, perceptions of social hierarchy in Thai society have also been influenced by the country's administrative structure. Following the establishment of the kingdom, Thailand was governed by an absolute monarchy until the democratic revolution in 1932. The structures of the centralised administration have become a dominant feature of administrative culture.

Traditional Thai society was built upon hierarchy and patronage. People tend to know their place and their power. Hierarchy is based on age, occupation, wealth and residence. While government officials have authority and power over merchants and artisans, peasant farmers are at the bottom of the social rankings. The Buddhist clergy are a group apart. The classification of upper, middle, and lower classes is mostly based on historic social hierarchy (Sakdina) and financial powers of the family.

The Sakdina system (sometimes compared to the European feudal system) differentiated by social rank depending on their position or the nature of their work. The rights and duties of individuals depended on people's socially assigned value. Educational opportunity was therefore limited to the elite. At present, according to Tamthai (1999) social ranking still exists.

Tamthai (1999) argues that a hierarchical structure based on Sakdina persists in the country: "Sakdina continues in the attitude [that] the

people at the top of society should not be criticised by those lower than them and creates a culture of passive acceptance of authority everywhere, no matter how unjust or corrupt." Sakdina has led to a culture that accepts the assumption of inappropriate power by officials. For example, people working in government sectors were normally classified as a higher caste. Having a quite high status in the society, rather than working to serve the public, they tended to consider civilians as inferiors who needed to be governed by them. Even today, this notion still exists. It is considered unacceptable that people in upper classes should be criticised by lower class people. It is claimed that this concept has resulted in the creation of a culture of passive acceptance of authority despite injustice and corruption stemming from the higher castes (Hays, 2014).

While Sakdina expresses relationships and hierarchies based on class, 'Bunkun' refers to an indebtedness, and institutionalises patron-client relationships across society. In Thai society, 'Bunkun' characterizes the relationship between young people and their elders.

Language and Class

The Thai language also supports social hierarchy. The usage of pronouns in Thai language is important to classify people's status, whether they are higher or lower status. Pronouns also identify people by their roles and age. For example, "Phi" designates an elder brother or sister. Body language can also be used to differentiate people's role and social status, with greeting gesture demonstrating the level of respect due. These linguistic signifiers not only establish how much respect a person is due but also how much social responsibility they are supposed to take.

Social position and the age are decisive in determining the way Thais behave towards one another. Generally, the oldest or socially highest-ranking person receives the most respect. This is reflected in family relationships, among friends and at work.

Different Social Classes in Thailand

In Thailand, the highest rank in the hierarchy is held by the hereditary nobility, or the royal family and the holders of royal titles. These people own much land and have political influence, even though the royal family is not strictly part of the ruling class. The ruling class consists of several levels, the uppermost of which comprises the military and, to a lesser extent, the bureaucratic elite. "Below the hereditary nobility and the ruling class was a socially and occupationally heterogeneous middle class that emerged in the years after World War II, especially after 1960." (LePoer, 1989, p. 92)

Membership of the same class shows itself in shared outlooks, values and political status. The middle class has sub-categories, based upon income and occupation – variables which affect the respect in which Thai people hold their fellow citizens. The upper middle class, or the wealthier segment of this group, consists of middle level bureaucrats and military, higher provincial officials, salaried administrative and managerial workers in private enterprise, middle-level businessmen, provincial notables and landlords living in urban areas, and professionals.

According to Thai social values, government officials and professional occupations are ranked in a social position of higher prestige. The lower middle class, or the larger group of the bourgeoisie, comprises salaried people who work in service industries, mostly in the capital city. Their work often involves providing services to the ruling class, the upper

middle class, and to tourists and other foreigners. Small-scale independent businessmen or shop owners are often included in this class.

A large number of wage workers offer their services as unskilled labour in commercial and industrial enterprises in Bangkok and the surrounding area. Mostly these workers are from rural areas, and many of them are from the North-Eastern region of Thailand. This group is considered a lower urban stratum, without steady work.

Those in the highest levels of the military and government bureaucracy earn salaries that give them access to landholding, real estate and the ownership of businesses, often in partnership with Chinese businessmen. In some cases, Chinese businessmen exercise day-to-day control of financial, commercial and industrial organizations and institutions.

While in the past, social status was mostly defined by family background, with people's backgrounds traced back to their origins, nowadays, social status is also judged by money and appearance. This is seen in the media, with those of high-status wearing luxury high-end brand names and expensive jewellery. They often participate in commercial and social activities, and are photographed in magazines. In addition, some of these people have strong political networks.

The Urban-Rural Divide

The distinction between urban and rural Thais is also significant. The majority of the Thai population live in rural villages, where they live rooted in pre-industrial traditions. In urban Thailand there is more diversity in social class, ethnicity, and international culture. Popular

culture is an important bridge between people from different groups. The differences between urban and rural Thais have become gradually smaller due to the media, telecommunications, and better transport but they persist in terms of access, income and opportunity.

Inequality in educational resources and facilities between urban and rural area causes migration from small cities to a bigger one, for those who want to seek better education and better jobs later on. In fact, educational opportunity for children is believed to be a major factor in migratory decision making.

"It was found that a higher proportion of the villagers who were more exposed to the outside world indicated that they had definite plans to move away from their village than those who were less exposed to the outside world, mostly through visits but sometimes only through communication media, had better knowledge of the opportunities available elsewhere and were attracted by them."

(Suwanagul et al., 1972)

Status of Women and Men

Today, the formal legal rights of men and women are equal. The 1997 constitution states that men and women shall have equal rights and protections. Women have access to the same levels of education and are now able to access a wide variety of jobs. The number of women in the labour market has grown and is benefiting the economy.

But despite improvements in the status of women, substantial gender inequality remains in Thailand. There is negative discrimination towards women, which occurs in various forms such as societal discrimination, various forms of abuse and human trafficking. Although the law has been

reformed, there is a lack of effective law enforcement. For instance, in Thailand, the social problem of prostitution is still rampant. It has long been considered as a top destination for "sex tourism" and trafficking in women for the sex trade. Additionally, in Chinese-Thai families, the favouring of baby boys over baby girls is still prevalent, although not as common as in previous generations.

Historically, Thai society featured a strong division of labour according to gender. Men were responsible for physical tasks such as agricultural work, whereas women were expected to focus upon household chores.

Although opportunities of work for women have increased, a salary gap persists. Women are generally found in lower-paid professions, such as teaching and nursing. Women are underrepresented in areas such as politics.

Social mobility in Thailand

The expansion of the bureaucracy and military, and the movement of Thai people into a rapidly growing private sector created opportunities for social mobility, although a major part of the population remained rural workers or moved into low-level occupations in the urban labour force. The availability of education was associated with upward mobility, particularly given the Thai orientation toward bureaucratic careers. Expansion of education facilities beyond the secondary level occurred in the early 1970s. In 1961, for example, about 42,000 full-time and part-time students were enrolled in six higher education institutions, but by 1972 there were roughly 72,000 in more than a dozen institutions. The oldest and most prestigious universities, such as Chulalongkorn, Thammasat, and Mahidol, were in Bangkok. Many students attended universities outside Thailand, though these were more likely to be the

children of people (Thai or Chinese) who had already attained a fairly high socioeconomic position.

Education was necessary for entry into the bureaucracy, but other capabilities or characteristics, including political reliability and involvement in the patron-client system, have also been important in upward mobility within the bureaucracy. In the military, the system played perhaps a greater role than education. Military expertise as such did not seem to be an important consideration.

By the mid-1970s, the number of those with undergraduate or even graduate degrees aspiring to enter the bureaucracy had begun to exceed the number of openings. Moreover, the economy was no longer expanding as it had in the 1960s and early 1970s. Opportunities for upward mobility lessened further in the early 1980s, and children of families already established in the upper or middle reaches of the socioeconomic system had to maintain their head start in a system that was no longer growing so rapidly.

Chiang Mai: The research site

Chiang Mai, the largest city in northern Thailand, was selected as the research site accordingly to the characteristic of the city and diversity of the population; in that the socio-cultural setting is comparable to urban Thai society. Eighty percent of the Chiang Mai region is mountainous, and its total population is about 1.67 million. Almost 19% of the population are from the hill tribes and minority groups. About 600,000 people live in municipal areas. There are approximately 370,000 people living in Amphur Muang Chiang Mai, the city's metropolitan area (National Statistical Office Thailand, 2010). Over 115,000 of the Chiang Mai population are aged between 15 and 19, and some 11,000 students

enrol in 12th grade (Departmental Provincial Administration, Ministry of Interior, 2010). There are thirty-four secondary schools operating under the Upper Secondary Education Bureau, Office of Basic Education. One school operates under the Provincial Administrative Organisation. There are about twenty-five private secondary schools, seven international schools, and one secondary school operating under the Office of the Higher Education Commission.

Chapter 1
Introduction

Preamble

The American philosopher and educational reformer John Dewey said that "Education is not preparation for life; education is life itself", stressing how highly education should be valued.

A related proverb in Thailand is: "Give a man a fish and you feed him for a day; teach a man to fish and you feed him for a lifetime." Similarly, this proverb emphasises of the role of education in solving the problem of poverty in Thai society.

Equality of opportunity in education is understood to be a means of achieving equality in society. However, education itself is also seen by 'critical' theorists as being implicated in the reproduction of social inequalities (Moore, 2007). In Thailand the education system is mainly competition based, causing students from lower socio-economic and other disadvantaged backgrounds to face additional challenges in accessing educational opportunities. According to the French sociologist Bourdieu, the education systems in the most industrialised societies function in such a way as to legitimate and perpetuate social inequalities. Education systems often help to maintain the status quo.

The relationship between social inequalities and educational opportunities is one of the most fundamental issues in the sociology of education. Hence, Bourdieu's theory of cultural reproduction has been highly influential within the sociology of education. He pointed out that cultural reproduction is hugely important in the affirmation of differences

between groups in society; and the reproduction of these differences in culture and education is not simply about hobbies or minor influences.

John Dewey (1966) suggested that education can develop independent and autonomous individuals and create freedom from all social ties and influences, whether social, religious or ´metaphysical`. Education should improve the lives of others, making communities and the world better. In contrast to education, politics cannot remove all social inequalities because of the unequal distribution of talents and merits among individuals. Thus, societies are constructed from the diversity of individuals' talents and skills to serve a multiplicity of social functions and jobs (Mounier & Tangchuan, 2010). However, be that as it may, individuals, particularly those from disadvantaged groups, should be offered opportunities to enhance themselves and achieve the highest educational level they can reach.

This chapter will provide a rationale for the study, an overview of the research context, the background to the area of study, and the overall structure of the thesis. The initial section will help readers to understand the significance and scope of the study, focusing on cultural capital factors which contribute to the inequality of opportunity available to young people when it comes to access to higher education in Thailand.

Background Information of Thai Education System

Prior to the introduction of the western school system, education in Thailand was provided by three main institutions of Thai society: homes, palaces, and temples.

At home, Thai children would learn local wisdom and occupational skills from their families. Boys would also learn reading, writing, and the

teachings of the Buddha (known as Dhamma knowledge) from monks at the temple. Royal and noble family members received education in classic art and literature in the palaces.

In the seventeenth century, the first French Catholic School was established in Ayutthaya, a city to the north of Bangkok that was once the capital of the Kingdom of Siam. This had a significant influence on Thai national education (Pinyakong et al., 2007).

This influence lasted until the eighteenth century when the country tried to strengthen its own cultural identity. Nevertheless, in the twentieth century, many Catholic schools were established across the country. These schools enrol a number of Thai students and have a good record of preparing students for entry to the elite universities.

Education has long been a subject of debate among Thai citizens. Since the reign of King Rama V (1868-1910), a national education system has been established and educational opportunities have expanded across the nation. The duration of mandatory education has increased from four years (the duration in 1936) to six years (in 1992), and from six years to nine years in 1999.

Initially, education aimed to train boys for office work or the civil service for the purpose of national development. Later, education opportunities became accessible to all, not just those children belonging to the aristocracy.

Temple education

As a Buddhist country, dominated by a population of nearly 95 per cent Theravada (conservative) Buddhists, temples play an important role in Thai society. The temples are not only spiritual centres for the people but also perform the role of a community hub. Almost every village in

Thailand has at least one temple, and often many more. People go to the temple for religious observance and prayer, charitable works and public service, social gatherings, Buddhist ceremonies and funerals, as well as to seek advice from the monks inside.

From the beginning of the Thai kingdom until the twentieth century, a temple was the place where most young boys from peasant families received basic education. Most of the boys would reside at the temple where they would perform housekeeping and domestic chores for their keep. It is also a custom in most Buddhist Thai families for their sons to be temporarily ordained as monks and live in temples for a time period, such as during the summer school break. From the age of twenty onwards, most Thai men would once again engage in periods of ordination as monks for one month or more in order to further their knowledge of the Dhamma prior to starting families, or as good deeds on behalf of their parents.

The education of girls

Thai girls were excluded from education through the temple due to religious prohibition. Females are not allowed to have close contact with monks. Instead, girls would learn household knowledge, such as how to prepare meals, weave clothing, and care for elders. Cultural norms related to the education and occupations of men and women thereby constructed a society in which men held the positions of influence. However, in 1989, girls were formally allowed into the educational system. However, schools for girls in Thailand was established in 1874.

Compulsory education

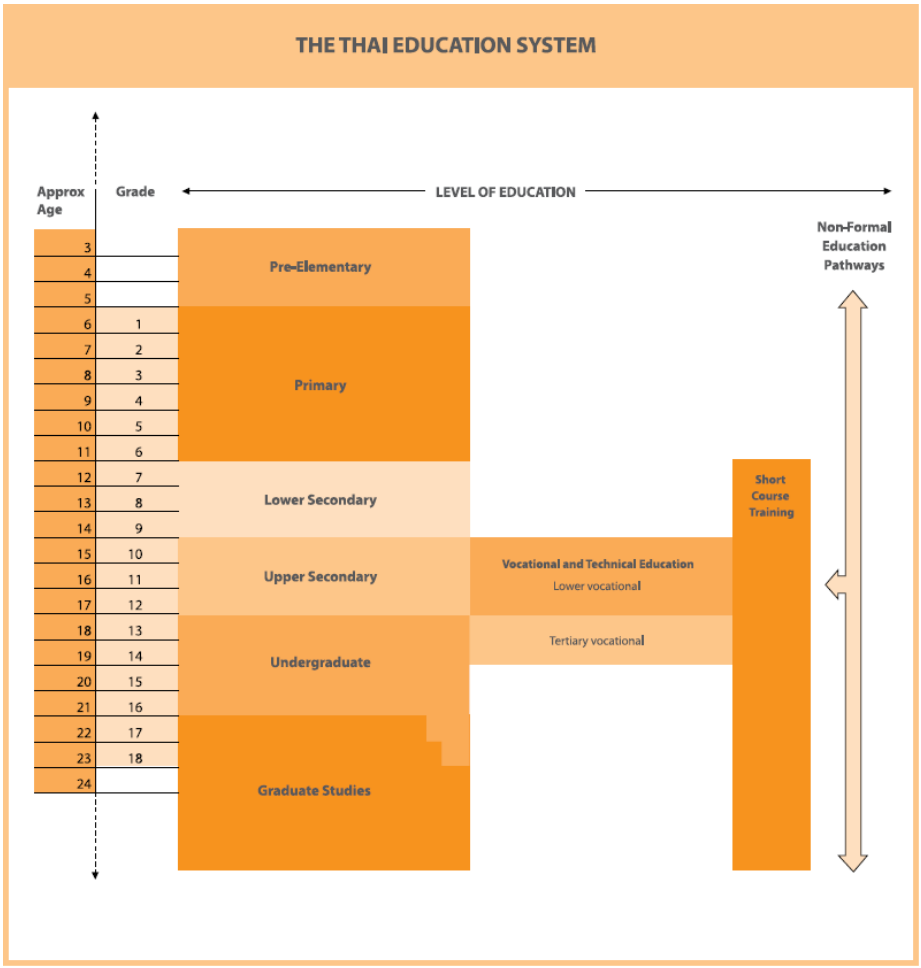
Over the last two decades, the Thai government has increasingly focused on the balanced, sustainable development of the country. Since the establishment of the Seventh National Development Plan (1992), human resource development has been set as one of the key goals for Thailand's development. As the need for skilled labour has become greater in Thailand's industrial and service business sectors, finding ways to enhance the competence of citizens has become a priority, along with providing equal education opportunities for all, irrespective of possible disabilities, gender, community of origin (rural or urban), region and socioeconomic status. Consequently, the constitution of 1997, coupled with the National Education Act of 1999, requires twelve years of free basic education (six years of elementary schooling and six years of secondary education).

The government's efforts have led to significant increases in enrolment in secondary education in recent years. In 2009, 92.8% of the Thai population aged 12-14 enrolled in lower secondary education, and 62.9% of Thai youths aged 15-17 attended upper secondary education (39.2% on academic pathways and 23.7% on vocational pathways). Equally, the percentage of the labour force advancing beyond elementary education rose from around 30% in 1997, to around 40% in 2004 (Thailand Social Monitor, 2006), and in 2009 this percentage increased to 45.8% (Chiangkul, 2010). In 2009, the government extended the free education scheme to also include three years of early childhood education (for ages 3-5). In 2009, about 24% of the National Budget was spent on education, and about 75% of this funded the provision of free basic education (Office of the Education Council, 2009).

At present, the education system in Thailand offers fifteen years of free schooling (Pre-Kindergarten to Grade 12), nine of which comprise

compulsory education (Grade 1 to Grade 9). All basic necessities, including tuition fees, listed textbooks, uniforms, materials and equipment, as well as the cost of other developmental activities in both government and private schools, are provided. However, individual allowances allocated to children rarely cover all schooling expenses, leaving parents to pay for additional costs. Examples include additional English language classes taught by native English teachers and computer literacy, along with other extracurricular activities. More details of the Thai education system can be seen in the figure below.

Figure 1.1 The Thai Education System



(Ministry of Education, 2007)

Table 1.1 Student Ratio

Level of Education	Age	2009		
		Population	Students	%
Total	**3-21**	**18,984,805**	**14,079,767**	**74.2**
Basic Education	**3-17**	**14,796,426**	**12,628,020**	**85.3**
Pre-Primary	3-5	2,897,990	2,735,093	94.4
Primary	6-11	5,766,500	5,146,535	89.2
Lower Secondary	12-14	2,969,974	2,756,205	92.8
Upper Secondary	15-17	3,161,962	1,990,187	62.9
Higher Education	**18-21**	**4,188,379**	**1,451,747**	**34.7**

(Office of the Education Council, 2009)

Early higher education in Thailand

Tertiary education within Thailand started in 1889 with the founding of Siriraj Hospital, the first medical school within Thailand. In 1897, the Law School of the Ministry of Justice was founded, and in 1902 the Royal Pages' School for training in government administration was established. An engineering school was founded at Hor Wang in 1913, and, in 1917, Chulalongkorn University, the first multidisciplinary university, was established. Chulalongkorn's aim was to support the country's

modernisation by transferring Western knowledge to Thai citizens (mostly nobles). Following the democratic revolution in 1932, Thammasat University was established with the aim of educating a larger group of people in the moral and political sciences (social science and philosophy).

In the 1960s and 1970s, there was a quantitative expansion of the tertiary education sector to serve the plans of the National Economic and Social Development Board. This led to the creation of universities in the provinces, as well as vocational, agricultural and teacher training colleges. During this period, the number of applicants for higher education increased from 19,013 in 1962 to 29,436 in 1970. However, the rate of applicants successfully gaining admission to higher education was as low as 24.5% in 1962 and 40% in 1970. This number included the College of Education, the College of Design and Construction, the Thon Buri Technical Institute, and the College of Telecommunication (Educational Statistics of Thailand 1957-1967, updated by office of the National Educational Council, 2010).

In 1969, the provision of higher education was opened to the private sector and overseas providers, with the first private colleges established in that year. The first four degree-granting private universities have been rapidly expanding since 1984, when they were first formally given full accreditation by the Royal Thai Government.

Since the Private College Act of 1969 granted private institutions the right to provide higher education, the number of students in higher education has increased. The number of students rose from 69,000 to 800,000 between 1970 and 1984 (Suwanwela, 2006).

This increase was unevenly distributed between the social and natural sciences, with the social sciences having the majority of students. This

may be a contributing factor in the growth of unemployment amongst graduates that was seen in the 1980s.

Over the past decades, foreign investment and industrialization were the two main factors in the nation's economic growth. Producing graduates in a specific field was one of the problems since it lost graduates to other private industries and businesses. In addition, population demographics led to a reduction in the number of primary school students, contributing to a surplus of schoolteachers. As demand for trained teachers decreased in line with demographic changes, many teacher training colleges in the provinces shifted focus and became broader community colleges and universities.

Suwanagul et al. (1972) argued that in developing countries where desire for higher level of education attainment causes migration, most students have to leave their home for school in larger towns. Whereas achievement of higher education means opportunities for employment which also requires migration.

Universities in Thailand

According to the OHEC's categorisation of universities, the first group, research and postgraduate universities, will focus on "providing postgraduate degree programs, especially, doctorate, and producing research and post-doctoral research. Graduates from these universities will be important brainpowers that lead national development. Research and postgraduate universities play important roles in developing Thai higher education's academic excellence by generating a new body of knowledge and technologies appropriate to Thailand's needs".

The goal of the second group of specialized universities, including science and technology and comprehensive universities, is to "provide

comprehensive study programs in their respective fields of study such as physical science, biological science, social sciences, humanities, and technologies. These universities may focus on producing researchers and skilled workforces. They also have crucial roles to develop manufacturing and service sectors. Specialized and comprehensive universities may also be divided into 2 sub-categories: postgraduate and undergraduate degree programs."

The main role of four-year universities and liberal arts colleges is "to provide high quality bachelor's degree programs, producing well-educated workforces equipped with advanced knowledge and skills for large scale business entrepreneurs which are the most important driving force for national economic development. These institutions of higher learning may also deliver postgraduate degree programs."

Lastly, community colleges, "focusing on offering degrees lower than bachelor's degree, equipping and retraining employed workforces with requisite skills and knowledge to add value to manufacturing and service sectors. They also play a crucial role in improving their respective communities in terms of life-long learning and local social and economic development."

In addition, OHEC has initiated the National Research University Initiative. This involves the following universities: 1) Chulalongkorn University, 2) Thammasat University, 3) Mahidol University, 4) Kasetsart University, 5) King Mongkut's University of Technology Thonburi, 6) Chiang Mai University, 7) Khon Kaen University, 8) Suranaree University of Technology and 9) Prince of Songkla University.

These nine research universities are considered as the group of national leading universities which have good records of research capability. The Thai government provides them with additional funding to fulfil their

research mission: "to produce research outputs and manpower in advanced fields of study that could serve the community and national demands and real sectors, including enhance the country's competitiveness; create new body of knowledge and innovation that could contribute to social and economic development, and improve the quality of life; as well as to promote the country to be a regional education centre."

Three Thai institutions appear in The Times Higher Education Asia University Rankings for 2013. These are King Mongkut's University of Technology Thonburi, Mahidol University, and Chulalongkorn University (ranking 55, 61, and 82 respectively). The QS (British Quacquarelli Symonds) Asian University Rankings for 2013 include Mahidol University, Chulalongkorn University, and Chiang Mai University (ranking 42, 48, and 98 respectively) in the top 100.

In Thailand, getting into a public university is more competitive than getting into a private university, especially amongst the nine national research universities. One of the reasons for this is the significance of history and reputation of the institution in the decision-making processes of Thai youth.

Until 1990, all public universities in Thailand were fully supported by the government. In 1990, the Thai government started to encourage public universities to transform their status to that of autonomous universities, allowing full self-administration and direct budgetary control. This public support means that most of these public and autonomous universities in Thailand are well equipped with learning resources and have more study programs than private universities. In addition, graduates from public and autonomous universities receive their university degrees personally from the royal family. Most Thai people consider this an honour for their

family and consequently this opportunity attracts them towards such institutions.

Another reason that public universities are oversubscribed is that their tuition fees are lower than those of the private universities. The tuition fees of private universities can be about ten to twenty times higher than those of the public universities, which benefit from government funding support.

In Thailand, the higher education sector has achieved remarkable development and growth. At present there are 78 public universities and 89 private higher education institutions, with over 2.2 million enrolled students (Ministry of Education, 2008). Compared with other East Asian countries, the higher education enrolment rate is high; Thailand is second only to Japan, with 46% of the gross enrolment ratio in 2005 (EdStats, the World Bank). The public sector plays a dominant role in education provision, with over 80% of students enrolling in the public institutions.

Through the extension of public university status to the former Teacher's colleges and vocational colleges, the percentage of students enrolled at private institutions has consequently decreased from 24% in 1996, to 17% in 2006. Correspondingly, the percentage of students enrolled on social science and humanities degrees has continued to rise from an already high level, reaching 73% in 2007 (Ministry of Education, 2007).

Even though there has been steady growth in the higher education sector in Thailand, the issue of equal access to education is causing concern, due to the lack of financial means possessed by students from low-income families. The report from the Office of the Education Council shows that in the year 2009, approximately 37% of the population aged 15-17 did not enrol in the formal education system, and almost 50% of the population aged 18 did not continue their higher education (Office of

the Education Council, 2009). The main reason given by these non-participant students was a lack of finance, and thus the need to earn a living (Child and Youth Survey, 2002).

There are limitations in the admission capacity of higher education institutions under the authority of the MUA (Ministry of University Affairs) and the MOE (Ministry of Education). Only 80% of school graduates may be admitted.

The Expansion of higher education in Thailand

Educational reform in Thailand is an ongoing process. Since Thailand's integration into the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC), enhancing the quality of education is considered as the country's ultimate educational goal. To achieve this goal, a National Research University initiative by the Thai Ministry of Education has been launched in order to transform Thailand into a world-class regional academic and education hub that will attract more and more foreign students. The Office of the Higher Education Commission (OHEC) has formulated a 15-Year National Plan for Higher Education Development (2008 to 2022) with the hope that this will help enhance the quality of education in Thailand and drive it up to international standards.

Currently there are 166 higher education institutions under the jurisdiction of the OHEC in Thailand. There are 26 limited-admission public universities, 2 open universities, 69 private universities, 40 Rajabhat Universities (former teachers' colleges), 9 Rajamangala Universities of Technology (former vocational colleges), and 20 Community Colleges and Institute.

According to the Thai higher education plan, in order to enhance effectiveness and accountability, a university council is empowered with

full autonomy to manage the institution. The OHEC divides universities into four groups: 1) research universities with a strong focus on postgraduate research in order to enhance the country's competitiveness, 2) comprehensive universities with the objective of enhancing skilled human resources for the support of the manufacturing and industrial sectors, 3) teaching universities for four-year undergraduate studies focusing on the liberal arts to produce skilled human resources with analytical and communicative skills, and 4) Community Colleges with a high degree of flexibility in offering study programmes at sub-degree level for the development of non-graduate human resources in order to enhance community development. In fact, these community colleges are now upgrading to become regular universities with bachelor's degree programmes.

University admission competition and higher education opportunity in Thailand

Besides the financial issues, competition for places in prestigious universities is even more of a challenge for students from underprivileged backgrounds, as the selection process favours students from wealthy families, especially those who live in the Bangkok area, for whom a higher standard of educational resources is available.

In general, each university in Thailand has two admission systems: the centralised admission system and the direct admission system to recruit students who finished secondary school, or its equivalent, and would like to continue to higher education. The central admission system is more widely used in most of the universities in Thailand, as well as being the most popular way to get into university among Thai students.

In the centralised admission system, there are three different examinations that each student is required to take: The Ordinary National Education Test (O-NET), the General Aptitude Test (GAT), and the Professional Aptitude Test (PAT). The aim of the Ordinary National Education Test (O-NET) is to test academic knowledge across the following subjects required under Thai law: Thai Language and Literature, English Language, Mathematics, Comprehensive Sciences, Social Studies, Health Education, Arts and Culture. A student's O-NET score contributes 30% of their cumulative grade point average score. However, differences in grading criteria between different schools have led to concerns regarding the consistency of this test result.

GAT and PAT, two aptitude tests, were introduced in 2009 to test students' abilities to succeed at university. They are also used to balance the scores obtained from the test-based O-NET in order to provide more equal opportunity to underprivileged students who do not have access to leading tutorial schools in Bangkok. Each of the tests is held three times a year. Students can use their best scores to apply to the universities of their choice. 10-50 percent of the GAT and 0-40 percent of the PAT score are weighed with the O-NET score. Both O-NET and GAT examinations are scored by computer.

The GAT tests the reasoning ability and English proficiency of the candidates. It asks students to link and identify relationships between events. The English section is comparable to the TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language). The PAT is required by the programme which students are applying to. Therefore, only relevant subjects required by each programme would apply. For example: The Engineering Aptitude test checks candidates' ability in Physics and Chemistry as well as their ability to apply their knowledge. The Education-specific Professional Aptitude test checks students' moral standards and ability to work with

students as a teacher. However, these tests have been criticised as objective in nature.

Students report their scores to the admission centre. They will choose a programme or faculty for their studies, mostly based on their test performance. Specific mathematical formulas are used to weigh students' scores for each programme. For instance, Pharmacology requires high scores in Sciences, while Economics requires high scores in Mathematics. After the score is calculated, students are ranked and offered places according to their ranks. In addition, some programmes, such as Fine Arts, may require students to submit portfolios for consideration.

Students may also use the O-NET test score to apply to a particular university through its direct admission system by taking tests conducted by the university. Universities may offer a quota of places for high-achieving students, athletes, or rural students. Many universities recruit high-achieving students through their own admissions processes, in which they conduct exams and other mandatory tests on their own. This system tends to favour students from richer families, who can afford to pay the exam fees at each individual university and the associated costs incurred.

Cram schools

The changes of the admission system introduced in 2009 through the introduction of the PAT and GAT tests aim to reduce these inequalities of access. However, most students from upper-income families in urban areas are still advantaged over students from low-income families, as they have easier access to the learning resources of mainstream education. The 2009 changes to admissions have not altered the

tendency of students living in urban areas to attend extra classes at tutorial schools, where they teach students how to compete in the tests more successfully. In 2011 a poll conducted by Suan Dusit University surveyed high school students who attend tutorial schools in the capital city, Bangkok and other large cities like Chiang Mai and Khon Kaen. The results of the study showed that, on average, each student studied 7-8 subjects at cram schools, and parents spent 20,000-50,000 baht (about £400-£1,000) per semester on these additional course fees.

Those left behind

In Thailand, higher education is considered to be a crucial factor in empowering each citizen to improve their living in everyday life, as well as their socio-economic status. As highlighted earlier, higher education is believed to be an effective tool to generate social mobility. Thus, it is argued that the social inequality gap in Thai society can be reduced by the provision of equality in access to education to all of its members (Mounier & Tangchuang, 2010). The definition of what constitutes "equal access" is a cause for major debate in the Thai education system.

Mounier and Tangchuang (2010) claims that in the last five decades, Thai education has been affected by three main developments: the replacement of the social role of education with a supposed economic role, the expansion of private education in an attempt to ensure that high quality education is provided for those who can afford it, and the growing recognition of social credentials at the expense of educational quality. Whether education still functions as a vehicle for social equality is a question that I would like to pose.

The equity of higher education opportunity is of central importance to debates in Thai society (Latthapipat, 2011; Mounier & Tangchuang,

2010; Pattaravanich & Pattama, 2007). Even though gender inequality in educational attainment has ceased to exist at the national level since 1990, socio-economic status continues to influence the opportunities of Thai youth to achieve higher levels of education (Knodel, 1997).

A report conducted by the Thailand Development Research Institute (TDRI) (2011) indicates that the gaps of college participation between the first three groups (quartiles 1, 2 and 3) and the highest income group (quartile 4) widened during the period 1986 to 2009. The participation gap between the top and the bottom income groups have increased to their widest over the past 23 years. In 1986, the participation gap was less than 20 percentage points; by 2009, it had increased to 38 percentage points. The potential for social mobility will be hindered by this gap in participation in higher education between the rich and the poor. Income inequality across generations will also become greater in the future.

Latthapipat (2011) notes that "The fact that the majority of college-going students come from more affluent backgrounds gives rise to the common interpretation that income constraints are major obstacles facing poor families in financing their children's college education. Such an interpretation has led the Thai government to enact policies aimed at alleviating these short-run income constraints. Such policies include free tuition up to high school completion, substantial tuition subsidy in government universities, and the establishment of the Student Loan Fund in 1996." He also reinforces the view that "Thailand needs to urgently address existing disparities in its provision of quality basic education to its youth in order to boost representation of underprivileged children in higher education, and thereby improving their intergenerational social mobility".

The student loan fund and cost of education

Since 1996, the Student Loans Fund (SLF) has existed for the purpose of increasing higher education opportunity for students from low-income families. It also aims to achieve a more equal income distribution in the long term, by developing a system whereby a family's financial contribution to education is determined by the size of the household. Scholarships are available, but they are few in comparison to the availability of loans. The SLF loan covers tuition fees, miscellaneous education-related expenses and living expenses. Only high school or tertiary-level students whose household income is under 150,000 baht (about £3,000) per year are eligible to apply for the loan. During the first ten years of its operation, the SLF has lent to more than 2.6 million students (Tangkitvanich & Manasboonphempool, 2010).

However, the National Household Survey on Economic and Social Situation 2007 conducted by the National Statistical Office reported that only 2.22% of students from poor families (under the poverty line) received a government scholarship and as few as 0.03% of students from poor families (under the poverty line) took SLF assistance to further their education. Therefore, more than 90% of those students who received the government scholarship and registered for SLF were not from the poorest socio-economic group. Tangkitvanich and Manasboonphempool (2010) suggested that the current income threshold should be set closer to the poverty line in order to improve its effectiveness in reaching students from disadvantaged families. Accordingly, more in-depth studies on the needs and burdens of students from low-income families are required, in order to understand the associated issues and be able to provide more equal educational opportunities in Thai society.

Rationale of the Study

Equality of opportunity is vital to sustainable social development. There are many studies in the field of sociology concerned with the problems of social inequalities, related to social class in particular. In fact, many studies discovered a strong direct association between social class and attainment in higher education. Factors related to social class could impact educational opportunities in multiple and complex ways.

When the western model of economic and social development is used, Thailand is classified as a developing country (UN, 2012). For example, most of its citizens work in the agricultural sector. However, according to the World Trade Organisation (WTO), there is no definition of a 'developing country'. A WTO member declares itself to be a developing country in order to gain access to funding and expertise (WTO, 2016). Thailand is categorised as an 'upper middle income' country by the World Bank (The World Bank, 2016). It has been upgraded from 'lower middle income' since 2011 due to its significant economic achievement, particularly its Gross National Income (GNI) per capita growth (The World Bank, 2016). Despite this, there is no sign of a reduction in Thailand's levels of social inequality. Corruption, unfair salary structures, inequality in access to both social welfare and public infrastructure, even a problem of freedom of speech, still exists. This contributes to an unequal standard of living for Thai people. Inefficient human development and wealth distribution affects the country's development as a whole.

Education has long been recognized as a vital tool for the development of human capital, and the development of human capital is a priority for Thailand, if it is to become a developed country. Education is one of the key objectives of the Thai government's development plan and, as part

of this focus, it has increased its spending on education. According to the government's budget in 2016, 36.4% of the total budget (989,295 million Thai baht) was allocated to enhancing quality in education, public health, morality and quality of life; of this 36.4%, almost half (423,856.4 million Thai baht) was allocated to extending educational opportunity and improving the educational system (Bureau of the Budget, 2016). Although it seems that rates of participation in higher education have been increasing rapidly over the past two decades, still the majority of students at elite universities such as Chulalongkorn University, Thammasat University, and Mahidol University, come from prestige schools in the capital city of Bangkok. For example, Triamudomsuksa School is one of the top ranked schools in the country according to a statistical report from the National Institute of Educational Testing Service (2013). The majority of year 12 students from this school usually continue their higher education at prestige universities both in Thailand and abroad. The Faculty of Medicine, Faculty of Dentistry and Faculty of Arts at Chulalongkorn University, for example, are dominated by a group of students from Triamudomsuksa school. In 2013 these students occupied as many as 73.17 % (Medicine), 42.5 (Dentistry) %, and 39.14 % (Arts) of the available places. Moreover, the top ten schools with the highest participant ratio in the prestige universities in the country are generally located in Bangkok (The National Institute of Educational Testing Service, 2013). In comparison with a majority of Thai students, especially the students in provincial area, students from these prestige schools have an advantageous socio-economic background. This evidence suggests that both mainstream education and higher education in Thailand predominantly serve a privileged group of people; and give opportunities and wealth to those considered to have higher cultural capital. The difference in higher education opportunity

between different social groups in Thai society perpetuates the social gap and presents a barrier to underprivileged groups seeking equal social opportunity.

Educational research in Europe and the United States sees non-economic factors, such as cultural capital, as key to unlocking the issues inherent to the problem of inequality in educational opportunities. According to this body of literature, a lack of sufficient cultural capital seems to be a key mechanism in the transmission of social inequality from generation to generation, causing a cycle of social reproduction. The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu uses the phrase 'social reproduction' to describe the phenomenon, which generates social problems that hinder the social development of any affected country, including Thailand.

Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital and the reproduction of education has been used widely to analyse the phenomenon of social inequality. These studies help us to understand the phenomenon better. In this thesis, the cultural capital theory of Bourdieu is applied to examine the problem of inequality in educational opportunities in the context of Thailand. It is hoped that this study can benefit policymakers in Thailand, as well as the Thai public, by providing a greater understanding of issues at the heart of social inequality in educational opportunities.

In Thailand, the graduates who are most successful in their career paths tend to graduate from the top-ranking universities according to the QS Graduate Employability Rankings. Likewise, this group of people mostly come from better-off family backgrounds or families of higher socio-economic status. In this case, the education system, as part of social reproduction, transmits social inequality from generation to generation.

Most research into Thai education focuses on curriculum development,

teaching methods and classroom management, aiming to enhance and evaluate the academic skills of students. There is limited research in the sociology of education that focuses on the cultural capital factors which contribute to inequality in educational opportunities. In particular, there is little research into the opportunities for students from lower socio-economic backgrounds (e.g., with parents likely to have no higher education qualifications and who have only a minimum income). This group of students may be considered to have lower amounts of cultural capital and limited choices for educational opportunities. Thai scholars have argued that cultural capital can be considered as a component of the social capital deemed essential to the country's development. Cultural capital is also perceived as "tacit knowledge", which would help establish social balance and produce unique public goods in each community. However, scholars have failed to address issues relating to the mainstream or dominant culture and its privileged access to social opportunities, particularly educational opportunities, which arise from different cultural backgrounds among various sectors of Thai society. The possession of cultural capital differs between Thailand's social classes. Members of the elite class often have high stocks of cultural capital which can be converted for various social and economic advantages. This advantage privileges them over others, particularly those who come from lower-class backgrounds.

Therefore, a new paradigm of research in the context of Thai education is needed. It is essential for Thai educators and policymakers to gain a deeper understanding of the impact of social context, particularly the Thai social context and the social constraints that may affect students from disadvantaged backgrounds. In order to ensure that education can serve as a gateway to a better life by helping students to gain knowledge and more freedom to choose their life and career path, it is helpful to

consider selection processes and the impact of social constraints. These more nuanced focuses would help researchers to investigate whether the current selection system is fair and equitable for all students, particularly students from disadvantaged backgrounds, and consequently to provide evidence that could inform action to ensure equal access to educational choice.

In the Thai education system, there are two important time periods when students have to make decisions about their education and career paths. The first occurs when the student is in year 9 (about 15 years old), the second when they are in year 12 (about 18 years old).

When students are in year 9, they have to choose specific study programmes determined by whether they plan to follow an academic or vocational pathway. About 48.9% of Thai students enter an academic programme. The 23.8% of students who have not performed as well in their previous academic programmes have no option but to withdraw from formal secondary school and enter a vocational school. For other students, about 27.3%, a vocational college is no option either because of their poor educational achievements. They must leave formal education after the age of 14 (Office of The Education Council, 2015).

In Thailand, education is thought to be an important tool to help people escape from poverty. Most Thai people, including policy makers in the government, see the education system as a gateway to a better life and increased opportunity. However, the Thai education system is a competitive and selective system, and it can disadvantage some groups, resulting in an inequality of educational opportunities.

The literature on inequality in educational opportunity in Thailand focuses on the problem of financial support for educating children and youth, as well as on tools and teaching methods aiming at enhancing

students' academic outcomes. In contrast, the impact of different levels of cultural capital is rarely investigated. There is little research that uses cultural capital theory in the Thai social context, particularly in educational inequality. This may be because an increase in education budgets is commonly seen as the means to improving the education system. This thesis will argue that the issue of educational inequality can only be addressed by taking account of all factors, including cultural capital. A lack of sufficient cultural capital is crucial to the experience of a group of students that does not attend Thailand's top-ranked universities. Thus, the role of cultural capital in various aspects of the Thai education system needs to be explored in selection processes, in curriculum and in the evaluation process. Importantly, understanding the cultural capital of Thai people will help each individual to understand how their family background and social structure construct what Bourdieu describes as habitus and shapes their views of higher education choice.

However, applying cultural capital theory to analyse inequality in higher education opportunity in the Thai social context is challenging. The theory, as articulated by Bourdieu, was constructed within the framework of Western society. This is quite different from the cultural context and social structure of Thailand. In other words, Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital is not simply transferable to Thailand.

This thesis revisits the inequality problem. The problem will be analysed using Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital, which has illuminated inequalities found in Europe, the United States and some Asian countries. This will allow us to suggest the root of the challenge of inequality and so provide a new paradigm to improve Thailand's education system. It is hoped that the knowledge from this research will help readers and policy makers gain a deeper understanding of the

factors that affect the higher education opportunities and career choices of Thai youths who come from lower socio-economic backgrounds. It aims to raise awareness of the differential access to cultural capital and how this causes inequality in higher education opportunities within Thai society, as well as how cultural capital and the education system in Thailand reproduces social inequality.

The Objective of the Study

The objective of this study is to explain the impact of cultural capital on Thai students' choices of education and careers after graduating from secondary education. The study also examines inequality in higher education opportunity in the Thai education system and the pattern of decision-making in education and career choice among different groups of students.

The Research Questions

How does cultural capital impact upon the higher education opportunities and career choices of the youth in Thailand?

- What forms does cultural capital take in different socio-economic contexts in Thai society?
- How do young people from different socio-economic backgrounds in Thailand make educational and career decisions after secondary education?
- What are the cultural capital factors influencing their decisions in relation to study programmes, higher education institution, or occupations?

These questions were developed from the literature review and the corresponding identification of the gaps in current studies on higher education choices in Thailand.

Background Information of the Research Setting

In the Thai educational setting, there is increasing competition for the acquisition of cultural space, for example where schools and universities promise to enhance individual cultural capital, which is a valuable social asset.

Initially, in examining this area of study, I found it difficult to question the status quo within Thailand, as culturally this is viewed as improper or even rude. I also realised that practices that I and other Thai people perceived as normal or acceptable may not be considered normal or acceptable by international standards. For example, many Thai workers exist on low wages and a generally low standard of living, and I thought "that is the way it is". We have been taught by generations past that "if we want to be rich, we have to work hard and not be lazy." However, there are substantial structural and social barriers within Thai society, which means it can be difficult to improve your standard of living, no matter how hard an individual works. These barriers include a problematic class system, endemic corruption, a large disparity in income distribution, low minimum wages and limited support from the government for social welfare and public infrastructure.

In addition to these barriers, Thailand has a number of social mores and cultural capital factors that lead to inequality. The impact of these factors on the ability of Thai people to improve their standards of living has often been overlooked.

Therefore, the aim of this thesis is to analyse the impact of cultural capital on the higher education opportunities and career choices of young people in Thailand. My analysis is based on Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital. Two schools located in Chiang Mai, one of the biggest cities in Thailand in terms of economy as well as population, have been selected to provide my data. Based on the assumption of the thesis, one of the schools has been selected to represent schools whose students have higher cultural capital, whilst the other has been selected to represent those whose students have lower cultural capital. These levels of cultural capital are related to the school success rates in the Northern Quota Entrance Examination in the year 2012, where one school has the highest results and the other has the lowest. This enables me to provide two sample groups which differ in their levels of cultural capital. The characteristics and details of the sample, as well as how the samples are chosen, will be described in Chapter 3.

In Thailand, equality in education has been interpreted as an equal opportunity to access education. Overall, the Thai education system's success, in quantitative terms, has increased over the past two decades, yet the quality of education needs to improve, particularly in rural schools. Equal opportunities in education should mean more than just the opportunity for all to go to school. The aim should be to provide the same standard of education across the nation. It is stated in the 2007 Constitution of Thailand that "an individual shall have the right of access to no less than twelve academic years of free, high-quality and equally-distributed education". In addition, the National Education Act, 1999 emphasised that "special rights and opportunities shall be provided to the following groups of individuals in particular: physically, mentally, emotionally, intellectually, communicatively or academically challenged individuals, who may not be able to take care of themselves or have no-

one to care for them, and underprivileged individuals". In practice, the conditions for such equality are rarely met. In fact, the national education system tends to split up to serve different segments of society. While there is a limited number of research-based universities, mostly located in the capital city, aiming to develop human capital in academic professional level. Vocational colleges and other local universities such as Rajabhat University and Rajamangala University of Technology, that can be found in every province, have been serving as educational spaces and offering higher education certification for lower privilege students.

Role of the researcher as a professional

As a researcher, most of the time I see myself as an insider of this research study. I was born and raised in the Chiang Mai province, where this research takes place. School A, one of the two schools for the data collection, was where I studied from year 7 to year 10. Similarly, I graduated from the higher education level from Chiang Mai University. Therefore, I will share a similar story with my research samples, even though I understand that no one can 'step into the same river twice'. Times have changed, and my own undergraduate studies took place almost 20 years ago. Indeed, I believe that each of their life stories is unique and it is difficult to generalize from them. I do feel that being local to the research site helps me in obtaining data because of the relationship I have with schools and students. This will be discussed in more detail later in the thesis.

Currently, I work as a lecturer at Chiang Mai University, located in Chiang Mai, Thailand. However, I have also participated in several NGO activities and social development projects since my youth. These

experiences have led me to realise that there are many people in remote areas who are poor and underprivileged, especially in education. When choosing a topic for my PhD, I decided to focus upon the issue of inequality in educational opportunity in Thailand. I hope that my research will provide a better understanding of this. Furthermore, as a lecturer in my professional career, I sincerely desire to share this knowledge further with my colleagues, my classes, and in public through my lectures and publications. I hope that this knowledge will raise awareness and deepen our understanding of how the lack of cultural capital can burden some groups of students, particularly those from lower socio-economic backgrounds who may have lower cultural capital.

My experience working with NGOs and in higher education means that I bring both experiential and academic insight to this study. To understand the problem, we need to learn from research at the micro scale, while to raise awareness, we also need to act at the macro scale by looking at how to apply knowledge gained to practice. As an NGO officer, I have seen the issues first-hand; I have spoken with people living in remote and poor areas and have witnessed their lack of privilege. This gives me a deep empathy for under-privileged groups and a deep commitment to investigating the causes of inequality within the Thai education system. Being a lecturer in a university gives me an opportunity to raise awareness of the problem to a wide and influential audience that touches the government level.

However, it has been shown that there is a lack of qualitative research exploring inequality in education, and the impact of cultural capital upon the educational achievement and career choices of young people in Thailand.

The Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. Chapter one provides an introduction to the study. Background information of the research context is provided, including background information of the Thai education system. The rationale of the study, the objective and the key research questions are also clarified.

The second chapter reviews the relevant literature and discusses the theoretical orientation, using cultural capital, habitus, and field; mainly from the perspective of Pierre Bourdieu. Dominant culture and core values in Thai society along with cultural context are also explored.

The third chapter talks about the research methodology of the study. The chapter begins by explaining the reasons for taking a mixed-method approach and using the questionnaire and interviews as a research tool. Then, rationale for the choice of the samples and process of gaining access to the research site were clarified. This chapter concludes with ethical considerations and issues of power relations and the roles of the researcher. Also, the limitations of the research were addressed.

Chapters four and five present the analysis of data from questionnaires and the student interviews. These chapters also explore the stages of data generation and data analysis. In terms of data analysis, the process in analysing the data will be explained, and the process of transcribing and translation within the research project will be clarified.

Chapter six is the discussion of the research findings. This is a core chapter that documents the results of the analysis, in relation to the research questions.

Chapter seven is the conclusion and recommendation. The final chapter summarises the most important research findings and its original

contribution to knowledge, as well as contradictions shown through the research which will be revisited and discussed.

Chapter 2
Theoretical Orientation and Literature Reviews

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explore relevant theories and literature in order to develop a conceptual framework which can be used to analyse the impact of cultural capital upon the higher education opportunities and career choices of youth in Thailand. It will attempt to review Bourdieu's notion of Cultural Capital and the theory of practice, exploring the key concepts of Habitus and Field. Particularly from the studies which might have similar sociocultural conditions to the Thai context.

Pierre Bourdieu's Key Theoretical Concepts

Several studies employing Pierre Bourdieu's key theoretical concepts (habitus, practice, field, and capital) enhance understanding of social phenomena that affect the field of higher education.

Employing Bourdieu's theory of habitus, Archer *et al* (2007) studied how taste and style can shape young people's post-16 'choices' and their views of higher education. Individual tastes can, of course, be shaped by certain aspects of social practices and a young person's position within society. In the case of urban working-class young people, practices within the educational field may also play into oppressive social relations and contribute to confining the young people within marginalised and disadvantaged social positions. Therefore, in their perceptions, higher education seems to be unsuitable for them.

Bathmaker et al. (2013) employed Bourdieu's conceptual tools to examine processes of capital mobilisation and acquisition among groups of working-class and middle-class undergraduates. The focus of their research was the issue of social inequality, and social reproduction through higher education. Their study explained how middle-class privileged access to valued capitals resulted in successful educational outcomes and gaining graduate positions. Since obtaining a degree is not sufficient, experience from additional activities outside the formal curriculum is necessary. However, due to inequalities in their capacity to mobilise social and economic capital, working-class students were disadvantaged in the higher education field.

In addition, Bathmaker et al. (2016) revealed how working-class and middle-class young people in the UK are affected by social expectations about higher education participation. According to the researchers, even when they enter higher education, working class students still have difficulties. They tend to feel that they are entering an alien world. In contrast, students with greater financial and cultural resources can stay ahead in the competition and maintain their elite positions. This reaffirms the role of higher education in the reproduction of social inequalities.

In an empirical study, Burke (2015) found different levels of both aspiration and expectation between the working-class and the middle-class research groups. He noted that the strategies applied by graduates in the employment field were influenced by habitus, illustrated by the direct influence of aspirations and expectations coupled with the effect of family and educational system on the strategies they adopted.

Lehmann (2012) also considered concerns over inequality in access to extra-credential experiences and the mechanisms by which it has an impact on working-class students. His study addressed barriers which

working-class students experience in developing extra-credential activities, and which hinder their attainment of wider educational and career goals.

Reay et al.'s study (2009) on the habitus that working-class students encounter in an elite university found that the challenge of the unfamiliar field could generate a range of creative adaptations and responses, enabling them to move successfully across two very different fields. They found, however, that success in this was uncommon.

In Thailand, among different social fields, the educational field plays a vital role in helping individuals construct their embodied identity and equip them with different forms of capital. Participation in higher education is associated with being among the privileged social group, and constructed and filled with different forms of capital, specifically cultural capital. Thus, many Thai youths dream to achieve higher education as a means of personal growth and achieving a successful career path. However, the recruitment system forces students into fierce competition, as access to certain academic fields are limited. This causes many students, particularly those from lower-privileged backgrounds, to struggle.

Although working class students' access to higher education in Thailand has increased, they still face other difficulties and inequalities in areas such as opportunities in the labour market. The qualification bar has been raised for everyone. Also, working-class students are less likely to participate in extra-curricular activities due to limited financial and cultural capitals. This can lead to inequalities in graduate recruitment. Thus, higher education still remains a more difficult choice for working-class students.

Bourdieu defines habitus as "a structuring structure, which organises practices and the perception of practices" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 170). It can be seen as the outcome of the ongoing interaction between the experiences and responses that arise from the perspectives and attitudes of individuals.

In Thailand, it is common for working-class students to encounter challenges in elite universities, yet these oppressive social relations in this competitive field tend to be overlooked. Due to the fact that Thai society is organised by a system of hierarchy, authoritarian practices and power relations have been embedded within Thai culture through language and custom; thus, people have come to consider oppressive social relations as natural. This may also distort people's cognitive perception of moral principles.

Examples of Thai culture which favour authoritarian practices and power relations are:

1. In the Thai language there are a range of special pronouns and titles used. It is quite important to use the right pronoun and title in the conversation to position yourself and the person you are communicating with: whether as older or younger, or having more authority.

2. Sakdina (comparable with European Feudalism) is rooted within Thai traditions and customs, and defines the roles and rules for inequitable relationships between social groups. For example, Buddhist monks are accepted to be in a higher position than commoners, and people have to show them their respect. Traditionally monks play important roles in all stages of Thai people's lives, from birth to funerals. People often have revered monks to name their children, set their wedding date, perform ritual ceremonies and blessings for many occasions in everyday life. In addition, most Thai parents expect their

sons to take on short term ordinations for periods of between a week and three months as a matter of family pride.

3. In Thailand, it is common for children to experience a regime of punishment and obedience. A famous Thai proverb is: 'If you love your cow, tie it up. If you love your children, beat them.' Thus, in many families, punishing children physically or verbally to discipline them is quite normal. Also, the feeling of parents having authority over their children tends to continue into adulthood; most parents expect their children to look after them.

4. School rules and regulations in Thailand, in almost every school but particularly public schools, require students to wear school uniform and have a certain haircut. For example, a girl must have a short bob with natural hair colour, and a boy must maintain a 'sport crew' haircut. Also, most universities require undergraduate students to wear university uniforms to attend classes and on a daily basis for university activities both on and off campus. In addition to the passive learning style, the value and system of 'SOTUS'—Seniority, Order, Tradition, Unity, and Spirit — still exists.

Moreover, values in Thai society are controversial. While hierarchy and sakdina have been deeply rooted in Thai culture, people learn to construct their social position and accept their place from a very early age. However, the social system ignores the problem by constructing social recruitment rules that judge people by ability, including in education. The problem of social inequality therefore persists.

Cultural Capital

According to the Oxford Dictionary (2010), "capital" could be defined as wealth or a valuable resource of a particular kind, which could be

converted into economic or social profit for the owner. According to Bourdieu, capital can be inherited through the family; but capital also can be acquired outside of the family. There are three main forms of capital: economic, culture and social; the different forms of capital could be mobilised in order to generate one another. In the sociological perspective, capital is recognised as a legitimate tool for those who possess it to gain power and have privilege in society. As a consequence, the accumulation of capital could create competitiveness and selfishness in society.

According to Bourdieu (1990), besides economic capital, cultural capital plays a key role in promoting one's power in social relations. According to him, cultural capital is a convertible asset which can be utilised to acquire additional kinds of assets, such as economic capital.

Bourdieu (1990) conceptualises cultural capital as the collection of non-financial social assets such as knowledge, skills, mannerisms, tastes, clothing, material belongings, and higher education qualifications. Cultural capital acts as a social relation, giving power and status within a society. Bourdieu categorises cultural capital into three types: the ‵embodied state`, ´objectified state` and ´institutionalised state`. These are developed through life experiences and through membership of a particular social group.

The embodied form of cultural capital refers to behaviours or characteristics such as dialect, accent or mannerisms. These affect identity and self-presentation within society. Embodied cultural capital is often referred to as higher-class habitus.

The objectified state refers to material belongings which have their own value and may represent social status or power to their owners.

Cultural capital in the institutionalised form refers to credentials and qualifications such as degrees or memberships that symbolise or facilitate authority and cultural competence.

Cultural capital forms the foundation of social life, facilitating the positioning of individuals and families within the social order and thereby creating social inequality. The more capital one has, the more powerful a position one occupies in social life. Certain forms of cultural capital are valued over others and can help one's social mobility similarly to income or wealth.

Bourdieu defines cultural capital as the credentials and cultural assets embodied in individuals and their families. Cultural capital can be used in two contrasting directions. First, it is used to explain the reproduction of social hierarchy, as elite families endow their children with the cultural capital which enables them to succeed in maintaining their elite position. Secondly, it is used to explain how some manage to use education to move from non-elite positions into elite positions.

Therefore, "cultural capital" can be used as a tool by those who have little capital, or those who are in a lower class, to fight for greater opportunities and to increase their bargaining power in society. At the same time, those with high capital or those who are in the upper classes can use cultural capital as a source of exploitation and capitalism. As the distribution of capitals among individuals could determine the chance of success in practice, many researchers used Bourdieu's conceptual tools (1986) to study accrual of capital and inequality in the society.

However, Bourdieu's concept has often been criticised as lacking conceptual clarity. Some researchers have tried to refine the measurement of cultural capital in order to examine which aspects of middle-class culture actually have value in the education system.

Also, students from different social backgrounds tend to cultivate valued capital through their experiences differently, according to the social and cultural constraints. Therefore, the process of mobilising different experiences into 'valuable' capital could be highly complex.

Not only 'knowing the game' helps some students maintain 'social advantage', but 'What they know' and 'Who they know' also reflects a form of cultural capital and social capital, respectively. Besides, participating in extracurricular experiences also could be conscious and internalised. The inflation of extra credentials is another factor that maintains traditional status inequalities. According to the data from a longitudinal study of working-class university students in Canada, the lack of financial resources and social networks are considered as obstacles to the development of the extra credentials. This therefore negatively affects employment and further education opportunities of working-class students (Lehmann, 2012).

Habitus

It has been observed that Bourdieu's theory, and in particular his notion of habitus, is entirely deterministic, leaving no place for individual agency or even individual consciousness. Bourdieu defines habitus as "a structuring structure, which organises practices and the perception of practices" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 170).

According to Bourdieu, habitus is created due to the fact that people interact with other people or things around them. Therefore, habitus consists of a person's thoughts, preferences, beliefs, interests and perception of the world. This can be created through socialisation, family, culture and education.

It can be claimed that habitus is the outcome of the ongoing interaction between the experiences and responses that arise from the perspectives and attitudes of individuals.

Bourdieu describes habitus as the reconciliation of structure and agency. Through the theory of habitus, the accumulated experiences of people can be compared to knowledge and skills. People who share similar experiences have a similar habitus. Similar experiences cause people within a group to share attitudes, values, beliefs, behaviours, lifestyle, tastes in food and clothing and tendencies towards certain decisions. Therefore, the habitus of individuals can cause the reproduction of social structures.

Bourdieu's theory is not without challenge. The critical race theorist Yosso (2005), challenges the traditional interpretation of cultural capital by Bourdieu. The community cultural wealth model of students of colour was introduced by Yosso to interpret their cultural capital. This consists of aspirational, navigational, social, linguistic, familial and resistant capital; these forms of capital serve as a resource for the group to draw upon when seeking advancement and success within societies that privilege other groups. Yosso argued that these forms of cultural capital, which are often under-acknowledged and unorganized, can be used to empower individuals.

However, according to Bourdieu and Passeron (1990), the knowledge of the middle and upper class is considered valuable capital within a hierarchical society. The accumulation of knowledge within the middle and upper class leads to social inequality and thereby causes the reproduction of a socially hierarchical society. This theory has often been used to explain why people of colour have significantly poorer academic and social outcomes than white people.

In summary, habitus is used to describe differences in social class. The acquisition of social and cultural capital is achieved through habitus, which is moulded by individual experiences within the social class. Within their social class, people act and make decisions because of structures that have moulded them since birth; these decisions vary because each social class has different capital.

Although the habitus is the product of childhood experiences, it can be modified when an individual faces the outside world, particularly through school attendance. In this study, educational socialisation has proved to be an effective tool for some of the working-class students. That said, this process can help them adapt themselves in the field of higher education despite their lack of both economic and dominant cultural capital. However, it is undeniable that when habitus encounters a field which is not familiar, the resulting disjuncture can generate change and transformation, as well as insecurity and uncertainty. The difficulties resulting from class change can therefore create 'fish out of water' feelings. For instance, it was found that the working-class students at elite universities have faced more unease and tension than middle-class students due to the mismatch between a high-status university and their low social background. (Reay et al., 2009)

The lower-middle-class students tend to access elite universities or opportunities for studying abroad more than working-class students. This can help these students build upon their existing cultural capital, and therefore give them advantages and more opportunities in the labour market. (Lehmann 2012)

Both working-class and middle-class students recognised that in order to obtain positional advantage in the graduate recruitment 'game', extra activities beyond their formal curriculum are required to help them gain additional capitals. That said, these additional capitals allow these

students, as ‘players’, to gain advantages in entering a competitive labour market. However, it was found that the privileged middle-class students appear to be the good ‘players’ in this game due to their knowledge derived from their economic and cultural advantages. These advantages in playing the game may be gained during their undergraduate study or even through their pre-university experience in their social surroundings. This therefore shows differences in capacity to mobilise social and economic capital as a result of class differences between middle-class and working-class students. (Bathmaker et al., 2013)

Bourdieu and Johnson (1993) defined habitus as a complex interplay between past and present. In order to understand the concept of habitus, study of individual histories from childhood experience through socialisation within family and school is needed, along with understanding of how an individual encounters the outside world.

Also, habitus was used to explain the problem regarding widening participation in higher education in the UK. Habitus creates an internal organising mechanism which one learns as a result of social positioning. Therefore, students from middle classes tend to obtain benefit from a privileged ability to know and understand how to play the game. In their perspective, HE is perceived as part of a natural progression. Whereas, in the view of working-class students, HE is seen as alien and 'not for the likes of us'. This can therefore lead to the reproduction of classed inequalities in education. (Reay et al., 2009, 2005)

Having internalized knowledge of the game could be viewed as instinctive; however, Bourdieu (1984) called this habitus, as in practice the internalised knowledge or what appears to be habitual is learned through prolonged, managed and planned socialisation. Lareau (2011) calls this concerted cultivation.

According to Bourdieu (1990), habitus could be transformed when an individual encounters an unfamiliar field, resulting in a habitus divided against itself (Bourdieu, 1999). Reay et al. (2009) explained this challenge as the complexities of self-scrutiny and self-improvement—'a constant fashioning and re-fashioning of the self' which could cause tensions and ambivalences to the self. However, the core-value aspect of original self could still remain.

Field

In Bourdieu's conceptualisation of Field Theory, the term 'field' referred to a setting of objective relations between social agents and their social positions. Structurally objective, the social-spatial arena consists of various types of capital, including cultural norms, rules of behaviour, and expressions of value. Field serves as the location of agents' reproduction of habitus through cultural practices, and the social reproduction occurs through this process. At the same time, field is also the product of habitus. Hierarchy and power relations within and between fields also lead to social conflict, as the social space is not necessarily independent, but can be overlapping and interacted.

There are multiple fields within a society, for example the academic field, scientific field, sports field, artistic field, entertainment field. These fields are independent. However, there can be an interaction, integration or collision between each field. There can be both conflict and co-operation between them.

Therefore, field is regarded as the offsetting or context for the social positions held by individuals or institutions. Different positions lead to different circumstances and conditions for those who occupy each position. This can be compared to the different position of each football

player in the football game. Field can be both the place to produce habitus and the product of the habitus.

It can be seen that field theory focuses on the space occupied by, or the boundaries around, different groups of people. Fields can overlap and interact, or they can be independent. Bourdieu believes that clashes occur between fields when groups seek to reinforce their reproduction through their own unique forms and strategies. Field can be defined as a social arena within which there may be competition for access to resources from people with different cultural capital.

According to Bourdieu (1990), an uneven playing field is established as the rules of the game tend to favour a certain group—a privileged group who not only have internalised knowledge of the game, but also possess different forms of capital which enable them to a better position in the game.

Dominant Culture and Core Value in Thai Society

From the sociological perspective, "dominant culture" is defined as "one that is able, through economic or political power, to impose its values, language, and ways of behaving on a subordinate culture or cultures. This may be achieved through legal or political suppression of other sets of values and patterns of behaviour, or by monopolising the media of communication" (Scott & Marshall 2009). According to this definition, a dominant culture is a set of core values shared by a majority of the country's members. All members of the society can possess cultural capital. However, a group of people whose cultural capital most closely aligns with that of the dominant culture tends to receive utmost benefit from it.

In Thailand, the Thai people's dominant culture and core values can be categorised as follows.

Loyalty to the King and Royal Family

The Thai people have had a king as the supreme head of State for more than eight centuries. The Thai people feel deep loyalty to the king. This was clearly seen when King Bhumibol Adulyadej, the world's longest-reigning monarch, died on 13 October 2016 after a reign of 70 years. The people experienced a profound sorrow. Crowds of mourners travelled to Bangkok to pay their respects to the king. King Bhumibol was regarded as the "Soul of the Nation" and "Father of the Land". He received love and respect from the Thai people because, through his long reign he had demonstrated his care for the Thai people by initiating numerous Royal Projects to help them improve their welfare and livelihood. The Thai monarchy is deeply revered by the Thai people for traditional reasons, based upon its long history and upon its in-built commitment for the welfare of the Thai people.

Faithfulness to Buddhism

Thailand is often referred to as "the land of Buddhism". The majority of Thai people are Buddhists, and Buddhism is a key component to the identities of many Thais. The royal family are Buddhists, and this undoubtedly contributes towards loyalty to the monarchy and continued commitment to Buddhism.

Buddhists believe that the rightful way to happiness and peacefulness is to put away all desires and live modestly. By making and gaining merit, they believe that they will live longer and happier lives. Some Thai people wear Buddhist amulets in order to protect themselves.

Traditional and Buddhist values are entwined in Thai society. This can be seen in most ceremonies and celebrations, including in the school curriculum. In Thailand, Buddhism and education are interrelated. According to the Thai tradition, primary education was established in the temple. Buddhist monks play an important role as teachers. Many Buddhist schools were established in order to provide an educational opportunity to those who come from poor families. This clearly shows the influence and crucial role of Buddhism in the Thai society.

Deeply rooted Patronage System

The patronage system in Thailand tends to perpetuate inequality in terms of wealth, status and power. Patronage is a bedrock of government and of bureaucracy. Thai people are used to living under the rule of an absolute monarchy, meaning that they are used to obeying orders.

Patrons are usually people with power and/or wealth who can exercise their influence on behalf of others. Patrons tend to be members of elites. The inequality in Thai society is closely linked to the deeply-rooted patronage system. That said, the patronage system does allow some people to gain more capital, including cultural capital.

Seniority

Seniority has long been perceived as one of the core values of Thai society. Through the national religion of Buddhism, Thai people are taught to be humble to others, especially those who are older. There is a well-known Thai proverb stating that "if you walk behind an elder, you will not get bitten by a dog". This proverb reflects culture, ways of thinking, and the ingrained respect for elders which is a facet of life in

Thai society. In Thailand, juniors can hardly lead or drive change over seniors. The way of thinking and decision-making of the seniors, particularly those who have parental responsibilities, have great influence in the family. Both seniority and hierarchy are highly valued in Thai society. It is the norm in Thailand to obey the wishes of one's elders.

Influence of Capitalism

Despite criticism of it, capitalism is still the dominant economic system globally. It is undeniable that capitalism has had a significant impact upon Thai culture and Thai society. Capitalism leads people towards materialistic desires. Materialism can lead to wrongdoing and even to corruption.

The development of capitalism in Thailand has led to many changes in Thai society and has accompanied Thailand's shift from being an agricultural society to becoming an industrial society. However, this change has created wider social and economic gaps in Thai society. Capitalism now influences Thai bureaucracy. It leads some Thais and Thai bureaucrats into corrupt practices for material gain. Capitalism has seen the power of patronage grow in Thailand, and favours and privileges continuing to be largely extended to those who are already affluent.

Capitalism has also influenced education. Recent reforms to Thai education aim to modernise young citizens without considering the influence of their inherited cultural capital. Moreover, the strength of the family within Thai society is declining as many family members now leave the home in order to get jobs in the cities and earn better wages.

Education and Career Choices of Thai Youth

In the past, before the establishment of modern state-sponsored universal formal education, wisdom and schooling associated with local Buddhist temples existed in most Thai communities with a monastic compound. Although education probably was of lesser economic importance, particularly in rural areas, its purpose was to develop sufficient literacy to permit access to Buddhist religious texts. The goal of literacy was to prepare boys for becoming monks. Nevertheless, the literacy gained as a result of attending such schools could also earn respect and status in the community (Keyes, 1991).

However, in the context of modern-day and particularly rural communities, formal education is of increasing importance for access to non-agricultural employment. In other words, education now plays an important role in improving the social status of the people, which is different from its role in the past.

The PISA data for Thailand shows that the educational achievements of students vary according to their family backgrounds, the quality of their schools, and the individual attitudes and motivation of students. It reveals in particular that scores are positively correlated with household incomes (Office of the Education Council, 2004). Therefore, this affirms that the socioeconomic level of the family continues to influence Thai children's chances for a higher level of education. However, there has been no qualitative research exploring inequality in education, and the impact of cultural capital upon the educational achievement and career choices of young people in Thailand.

Having access to education is relevant to family income. An individual coming from social and economic disadvantage will be disadvantaged in their access to education, both in terms of the quality of the education

they receive, and their potential to progress to tertiary education. This will have a continuous impact, reducing an individual's earning power. In developing countries where desire for higher level of educational attainment causes migration, most students have to relocate from their home in order to attend school in larger towns. In turn, achievement of higher education means that opportunities for employment require migration.

Additionally, those who are government officials and teachers have a significantly higher level of education than those who are engaged at lower occupational levels (merchants, farmers and labourers). Nevertheless, migrants have a higher level of education than non-migrants in every type of occupation.

Further evidence reveals a gap in student achievement between students from different socio-economic groups, or between those in rural and urban areas in Thailand. This is a result of unequal distribution of quality of education. The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) reported a difference in 2006 of 44.11 points in reading performance, with urban students performing higher than students from rural areas. This gap was caused by two factors: (1) differences in socioeconomic status (30.57 points), and (2) rural schools' inability to produce successful students from families of low socioeconomic status (13.54 points). Therefore, in order to improve the learning output of the country, Thailand needs to focus more on disadvantaged populations, including the poor, and those in rural areas (Macdonald, 2009).

In Thai society, there are still strong social biases evident in educational achievements. Thus, most children from under-privileged groups perform less successfully at school than children from wealthy families and even those from middle-class families (Lathapipat, 2011). As a

consequence, upward social mobility does not occur, as most children come to occupy the same social positions as their parents. The upper- and middle-classes can defend and retain their dominant social positions, while the lower social classes remain poor. In this cycle, education does not fulfil its objective of selecting individuals only on the basis of their performance and merits. Educational curricula are based on a 'bourgeois culture' that is more familiar to a group of privileged children. In this case, social inequalities accentuate educational inequalities, which in turn further accentuate social inequalities. Therefore, educational inequalities are rooted in an unequal distribution of 'cultural capital' between families and between individuals. The differences in educational performance cannot be attributed only to differences in talent, as generally claimed, but actually derive from differing fortunes of birth and wealth (Bourdieu, 1990).

Aschaffenburg and Maas (1997) studied 'Cultural and Educational Careers: The Dynamics of Social Reproduction' by using Bourdieu's conceptual framework of cultural reproduction and DiMaggio's cultural mobility. They formulated two competing sets of hypotheses regarding the importance of "highbrow" cultural capital at different ages on the likelihood of making particular educational transitions. They analysed the relationship between cultural careers and educational careers. They found that cultural capital was a significant contributing factor in determining school success. However, the effects of parental cultural capital, cultural participation before age 12, and cultural participation between ages 12 to 17 and 18 to 24 are largely independent and have enduring effects across the educational career. The results show that early cultural participation is significant across the career, but its relative importance declines over time in comparison to later cultural participation. Also, the effects of parental orientations are smaller than

the effects of children's own cultural experiences and education, particularly when their cultural career is a long one. On the other hand, the increment of advantage for outside-school participation declines between finishing high school and beginning college but is again quite strong for finishing college.

Ball et al. (2002) studied 'Classification' and 'Judgement': Social class and the 'cognitive structures' of choice of Higher Education. The study examined the choice of higher education by using Bourdieu's concepts of 'classification' and 'judgement'. From the view of Bourdieu, higher education is seen as an internal status differentiation. In this study, students' positive and negative choices are addressed using qualitative and quantitative data, and the 'accuracy' of status perceptions are also tested. It is argued that choices are infused with class and ethnic meanings and that choice-making plays a crucial role in the reproduction of divisions and hierarchies in higher education, but also that the very idea of choice assumes a kind of formal equality that obscures 'the effects of real inequality'. Higher education choices are embedded in different kinds of biographies and institutional habitus, and different 'opportunity structures'. The study also analysed the 'school effect', or 'institutional habitus', which is an independent variable. The result shows that perceptions and expectations of choice are constructed over time in relation to school friends and teachers' views and advice and learning experiences (as well as, for some, the views and expectations of families). Within all this there is a relationship between the social composition of intakes and family habitus and the institutional habitus.

The relationship between social inequalities and educational opportunities is one of the most fundamental issues in the sociology of education, uniting its core theoretical concerns and research interests with its broader uses in public debate and policy making. Equality of

opportunity in education is seen to be the means of achieving equality in society. However, education itself is also seen by 'critical' theorists as being implicated in the reproduction of social inequalities (Moore, 2007).

Another relevant agenda to the reproduction of social inequality via education is widening participation. In general, the aim of widening participation is to make the university population more representative of the population as a whole, and to encourage participation from lower socio-economic groups (Higher Education Funding Council for England 2007).

The decision-making process is difficult to investigate empirically since it is not easy to measure and not directly observable. However, it is essential to research this in order to understand how best to support under-privileged children and youth in Thailand.

White (2006) draws attention to the work of Martin, (1995) who claimed that there are two major stages that parents are involved in when making choices: 'becoming informed', before moving on to 'making a preference'. Furthermore, Gorard (1997) offers a 'three step' model which is more complicated. According to the 'three step' model, parents first select a type of school, then consider alternatives within that type and, finally, negotiate with their child regarding the choice of institution.

Concerning the difference between 'instrumental or technical rationality', Hodgkinson et al. (1996) claim that these factors are representative of an 'individualist, market paradigm' and their concept of 'pragmatic rationality'. They point out that although 'the actual decision-making by young people was not technically rational…[their] pragmatic choices were rational, not irrational'. Because the young people involved 'considered evidence about jobs and careers that was valid in their own terms' they are judged to be acting according to 'pragmatic rationality'.

The discussion on the 'rationality' of decision-making about educational attainment and career path should have passed its period of usefulness. According to arguments about the types of choice behaviour, this issue can never be resolved, and has been pursued at the expense of an examination of the actual behaviour of those making the choices. Even when those making the choices have been examined, many researchers have been preoccupied with evaluating the 'rationality' of decisions. And as Soydan (2002) has suggested, there is little consensus, or even clarity, regarding the meaning of the term.

Looking further into young people's higher education choices, Brooks (2003) drew a relationship between differences in socioeconomic background and influence from friends and peers, affecting students' higher education choices. Parents were the biggest influence on students' understanding about the higher education market, including decisions on types and courses of study, and which institutions to attend. With regard to the issue of the influence of friends, this paper indicates that other than parents, friends and peers played an important role in locating one's place in the hierarchies of higher education. In order to examine how students from different social classes construct their value of education and motivation to participate in higher education, Archer found that class identities are not homogenous, but are structured horizontally and vertically.

Maras et al. (2007) stated that initial decisions about higher education are taken either consciously or by default before young people enter post-compulsory education. Their studies show that many young people from lower socio-economic groups do not progress to level three study, effectively barring themselves from entry to higher education. Others make their choice about higher education between Year 12 and early Year 13.

However, the results of their studies, GCSE results for example, are another indicator for students to judge their capacity to contemplate higher education when they have to make a decision (Chowdry et al. 2008).

In addition to this, household deprivation and the local average educational level still come out as significant predictors. There is a five percentage point difference in progression rate between girls from the highest and lowest household deprivation groups, with a 3.2 percentage differential for boys.

Nevertheless, a study by Davies et al. (2009) reported that household income and parental education levels were not significant predictors for the uncertainty of the group of post-16 education students who stated that they were 'unsure' about whether they wanted to progress into higher education. One of the significant negative predictors for being 'unsure' was attendance at an independent school.

In order to understand educational decision-making, Burke (2009), Evans (2009) and David (2009) highlighted the vital intersection between class and gender. A dynamic model of cultural capital must be one that integrates the gendered aspirations that individuals have and the various values which they place on certain forms of achievement. Cultural capital cannot be understood without including within that term the value to individuals of the social relations within which they live.

Bourdieu sees a relationship between ´disinterestedness` and those qualities associated with status and education for cultivation, and the ´obvious interests` vested in economic capital. This means that cultural capital is a ´transformation` of economic capital and cannot be understood, as a social phenomenon, independently from it. Hence, both forms of ´capital` need to be located within a more general theory of

exchange. What is more, Bourdieu also states that economic capital is the root of all other types of capital (Moore, 2007). However, difference in social class can lead to variation in ability to convert cultural capital into educational attainment. The most economically and symbolically valued kinds of cultural capital usually derive from members of the dominant class. Therefore, students who lack the required cultural capital may have lower educational aspirations.

Inequality in Educational Opportunity

Equality of opportunity is vital to the social and economic wellbeing of society. Many studies, particularly those concerned with inequalities, aim to discover whether particular inequalities are related to social class. Along with gender, age, ethnicity, disability, and geographical location, social class is one of the most common contextual variables used in social research. Inequality in educational attainment is a key factor placing young people at risk of isolation, non-participation and social exclusion later in life (Moore, 2007).

Undoubtedly, there is a strong direct association between social class and attainment in higher education. Social class affects educational opportunities in multiple and complex ways; some factors lie outside the school, while others operate through institutional processes that disadvantage particular groups of pupils (Gillborn & Mirza, 2000).

Nicaise (2000) proposed strategies to reduce educational inequality in a general framework by using various criteria in formulating a typology, such as: types of stakeholder, stages in educational curriculum, nature of the strategies, and policy level. He pointed out one of the causes of educational exclusion as unequal opportunities, related to the lack of social and cultural capital of students from low-income families. In order

to overcome this, three brackets of strategies were suggested: equal opportunity, equal treatment, and equal outcome.

In Thailand, the relationship between social inequality and educational opportunity is further complicated by the issue of ethnicity alongside class. As Halsey (1997) writes, "Class, gender and ethnicity are now the three giants in the path of aspirations towards equity" (Halsey, 1997, p. 638).

In Thailand, equality in education has been interpreted as equal opportunity to access education. Overall, the Thai education system's success, in quantitative terms, has increased over the past two decades, yet the quality of education needs to improve, particularly in rural schools. Equal opportunities in education should mean more than just the opportunity for all to go to school. The aim should be to provide the same standard of education across the nation. It is stated in the 2007 Constitution of Thailand that "an individual shall have the right of access to no less than twelve academic years of free, high-quality and equally-distributed education". In addition, the National Education Act, 1999 emphasised that "special rights and opportunities shall be provided to the following groups of individuals in particular: physically, mentally, emotionally, intellectually, communicatively or academically challenged individuals, who may not be able to take care of themselves or have no-one to care for them, and underprivileged individuals".

Nevertheless, in practice, the conditions for such equality are rarely met. In fact, the national education system tends to split up to serve different segments of society. There are a limited number of research-based universities, mostly located in the capital city, which aim to develop human capital at the academic and professional level. Vocational colleges and other local universities such as Rajabhat University and

Rajamangala University of Technology, can be found in every province. These offer higher education certification for less privileged students.

Lathapipat (2011), a researcher at the Thailand Development Research Institute, conducted a study on the relationship between inequality of educational opportunities and expected future income in Thailand. One assumption was that the inequality of educational opportunities was one of the causes of political protests in Thailand —red shirt and yellow shirt conflicts. The red shirts are mainly rural workers from outside Bangkok, including numbers of students, left-wing activists and some businesspeople, who see attempts by the urban and military elite to control Thai politics as a threat to democracy. The Yellow shirts tend to be the urban middle-class royalists. Their conflicts demonstrate that educational inequality is one of the factors that can cause violent political conflict at a national level.

Furthermore, family income was a relevant factor in dividing the level of education. Thus, Lathapipat focused his study on the relationship between the inequality in educational opportunities and the trend of future wages in differently educated groups, as well as looking into changing levels of inequality in the period 1986 to 2009. The results of the study highlighted the government's expansion of basic education, from five years of mandatory education in 1986, to eight years by 2009. In the labour market, it was found that there were fewer labourers who finished primary and lower secondary education. On the other hand, the percentage of labourers finishing upper secondary and undergraduate education increased. However, in analysing the relationship between these labourers' education and their parents' education and income, it was found that when parents had more education, their children were also likely to be more educated. In comparing the average income of those who graduated with high school diplomas (monthly average of

3,600 baht; around £72 and 7,000 baht; around £140 in 2013) to the average income of those who graduated with a bachelor's degree (monthly average of 7,000 baht or £140 and 15,000 baht; around £300 in 2013), the results showed that the difference was twofold. Up until now, this average income gap has not changed. The government has been successful in providing basic education, but less successful in ensuring its quality. This is because as long as the quality of education in schools which have fewer resources is poorer than those with bigger resources, access to higher education will continue to be inequitable.

The results of this study indicate that the main factors preventing children from poor families studying at tertiary level is socioeconomic status and rural/urban origin. Despite the nationwide provision of fifteen years of free education, educational provision varies widely in its quality. Long-term planning is required in order to ascertain whether adequate resources exist to improve poor-quality schools, which are located predominantly in rural areas, to a standard equal to that of high-quality schools, which are located predominantly in urban areas. The term 'poor-quality school' is used to refer to schools with limited access to educational resources. These schools are attended mainly by students from lower socio-economic groups.

Pattaravanich et al. (2005), conducted a quantitative study on "Inequality and Educational Investment in Thai Children" and a qualitative study on "Community and School Participation: A Route towards Decentralization for Community Empowerment". The research highlighted that urban-rural differences played an important role in educational inequality, particularly in the remote areas. Socio-economic status also had significant implications for educational opportunities. She suggested that "any further policy should focus not only on accessibility to school that is relevant to such dimensions of inequality

as gender, income, residence, and religion, but also on a process of school administrators and staff that can access community potential and knowledge."

It is observable that having access to education is relevant to family income. An individual coming from social and economic disadvantage will be disadvantaged in their access to education, both in terms of the quality of the education they receive, and their potential to progress to tertiary education. This will have a continuous impact, reducing individuals' earning power. In the past, employees in possession of degrees earned 150% more than employees in possession of high school diplomas (Pattaravanich et al., 2005).

Lathapipat argues that if the gap between educational opportunities and income is to be reduced, the quality of education at the basic level must be improved. Furthermore, the government should provide more vocational and higher vocational diplomas to meet the demands of the job market. For those who are currently employed, they should be trained to improve their skills. This training should be ongoing, culminating in a narrowing of the gap between education and income.

In addition, there should be a revision to the policy of subsidising tertiary education tuition. At present, the subsidy for all who study at this level is around 70%, and the students pay only 30%. The problem is that students who study at university level usually come from affluent families, and thus have more advantages. Upon graduation, these students tend to earn higher salaries than their peers from less advantaged backgrounds. In order to resolve this problem, Lathapipat says that subsidies should be awarded in proportion to families' income levels, with greater levels of subsidy being provided to students from less advantaged backgrounds. If this is done, the poor but able students will not be denied their access to higher and quality education.

According to Bourdieu (1993), capital pertaining to education has also been distinguished into two forms: 'academic capital' and 'intellectual capital'. These two forms appear to merge, and 'academic capital' is defined as an institutionalised form of cultural capital based on properties such as prior educational achievement, a disposition to be academic, and specially designated competencies. Bennett et al. (2009) explains how Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital offers a powerful insight into cultural practices and social inequalities. Ball (2003) points out the well-known phenomenon of middle-class families using specific social class proxies in order to gain access to certain schools.

Cultural capital is often referred to as a key indicator to explain a variation in participation in higher education. Noble and Davies (2009) argue that cultural capital is the only determinant of the propensity of young people to seek to enter higher education. They argue that the traditional conceptualisation of social class has no impact on young people's decisions regarding whether or not to apply for higher education once attainment at 16 is taken into account statistically. They defined lower socio-economic groups by using parental education or occupation. However, the definition of disadvantage is debatable. Harrison and Waller (2010) question the principal thesis of Noble and Davies and suggest that other related indicators such as social class have an important role in explaining educational trajectories.

Conclusion

The literature cited in this chapter illustrates that cultural capital impacts the higher education choices of students and that there are key cultural factors that are relevant to the higher education and career choices of Thai students. The possession of cultural capital is correlated with higher

education opportunities. Students' embodied cultural capital reflects the value of obtaining a higher education. Inequality in cultural capital reflects differences in expectations, preferences, tastes, as well as in aspirations to enter higher education. This in turn leads to inequality in educational opportunity.

Chapter 3
Research Methodology

Introduction

In this chapter, the methodology used in conducting the study will be described. This will comprise a brief review of theoretical framework, an overview of the research design, sample, instrumentation, data collection procedures, data analysis, and ethical considerations. This methodology has been designed to achieve the objective of the study; that is to examine the impact of cultural capital upon the higher education opportunities and career choices of youth in Thailand. The research design was aimed to answer this major research question:

> **How does cultural capital impact upon the higher education opportunities and career choices of the youth in Thailand?**

This was broken down into the following sub-questions:

- What forms does cultural capital take in different socio-economic backgrounds in Thai society?
- How do young people from different socio-economic backgrounds in Thailand make educational and career decisions after secondary education?
- What are the cultural capital factors influencing their decisions in relation to study programmes, higher education institution, or occupations?

The first section of this chapter lays out the rationale for the choice of the sample. Then, strategies used to extract data from the sample will be explained. Finally, the methods used to analyse the information and ethical considerations will be described briefly.

Rationale for the Choice of the Samples

To answer the main research question, the researcher set the following criteria for the selection of the sample of students within Thailand. Firstly, we considered the larger cities in the country as they provide richer access to educational facilities. As Thailand is a developing country, not all areas can provide full access to educational resources for students. Using this criterion, the sample is limited to only large cities such as Bangkok (the capital), Chiang Mai (the northern part), Khon Kaen (the northeastern part) and Phuket (the southern part). The researcher then excluded Bangkok; although the capital is able to provide all necessary resources, the demographics of the city would skew the sample towards more wealthy families, so that the sample would lack the variety necessary for examining the research question at hand. The next candidate is the second biggest city in the economy of Thailand: Chiang Mai. Although the selected city has sections of relative economic wealth and access to facilities, such access is primarily limited to students residing in the city centre. Given that the city is close to the northern border of Thailand, a significant proportion of the students' families are still relatively poor. Given this variety, the student sample drawn from this city should be well distributed in socio-economic status so that some students have rich access to educational resources, but others do not. Moreover, as the researcher has a personal connection to the people in the research area, it is possible for the researcher to connect more closely with the interviewed students, improving the depth of data obtained from the sample. Given all this, the researcher chose to use the city of Chiang Mai as the focus for study.

Chiang Mai, the largest city in northern Thailand, was selected as the research site accordingly to the characteristic of the city and diversity of the population; in that the socio-cultural setting is comparable to urban

Thai society.

The target population comprises Year 12 students who study in the Chiang Mai municipal area. The two schools – hereafter referred to as school A and school B - were selected in order to be able to ensure heterogeneity of the research participants in the following categories: socio-economic background, gender, study programme, locality (rural-urban), academic ability, those who chose to continue into higher education and those who chose not to continue with it. Therefore, different social patterns and cultural contexts can be found to compare and contrast research findings. The researcher used a report of percentages of success in the Northern Quota Entrance Examination (year 2012) comparing each school in Chiang Mai as an indicator to identify two suitable and different school groups. In the year 2012, within the municipal area of Chiang Mai province, school A had the highest success rate in the Northern Quota Entrance Examination, whereas school B had the lowest success rate: 48.19% (within school A) and 7.75% (within school B), respectively. Both school A and school B are considered medium size secondary public schools in Thailand. However, school A is also well-recognised in the country, along with being one of the most competitive schools to get into in the northern region of Thailand.

The Northern Quota Entrance Examination, hosted by Chiang Mai University, allows Year 12 students who study in the 17 provinces of Northern Thailand to take the test. In the academic year 2013, 3,785 seats (or 50%) of the total places available at Chiang Mai University were recruited from quota admission (the first half of 3,785 students were quota of other districts or provinces, 24:76 of each province, and the other 1,892 students were selected from the rest of Northern region in total). Every year, more than 70% of the Year 12 students from the

Chiang Mai municipal area participate in the Northern Quota Entrance Examination. Around thirty thousand students from the Northern region would apply each year. From this, around seven thousand come from the Chiang Mai province. This quota can be used as a first order approximation to identify two sample groups which have differences in their level of cultural capital in education.

Due to ethical considerations, contact was made with the selected schools in Chiang Mai Province, along with letters of consent detailing the purpose of the research in order to get permission from the school's principals. To begin, the researcher distributed the questionnaires by attending guidance classes in both schools. Then the researcher specifically selected participants from school A and school B for interview. The details of the questionnaire (quantitative method) and interviews (qualitative method) will be described in the following sub-sections.

Quantitative and Qualitative Strategies

In this thesis, the researcher chose to use mixed methods. Mixed methods research is an approach in which the researcher adopts a research strategy employing more than one type of research method or using different types of data analysis (Bryman, 2008).

According to Niaz (2008), "a major argument in favour of mixed method research is that it can facilitate the construction of robust strategies by providing a rationale for hypotheses, theories, guiding assumptions and presuppositions to compete and providing alternatives". In addition, combining quantitative and qualitative methods offers different ways of answering research questions. While qualitative methods can help to provide in-depth information from a relatively small number of samples,

quantitative approaches often reveal better statistical information (due to the higher number of samples) but can be limited in the depth of insight achieved.

The researcher chose questionnaires (quantitative) and interviews (qualitative) as the main methods for data collection. A questionnaire was used to collect basic background information of the students in order to analyse the overall picture of the two different groups, as well as to identify key characteristics of the participants. Semi-structured interviews were used in order to gather deeper information from the selected students. The description and detail of the questionnaire and the interview will be explained in the following section.

The Questionnaire

To obtain the quantitative data, the researcher distributed the questionnaire to the student samples in school A and school B. The full questionnaire used in this thesis is attached in Appendix A.

In the academic year 2012, school A had a total of 1,384 students. Of this number, 230 students were in Year 12. The researcher was able to attend five classes in order to distribute questionnaires to all Year 12 students. By attending these classes, 198 questionnaires were collected.

In school B, there were 232 Year 12 students among the total of 1,209 students. Due to limited time, the researcher was able to attend only four classes out of seven. From attending the four classes, 113 questionnaires were collected. These four classes represented four different study programmes in the school (Science, Arts-Maths, Arts-Chinese, and Arts-Social programmes); the researcher was therefore able to capture the responses of a wide range of participants.

In total, 311 questionnaires were collected to gather background information about the participants. In addition, the data obtained are used to analyse statistically the factors which could influence students' cultural capital (i.e., in Chapter 4).

Self-completed questionnaires were used to collect the quantitative data. In brief, the method requires the research participants to provide direct responses to the questions asked, instead of the data being collected and entered by the researcher. The advantage of this method is that the participants have reduced pressure to answer the questions; so the collected data is more precise and displays less bias.

In this work, the questionnaire was composed of five sections: section 1 - personal information, section 2 - family information section 3 - choices after school, section 4 - the thoughts about future higher education plan and section 5 - contact information. The data obtained from the questionnaires will be analysed in Chapter 4.

Interviews

In order to investigate Thai cultural capital and its impact upon the higher education opportunities and career choices of youth in Thailand, the researcher selected students for interview from those who indicated willingness to participate at the end of the questionnaire. The selected interview sample is not freely random but is balanced to have both genders and a range of academic abilities represented. In addition, the researcher also excluded students for whom there is no contact information. For the statistical SPSS analysis, the researcher excluded students who did not provide sufficient information in the questionnaires because their information regarding outcome variables was unavailable.

The interviews were designed to be conducted in two separate periods of time: phase I and phase II, i.e., before and after the students knew the result of the CMU quota entrance examination. The timing of the phases was designed to ensure that the researcher obtained the perspective of the students both before and after the announcement of the CMU quota entrance examination. This allowed the researcher to examine the process by which students made educational and career decisions for tertiary education, as the researcher believed these decisions might change after knowing the CMU quota entrance examination results.

In addition, some phase I interview sample students were unavailable for interview during phase II for various reasons, including being unavailable due to employment or being away from Chiang Mai during the phase II interview period. The researcher corrected for this issue by recruiting some new phase II interviewees.

Overall, sixteen students from school A and thirteen students from school B were selected for the first phase of in-depth interviews (around one hour each of an interview). The second phase interview (around an hour each) was conducted around six months after that, by that time most of the students were able to finalise their decision about their study places. The researcher was able to follow up eighteen students in total from the first phase interview, ten students from school A and eight students from school B. Also, as discussed above, three new participants, two students from school A and one student from school B, were recruited to ensure sufficient information was collected to answer the research questions. Table 3.1 and Table 3.2 show the in-depth information of the phase I and phase II interview and the sample for each phase.

Table 3.1 Phase I interview

Interviewing period: July – September 2012

Theme: 1) Family background, 2) Parenting, 3) Childhood experience, 4) Higher education plan

	School A	**School B**	**Total**
Female	8	7	15
Male	8	6	14
Total	16	13	29

Table 3.2 Phase II interview

Interview period: March – May 2013

Theme: 1) Higher education choices and influence factors, 2) Family and social value, 3) School experience, 4) repeat phase I theme if needed

	School A	**School B**	**Total**
Female	7	5	12
Male	5	4	9
Total	12	9	21

Note: In phase II the researcher recruited three new students from the questionnaires: two female students from school A, and one female student from school B.

Briefly, the key interview questions of the phase I interviews focused on family background, childhood experience and school experience, lifestyle, family and social value, and choices after completion of year 12. These could help the researcher to analyse the key research question on cultural capital in the Thai context. In addition to this, the researcher also used observation as a support method in order to help the analysis become more complete. Subsequently, the phase II of the data collection continued to gather information from the same group of students. The main interview questions focused on the following areas: higher education choices and influence factors, family and social value, and school experiences.

As introduced above, an in-depth interview was used as one of the methods to collect the qualitative data. It is an appropriate option for the investigation of interactions between social and cultural factors, such as people's attitudes, norms, values, practices, and processes of decision making in education and career paths. Participants were specifically recruited based on judgments about which persons would be most informative for the research topic (Morgan, 1997; Punch, 2005).

Kvale (1996) indicated that 'the use of the interview in research marks a move away from seeing human subjects as simply manipulatable, and data as somehow external to individuals, and towards regarding knowledge as generated between humans, often through conversations. Taylor and Bogdan (1984) claimed that in-depth interviewing is 'repeated face-to-face encounters between the researcher and

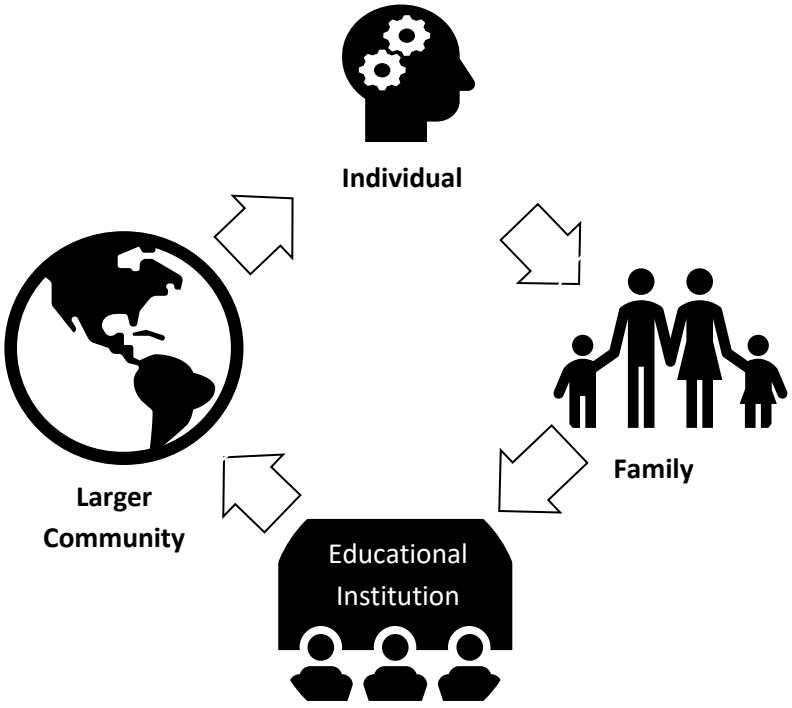
informants directed towards understanding informants' perspective on their lives, experiences, or situations as expressed in their own words'. There are two important characteristics of in-depth interviews that lie behind this definition. First, in-depth interviews involve face to face and repeated interaction between researchers and informants. Secondly, in-depth interviews will help the researchers to understand the perspective of the informants since the repeated interactions will increase time spent between the researchers and the informants. This leads to more in-depth and reliable information. In summary, in-depth interviews are a qualitative research method, using open-ended questions that allow respondents to express their answers and opinions in more and richer detail. Most in-depth interviews are a form of semi-structured interview (Bryman, 2008).

Given the advantage described above of the semi-structured interview method, in examining the research questions at hand, the researcher chose to use this method; indeed, the main benefit of selecting the method over the standard structured interview is that the interview questions are more open, such that new ideas can be raised by the interviewees during the interview. To conduct a semi-structured interview, the researcher provides a list of questions beforehand. This helps the researcher to remain focussed on the main topics and interests. In order to ensure that the researchers get in-depth and accurate information, they can give further explanations about the questions and leave out any redundant questions (Yates, 2004). In addition, Victor et al. (2008) suggest that interviews are *'conversations with a purpose'* in which the researcher aims to obtain the different perspectives, feelings and perceptions of research participants. The interviewer can actively and freely examine the answers provided, exploring them in further detail.

However, Yin (2009) highlighted some of the weaknesses of the interview method, such as the potential for poorly constructed questions to elicit favourable answers from interviewees. To avoid these, interviews are ´targeted`, focussing directly on the topics of the study, and ´insightful`, inferring and explaining reason. In small-scale research projects, in-depth research can enable generalisation. It also allows for the examination of complex processes, which can be associated with the individual biographies of participants. This can provide valuable bodies of research to projects that seek to examine the same phenomena on a larger scale.

In order to neatly store and analyse the information obtained from the interviews, the software NVivo version 11 is used for coding and organising the qualitative data. The analysis of research findings from Survey Data and Interview Data will be done through the framework of Habitus Formation in Thai Society and Cultural Resource in Thai society as described in Chapter 5 which divided into 3 parts namely: family, educational institution, and larger community. The core cultural resources and process of habitus formation of the students in this research study was presented in the figure 3.1; this will be explained in more detail in Chapter 5.

Figure 3.1 Influenced Factors toward Habitus Formation of Each Student



Ethical Considerations

Prior to commencing the study, ethical approval was obtained from the School of Education Ethics Committee. Ethical considerations have been kept under continuous review, particularly regarding the question of participant anonymity. Additionally, prior to conducting the fieldwork, formal contact was made with the selected schools in Chiang Mai Province, along with letters of consent detailing the purpose of the research.

All participants were informed of the purpose of the study before agreeing to take part. The participants were also informed that their

participation is absolutely voluntary and that they can decide to withdraw from the study at any point.

The participants who volunteered to take part in the in-depth interview were interviewed face-to-face at mutually agreed times and venues. The interviews lasted approximately one hour each. All participants were asked to sign a consent form, and their contributions to the research data have been kept anonymous in order to protect them from possible harm. Due to the fact that the field research was conducted in Thailand, where English is not an official language, the consent forms and other relevant materials were translated into Thai, the native language of the participants.

An ethical consideration of the research is the participation of students under the age of eighteen. Those participants under the age of eighteen were required to obtain permission from their legal representatives or parents in order to participate in the research. Therefore, a parental consent form was signed individually. Another ethical consideration is the need for the researcher to exercise an appropriate degree of cultural sensitivity in conducting the research.

Conclusion

In this chapter, the researcher explained the methods and tools used to answer the research question. The chapter begins with the choice of sample: students in Year 12 from two schools in Chiang-Mai. It explains the choice of mixed method research for the study: a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, questionnaires and interviews, respectively. Three hundred and eleven questionnaires were collected from two schools, providing sufficient data for statistical analysis. Interviews were carried out with those students who indicated

willingness to participate. The interviews were designed to be conducted in two phases: i.e., before and after the students knew the result of the CMU quota entrance examination.

The qualitative data obtained from the questionnaires will be analysed in Chapter 4 while the data obtained from the interviews will be analysed through the framework of Habitus Formation in Thai Society and Cultural Resource in Thai society as described in Chapter 5.

Chapter 4
Research Findings on Quantitative Analysis

Introduction

In this chapter, the quantitative data obtained from the questionnaire is analysed using statistical methods, booth descriptive and inferential statistics in order to answer the research question. At the beginning of this chapter, descriptive information of the sample students from school A and school B, obtained from the questionnaires, will be described and compared, for example, number of students, their study programme, hometown, family background, and higher education choices. This will provide overview characteristics of the sample. These data also enable a cross-check of the pre-assumption of the researcher that school A students are likely to have a more privileged background than those attending school B, in terms of higher education and career choices opportunities as well as, their socio-economic background and their social status.

Following this, the quantitative analysis will be presented and discussed. The commercial software SPSS version 17.0 was used to store the questionnaire data and help with the analysis. Two statistical methods were applied to interpret the collected data (T-test and Pearson chi-square hypothesis tests) in order to explore factors of relevance to the research question. The important factors related to cultural capital, focusing on the context of Thai culture and the choices of Thai youth in their higher education and career path, will be demonstrated.

Statistical Information of the Sample

In this section, the researcher will summarise background information of the sample between the two schools. This descriptive information was obtained from the collected questionnaires, providing overall pictures of the sample in this research context. These data will be analysed deeper in the next section. Table 4.1 shows the major characteristics of the sample from the two schools obtained from the questionnaires.

Table 4.1 Statistical Information of the Sample

Characteristic		School A	School B
Gender	Male	44.7%	32.5%
	Female	55.3%	67.5%
Hometown	CM, Muang District	43.1%	35.4%
	CM, Other district	23.9%	46.0%
	Other provinces	33.0%	18.6%
Number of siblings	One	19.8%	21.1%
	Two	64.5%	50.0%
	Three	13.7%	16.7%
	More than three	2.0%	12.3%
Participating in the study loan funding programme?	No	98.0%	58.9%
	Yes	2.0%	41.1%
Parents divorced?	No	91.4%	79.8%
	Yes	8.6%	20.2%

Characteristic		School A	School B
Currently living at	Home	78.7%	77.0%
	Relative's house	4.1%	7.1%
	Dormitory and etc.	17.3%	15.9%
Home language	Central Thai	58.4%	15.8%
	Central Thai and local dialect	27.4%	35.1%
	Local dialect	14.2%	49.1%
Parent has higher education?	At least one has	85.6%	7.8%
	Both parent has no	14.4%	92.2%
Father occupation	Government official	47.4%	2.9%
	State enterprise official	9.2%	4.9%
	Private sector employee	4.1%	1.9%
	Business owner	31.6%	26.2%
	Low skill labour	4.1%	44.7%
	Farmer or fisherman	1.5%	11.7%
	Househusband or does not work	2.0%	7.8%

Characteristic		School A	School B
Mother occupation	Government official	31.7%	1.8%
	State enterprise official	6.6%	0.9%
	Private sector employee	4.6%	2.7%
	Business owner	35.0%	36.4%
	Low skill labour	2.5%	40.0%
	Farmer or fisherman	0.5%	7.3%
	Housewife or does not work	13.7%	10.9%
Confidence in using English language?	Yes	61.9%	15.8%
	No	38.1%	84.2%
Taking classes at cram schools?	Yes	97.0%	62.8%
	No	3.0%	37.2%
Travel experience to other countries	Further than border countries	49.7%	8.0%
	Only boarder countries	11.3%	35.4%
	Never	39.0%	56.6%
Level of confidence in having a successful post- school career	μ	3.46	3.44
	Σ	0.70	0.65
	p-value	0.81	

Characteristic		School A	School B
Level of confidence in being accepted by the university of their choice	μ	3.3807	3.2613
	Σ	0.8032	0.70982
	p-value	0.18	

The table shows the number of students in the sample (in percentage) from school A and school B falling into each sub-group when they are categorised by individual characteristics. For the last two columns in the table – i.e., the level of confidence in having a successful post-school career path and the level of confidence in being accepted by university of their choices – I report the mean (μ) value and standard deviation (σ) obtained from the rating scale questions (typical five level Likert scale). The difference in the mean values obtained from the school A and B sample are demonstrated by the p-value in which the t-test analysis is applied for the calculation. The researcher attempts to show how the characteristics of the sample from school A and school B are different. The key different characteristics clearly seen from the table can be summarized as the following:

School A has an almost equal number of male and female students (about 44.7%:53.3%) while School B is more likely to host more female students (about 67.5% of school B students are female). According to a statistical report on the numbers of Thai young people who are attending education programmes in 2008 by level of education attendance and sex, female students slightly outnumbered males at the upper secondary level of education. Females accounted for 52.92 percent of the total population (NSO, 2008). So, the

researcher argues that the sample is representative in term of gender.

Nearly all the students (309 or 99.4 per cent) were of Thai nationality. In terms of religion, most of the students were Buddhist (295 or 94.9 per cent); 12 were Christian (3.9 per cent), 2 Islamic (0.6 per cent), and 2 (0.6 per cent) stated that they were non-religious.

Most of the students from both school A and school B (about 78%) live in their parental homes; only about 16-17% of students live in dormitories (or etc.). About half of students from school A originally come from Chiang Mai Muang District whilst about half of students from school B come from other districts, i.e., not Muang District of Chiang Mai.

For the family background, overall, students from school A appear to have a more privileged background. Very few students from school A have more than three siblings whilst up to 12% of students from school B have more than three siblings; the higher number of siblings may be due to poor knowledge of family planning.

More than 40% of students from school B participate in the student loan funding programme whilst only 2% of school A students join this programme. This suggests that the students from school B come from low-income families.

Up to 20% of students from school B have parents who have divorced, compared to about 9% of students in school A.

More than half (58%) of students from school A speak central Thai at home whilst half (50%) of school B students speak the local dialect; in contrast, only 14% of school A students speak the local dialect

whilst 16% of school B students speak central Thai. In Chiang Mai the language used in the home can be a proxy indicator of social background. Students who identified themselves as using central Thai at home can therefore be seen as more likely to have a more privileged social background, or to have parents with higher educational attainment, than students who use the local dialect at home.

In terms of their parents' education, up to 85.6% of school A parents (at least father or mother) have a higher education qualification while only 8% of students in school B have parents with higher education. The education of parents is also a basis for classifying the social background of students.

With regards to the occupation of parents, the fathers of students from school A (about 47.4%) are likely to be government officials while those of school B students are likely to work as low skilled labour (44.7%) on the minimum daily wage. Similarly, a significant percentage of mothers of students from school A (32%) work as government officials while those of school B tend to work as low skilled labour (40.0%). This could suggest that students from school A are likely to have a more privileged family background. In Thailand, being a government official is considered a high-status occupation especially amongst people who live in provincial areas. However, in terms of salary it ranks low – only daily hires and farmers are more poorly paid. This context was explained earlier in the thesis Preface.

The students from school A are likely to be more confident in using the English language than the students from school B (62% for school A versus 16% for school B). Nearly all students from school A (97%)

take classes at cram schools whilst 38% of students from school B did not take these classes. Cram schools in Thailand are additional classes on top of usual school classes.

In terms of travelling aboard, about half (49.7%) of school A students have experienced travelling to countries beyond those that border Thailand, whereas 57% of school B students had never been to other countries, even border countries.

Finally, from the questionnaire, students were asked to rate their ability (on a scale of 1-5, 1 being the lowest and 5 the highest) to be successful in their future career path. The t-test statistical method was used to compare the levels of confidence between the two schools. The researcher found that there is no statistically significant difference in the level of confidence in having a successful post-school career path and the level of confidence in being accepted by the university of their choice between school A and school B; p-value is > 0.05 in both cases. Interestingly, the mean level of confidence is about 3.4 – 3.5. This may be because, in general, students tend to give a moderate answer to a question which they feel is about an unpredictable future–despite the groups' having different future plans.

Overall, Table 4.1 suggests that the student sample from school A and school B have different characteristics, which could be due to the difference in family background such as socio-economic and social status. These factors could lead to the difference in cultural capital embodied in each individual student. Hence, the researcher argues that the sample is appropriate for pursuing the research questions.

The detailed analysis of the sample to answer the research question will be presented in the next sections of this chapter.

Discovering the factors relating to Thai cultural values

In this section, the researcher attempts to discover factors which might relate to Thai cultural values. In the beginning, the "confidence of using English language" was selected as an indicator for having high Thai cultural value. Generally, it is well known that, in Thailand, people who can speak or use the English language well are more likely to have higher education and be wealthier. The Chi-square test was used as a statistical tool for checking whether each tested factor affects the "confidence of using English language".

In the test, the students were divided into two main groups, i.e. the group of school A and B. Then, the students from each group were divided into a few sub-groups following the tested factor used in each analysis, such as sample's gender or sample's hometown. Here, the researcher made a pre-assumption for Chi-square analysis that the students from school A should have higher Thai cultural values than those of school B. Therefore, if the tested factor does not affect the "confidence of using English language", the Chi-square test should report the statistical results implying that most students from school A have confidence in using the English language while most students from school B have no confidence in using the English language (81.1%) for every sub-group of the tested factor (i.e., following the characteristic described in the previous section).

Table 4.2 Gender Influencing the Confidence in Use of English Language

Gender				Confident in using English Language		Total
				No	Yes	
Male	School	A	Count	37	51	88
			% within School	42.0%	58.0%	100.0%
		B	Count	30	7	37
			% within School	81.1%	18.9%	100.0%
	Total		Count	67	58	125
			% of Total	53.6%	46.4%	100.0%
Female	School	A	Count	38	71	109
			% within School	34.9%	65.1%	100.0%
		B	Count	66	11	77
			% within School	85.7%	14.3%	100.0%
	Total		Count	104	82	186
			% of Total	55.9%	44.1%	100.0%

Gender		Value	Df	P-value
Male	Pearson Chi-Square	15.959	1	.000
Female	Pearson Chi-Square	47.337	1	.000

The researcher started to test whether gender has an influence on confidence in using English as shown in Table 4.2. The result suggests that, for both sub-groups of male and female, more students from school A have confidence in using the English language, while more students from school B lack confidence. This is consistent with the assumption and so it can be concluded that gender has no effect on confidence in using the English language.

Table 4.3 Hometown Influencing Confidence in Using English

Hometown				Confident in using English Language		Total
				No	Yes	
CM, Muang District (city area)	School	A	Count	34	51	85
			% within School	40.0%	60.0%	100.0%
		B	Count	37	3	40
			% within School	92.5%	7.5%	100.0%
	Total		Count	71	54	125
			% of Total	56.8%	43.2%	100.0%
CM, Other district (out of town)	School	A	Count	13	34	47
			% within School	27.7%	72.3%	100.0%
		B	Count	44	8	52
			% within School	84.6%	15.4%	100.0%
	Total		Count	57	42	99
			% of Total	57.6%	42.4%	100.0%
Other provinces	School	A	Count	28	37	65
			% within School	43.1%	56.9%	100.0%
		B	Count	14	7	21
			% within School	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
	Total		Count	42	44	86
			% of Total	48.8%	51.2%	100.0%

Hometown		Value	Df	P-value
CM, Muang District	Pearson Chi-Square	30.553	1	.000
CM, Other district	Pearson Chi-Square	32.786	1	.000
Other province	Pearson Chi-Square	3.535	1	.060

Then, I chose the hometown as the tested factor as shown in Table 4.3. It is shown that, again, more students from school A have confidence in using English language, while more students from school B have no confidence in using English language, regardless of the hometown. Thus, it could be concluded that the hometown has no effect on confidence in using English language. However, note that for the group of "other provinces", it seems that the statistical difference is marginal to conclude that this sub-group is following the assumption (p-value is about 6%).

Table 4.4 Home Language Influencing Confidence of Using English Language

Home Language				Confident in using English Language		Total
				No	Yes	
Central Thai	School	A	Count	42	73	115
			% within School	36.5%	63.5%	100.0%
		B	Count	10	8	18
			% within School	55.6%	44.4%	100.0%
	Total		Count	52	81	133
			% of Total	39.1%	60.9%	100.0%
Local dialect	School	A	Count	12	16	28
			% within School	42.9%	57.1%	100.0%
		B	Count	52	4	56
			% within School	92.9%	7.1%	100.0%
	Total		Count	64	20	84
			% of Total	76.2%	23.8%	100.0%
Using both languages	School	A	Count	21	33	54
			% within School	38.9%	61.1%	100.0%
		B	Count	34	6	40
			% within School	85.0%	15.0%	100.0%
	Total		Count	55	39	94
			% of Total	58.5%	41.5%	100.0%

Home Language		Value	Df	P-value
Central Thai	Pearson Chi-Square	2.368	1	.124
Local dialect	Pearson Chi-Square	25.725	1	.000
Both	Pearson Chi-Square	20.126	1	.000

For the home language, the researcher tested this factor and reports on it in Table 4.4. It was found that this factor has some influence on the confidence in using the English language. In fact, for the students who speak local dialect and both central Thai and local dialect, more students from school A have confidence in using English language, while more students from school B have no confidence in using English language following the pre-assumption. However, for the students who only speak central Thai, the Chi-square test suggests that it could not be concluded that more students from school A have confidence in using English language, and more students from school B have no confidence in using English language. This suggests that the home language has significant influence on the confidence to use the English language, especially for those who speak central Thai.

Table 4.5 Participation in Study Loan Funding Programme Influencing Confidence in Using the English Language

Participation in study loan funding programme				Confident in using English Language		Total
				No	Yes	
No	School	A	Count	74	118	192
			% within School	38.5%	61.5%	100.0%
		B	Count	55	11	66
			% within School	83.3%	16.7%	100.0%
	Total		Count	129	129	258
			% of Total	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
Yes	School	A	Count	1	3	4
			% within School	25.0%	75.0%	100.0%
		B	Count	39	7	46
			% within School	84.8%	15.2%	100.0%
	Total		Count	40	10	50
			% of Total	80.0%	20.0%	100.0%

Participation in Study Loan funding programme		Value	Df	P-value
No	Pearson Chi-Square	39.417	1	.000
Yes	Pearson Chi-Square	8.220	1	.004

Next, the researcher tested whether "participation in study loan funding programme" had an effect on confidence in using the English language, the testing result is shown in Table 4.5. Basically, the result followed the assumption that more students from school A have confidence in using English language, while more students from school B have no confidence in using English language; the "participation in study loan funding programme" had no effect on confidence levels.

Table 4.6 Parents Divorced Influencing Confidence Using the English Language

Parents divorced				Confident in using the English Language		Total
				No	Yes	
No	School	A	Count	70	110	180
			% within School	38.9%	61.1%	100.0%
		B	Count	78	13	91
			% within School	85.7%	14.3%	100.0%
	Total		Count	148	123	271
			% of Total	54.6%	45.4%	100.0%
Yes	School	A	Count	5	12	17
			% within School	29.4%	70.6%	100.0%
		B	Count	18	5	23
			% within School	78.3%	21.7%	100.0%
	Total		Count	23	17	40
			% of Total	57.5%	42.5%	100.0%

Parents divorced		Value	df	P-value
No	Pearson Chi-Square	53.466	1	.000
Yes	Pearson Chi-Square	9.545	1	.002

Table 4.7 Students' Confidence in Having Skills or Talent Influencing Confidence in Using the English Language

Confidence in having skills or talent				Confident in using English Language		Total
				No	Yes	
No	School	A	Count	23	21	44
			% within School	52.3%	47.7%	100.0%
		B	Count	30	5	35
			% within School	85.7%	14.3%	100.0%
	Total		Count	53	26	79
			% of Total	67.1%	32.9%	100.0%
Yes	School	A	Count	51	100	151
			% within School	33.8%	66.2%	100.0%
		B	Count	62	12	74
			% within School	83.8%	16.2%	100.0%
	Total		Count	113	112	225
			% of Total	50.2%	49.8%	100.0%

Confident of having skills or talent		Value	df	P-value
No	Pearson Chi-Square	9.874	1	.002
Yes	Pearson Chi-Square	49.681	1	.000

Table 4.8 Tutorial Classes Influencing Confidence Using the English Language

Tutorial classes				Confident in using English Language		Total
				No	Yes	
No	School	A	Count	1	5	6
			% within School	16.7%	83.3%	100.0%
		B	Count	39	3	42
			% within School	92.9%	7.1%	100.0%
	Total		Count	40	8	48
			% of Total	83.3%	16.7%	100.0%
Yes	School	A	Count	74	117	191
			% within School	38.7%	61.3%	100.0%
		B	Count	56	15	71
			% within School	78.9%	21.1%	100.0%
	Total		Count	130	132	262
			% of Total	49.6%	50.4%	100.0%

Tutorial classes		Value	df	P-value
No	Pearson Chi-Square	21.943	1	.000
Yes	Pearson Chi-Square	33.343	1	.000

In Table 4.6, Table 4.7 and Table 4.8, the researcher attempted to test whether the factor of “parents divorced”, “students’ confidence in having skills or talent” and “attending tutorial Classes” have an influence on confidence in using the English language. Similar results were found; in fact, these three factors have significant influence on confidence in using the English language - i.e., following the assumption that more students from school A have confidence in using English language, while more students from school B have no confidence in using English language.

Table 4.9 Travel to Other Countries Influencing Confidence in Using the English Language

Have been to other countries				Confident in using English Language		Total
				No	Yes	
No	School	A	Count	40	36	76
			% within School	52.6%	47.4%	100.0%
		B	Count	54	10	64
			% within School	84.4%	15.6%	100.0%
	Total		Count	94	46	140
			% of Total	67.1%	32.9%	100.0%
Yes	School	A	Count	27	70	97
			% within School	27.8%	72.2%	100.0%
		B	Count	7	2	9
			% within School	77.8%	22.2%	100.0%
	Total		Count	34	72	106
			% of Total	32.1%	67.9%	100.0%
Boarder	School	A	Count	8	14	22
			% within School	36.4%	63.6%	100.0%
		B	Count	34	6	40
			% within School	85.0%	15.0%	100.0%
	Total		Count	42	20	62
			% of Total	67.7%	32.3%	100.0%

Have been to other countries		Value	Df	P-value
No	Pearson Chi-Square	15.869	1	.000
Yes	Pearson Chi-Square	9.429	1	.002
Border	Pearson Chi-Square	15.364	1	.000

In Table 4.9, the researcher determines whether the factor of "have ever travelled to other countries" has an effect on confidence in using the English language. The result is interesting. Although the result from the sub-groups of students answering "yes" and "border" show that it is consistent with the assumption, the result from the sub-group of students answering "no" is different. In fact, I found that more than 50% of students from both school A and school B in this sub-group are not confident in using the English language which is inconsistent with the pre-assumption. Therefore, it could be concluded that the factor of "have ever travelled to other countries" has an effect on significant confidence in using the English language.

Table 4.10 Current Study Programme Influencing Confidence in Using the English Language

Current study programme				Confident in using English Language		Total
				No	Yes	
Science	School	A	Count	53	90	143
			% within School	37.1%	62.9%	100.0%
		B	Count	30	10	40
			% within School	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%
	Total		Count	83	100	183
			% of Total	45.4%	54.6%	100.0%
Arts	School	A	Count	22	32	54
			% within School	40.7%	59.3%	100.0%
		B	Count	66	8	74
			% within School	89.2%	10.8%	100.0%
	Total		Count	88	40	128
			% of Total	68.8%	31.3%	100.0%

Study programme (Science, Arts)		Value	df	P-value
Science	Pearson Chi-Square	18.151	1	.000
Arts	Pearson Chi-Square	34.108	1	.000

Next, I test whether the factor of current study programme influences the confidence of using the English language. The result is shown in Table 4.10. Basically, the statistical result suggests that this factor has an effect on confidence in using the English language. Again, more students from school A have confidence in using the English language, while more students from school B have no confidence in using the English language, when current study programme is being used as the tested factor.

Table 4.11 Being the First One in the Family to Go to University Influencing Using the English Language

Being the first one in the family to go to university				Confident in using English Language		Total
				No	Yes	
Yes	School	A	Count	6	3	9
			% within School	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
		B	Count	50	7	57
			% within School	87.7%	12.3%	100.0%
	Total		Count	56	10	66
			% of Total	84.8%	15.2%	100.0%
No	School	A	Count	68	119	187
			% within School	36.4%	63.6%	100.0%
		B	Count	42	11	53
			% within School	79.2%	20.8%	100.0%
	Total		Count	110	130	240
			% of Total	45.8%	54.2%	100.0%

Be the first one in the family to go to university		Value	Df	P-value
Yes	Pearson Chi-Square	2.680[a]	1	.102
No	Pearson Chi-Square	30.587[c]	1	.000

Next, the researcher proceeded to check on the factor of "being the first one in the family to go to university" influencing confidence levels in using the English language. The primary result is very interesting; it was found that this factor significantly influences confidence. Although for the sub-group answering "no", the result seems to be consistent with the assumption that more students from school A have confidence in using English language and more students from school B have no confidence in using English language, the result from the sub-group answering "yes" is in contrast. In fact, the result from the latter sub-group could not be interpreted following the assumption, suggested by the p-value of about 10%, which is not significantly different. Moreover, unlike the results from other tested factors shown above, Table 4.11 shows that most students in this sub-group from both school A and school B are likely to not be confident in using the English language. Therefore, it could be concluded that the factor of "being the first one in the family to go to university" makes no significant difference in confidence in using English language. The finding that students who are the first in their family to go to university are likely to not be confident in using the English language could suggest that they have lower Thai cultural value.

Table 4.12 Parents' Higher Education Influencing Confidence in Using the English Language

Parents' Higher Education				Confident in using English Language		Total
				No	Yes	
Both of them had no higher education	School	A	Count	13	13	26
			% within School	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
		B	Count	81	14	95
			% within School	85.3%	14.7%	100.0%
	Total		Count	94	27	121
			% of Total	77.7%	22.3%	100.0%
At least one of them had higher education	School	A	Count	52	103	155
			% within School	33.5%	66.5%	100.0%
		B	Count	6	2	8
			% within School	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%
	Total		Count	58	105	163
			% of Total	35.6%	64.4%	100.0%

Parents' Higher Education		Value	df	P-value
Both of them had no higher education	Pearson Chi-Square	14.643	1	.000
At least one of them had higher education	Pearson Chi-Square	5.703	1	.017

Table 4.13 Fathers' Higher Education Influencing Confidence in using the English Language

Father with Higher Education				Confident in using English Language		Total
				No	Yes	
No	School	A	Count	15	16	31
			% within School	48.4%	51.6%	100.0%
		B	Count	73	13	86
			% within School	84.9%	15.1%	100.0%
	Total		Count	88	29	117
			% of Total	75.2%	24.8%	100.0%
Yes	School	A	Count	45	93	138
			% within School	32.6%	67.4%	100.0%
		B	Count	6	1	7
			% within School	85.7%	14.3%	100.0%
	Total		Count	51	94	145
			% of Total	35.2%	64.8%	100.0%

Father with Higher Education		Value	Df	P-value
No	Pearson Chi-Square	16.281	1	.000
Yes	Pearson Chi-Square	8.240	1	.004

Table 4.14 Mother Higher Education Influencing Confidence of Using English Language

Mother with Higher Education				Confident in using English Language		Total
				No	Yes	
No	School	A	Count	20	22	42
			% within School	47.6%	52.4%	100.0%
		B	Count	84	15	99
			% within School	84.8%	15.2%	100.0%
	Total		Count	104	37	141
			% of Total	73.8%	26.2%	100.0%
Yes	School	A	Count	43	90	133
			% within School	32.3%	67.7%	100.0%
		B	Count	2	1	3
			% within School	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
	Total		Count	45	91	136
			% of Total	33.1%	66.9%	100.0%

Mother with Higher Education		Value	df	P-value
No	Pearson Chi-Square	21.117	1	.000
Yes	Pearson Chi-Square	1.562	1	.211

Finally, the researcher attempted to test whether the parents' higher education or the higher education of either the father or mother of the students had an influence on confidence in using the English language. No statistically significant effect was found, especially in Table 4.14. In fact, the result follows the assumption that more students from school A have confidence in using the English language and more students from school B do not have confidence in using English language.

The effect of being the first one in the family to go to university relating to cultural capital

In the previous section, it was found that the factor of "being the first one in the family to go to university" could affect Thai cultural values. Thus, in this section, we will use this factor as a criterion for grouping the students, regardless of their host schools, and find how this factor impacts other factors. Again, the researcher used the Chi-square method to statistically distinguish whether the group of "being the first one in the family to go to university" and "not being the first one in the family to go to university" have the same characteristic when they are tested statistically with a selected factor. Throughout this section, the researcher made the pre-assumption for the Chi-square test that the group of "being the first one in the family to go to university" has lower Thai cultural values while the group of "not being the first one in the family to go to university" has higher Thai cultural values.

Table 4.15 Being the First One in the Family to Go to University Influencing Confidence of Using English Language

		Confident in using English Language		
		No	Yes	Total
Being the first one in the family to go to university	Yes	56	10	66
		84.8%	15.2%	100.0%
	No	110	130	240
		45.8%	54.2%	100.0%
Total		166	140	306
	% of Total	54.2%	45.8%	100.0%

	Value	df	P-value
Pearson Chi-Square	31.747	1	.000

At the beginning, I check whether "being the first one in the family to go to university" has an effect on the confidence of using the English language. The result is shown in Table 4.15. Indeed, the Chi-square test suggests the statistical difference between the group of "being the first one in the family to go to university" and "not being one"; the former group are likely to have no confidence in using the English language while the latter are likely to be more confident. Therefore, the data suggests that the group of "being the first one in the family

to go to university" has lower Thai cultural value since the ability to use the English language is one characteristic of people who have high cultural value in Thailand.

Table 4.16 Being the First One in the Family to Go to University Influencing Confidence of Having Skills or Talent

		Confident of having skills or talent		
		No	Yes	Total
Being the first one in the family to go to university	Yes	23	39	62
		37.1%	62.9%	100.0%
	No	54	183	237
		22.8%	77.2%	100.0%
Total		77	222	299
	% of Total	25.8%	74.2%	100.0%

	Value	df	P-value
Pearson Chi-Square	5.265	1	.022

Next, the influence of "being the first one in the family to go to university" on the confidence of having skills or talent is tested. The result is shown in Table 4.16. Although it seems that the students from both groups of "being the first one in the family to go to

university" and "not being one" are likely to be more confident of having skill or talent, the Chi-square result suggests that there is statistical difference between these two groups. In fact, it could be interpreted that students who are "not being the first one in the family to go to university" have more confidence of having skills or talent than another group. Again, this supports the assumption that the group of "being the first one in the family to go to university" should have higher Thai cultural values since the confidence of having skills or talent should be an indicator of having Thai cultural values.

Table 4.17 Being the First Member of the Family to Go to University Influencing attending Tutorial Classes

Being the first one in the family to go to university		Attend Tutorial classes		Total
		No	Yes	
Yes		22	44	66
		33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
No		23	216	239
		9.6%	90.4%	100.0%
Total		45	260	305
	% of Total	14.8%	85.2%	100.0%

	Value	df	P-value
Pearson Chi-Square	23.116	1	.000

The researcher continued to test the influence of "being the first one in the family to go to university" to the factor of attending tutorial classes (Table 4.17). Basically, attending tutorial classes could be one indicator of higher cultural values. The result is similar to the above test; although it seems that the students from both groups of "being the first one in the family to go to university" and "not being one" are both likely to attend the tutorial class, the Chi-square result suggests that there is a statistically significant difference between these two groups. Students who are "not being the first one in the family to go to university" are more likely to attend tutorial classes than other groups.

Table 4.18 Being the First Member of the Family to Go to University Influencing Having Been to Other Countries

Being the first one in the family to go to university		Have been to other countries			
		Never	Only bordering countries	Others	Total
	Yes	42	20	4	66
		63.6%	30.3%	6.1%	100.0%
	No	96	41	100	237
		40.5%	17.3%	42.2%	100.0%
Total		138	61	104	303
	% of Total	45.5%	20.1%	34.3%	100.0%

	Value	Df	P-value
Pearson Chi-Square	30.037	2	.000

Next, the researcher checked the influence of "being the first one in the family to go to university" against the factor of "having been to other countries" (Table 4.18). Again, the Chi-square reports the significant difference between the student groups of "being, and not being, the first one in the family to go to university". In fact, it was found that the students who "not being the first one in the family to go to university" are likely to have been to other countries which are

not border countries. This suggests that the students in the group of "not being the first one in the family to go to university" are likely to have more Thai cultural values.

Table 4.19 Being the First Member of the Family to Go to University Influencing Plans About University Choice

Being the first one in the family to go to university		Plan about university choice			Total
		Already have a particular university in mind	Have a couple of universities in mind	Have no idea	
	Yes	36	30	0	66
		54.5%	45.5%	.0%	100.0%
	No	172	67	1	240
		71.7%	27.9%	.4%	100.0%
Total		208	97	1	306
	% of Total	68.0%	31.7%	.3%	100.0%

	Value	df	P-value
Pearson Chi-Square	7.530	2	.023

I also checked whether the factor of "being the first one in the family to go to university" can influence the factor of "plan about university

choice". Basically, the statistical test suggests that the students in the group of "not being the first one in the family to go to university" are likely to already have a particular university in mind, while other groups still have a couple of universities in mind. The statistical difference between the two groups shows a significant difference as shown in Table 4.19.

Table 4.20 Being the First One in the Family to Go to University Influencing Choice of University

Being the first one in the family to go to university		Choice of university					Total
		Elite universities in Bangkok and oversea	CMU	Other public universities in BKK	Other public universities	Private universities, local universities, and vocational collage	
	Yes	4	49	2	0	9	64
		6.3%	76.6%	3.1%	.0%	14.1%	100.0%
	No	70	132	22	6	7	237
		29.5%	55.7%	9.3%	2.5%	3.0%	100.0%
Total		74	181	24	6	16	301
	% of Total	24.6%	60.1%	8.0%	2.0%	5.3%	100.0%

	Value	df	P-value
Pearson Chi-Square	30.479[a]	4	.000

Table 4.20 shows the impact of "being the first one in the family to go to university" on their choice of university. The statistics shown in the table reveal the impact of being the first member in one's family to go to college upon their choice of university. Those who are the first tend to choose CMU (76.6 percent), with other public universities in Bangkok 3.1 percent and private universities 14.1 percent being far lower common preference. On the other hand, those who are *not* the first member of their family are more likely to choose elite universities in Bangkok (29.5 per cent); only 55.7 percent of these chose CMU, with other public universities at 2.5 percent and private universities at 3.0 percent. In fact, the difference between these two groups of students is significantly different, with a level of confidence of almost 100 percent. This shows that being the first member of one's family does have an impact on choice of university.

Table 4.21 Being the First Member of the Family to Go to University Influencing Current Study Programme

Being the first one in the family to go to university		Study programme		
		Science	Arts	Total
	Yes	20	46	66
		30.3%	69.7%	100.0%
	No	162	78	240
		67.5%	32.5%	100.0%
Total		182	124	306
	% of Total	59.5%	40.5%	100.0%

	Value	Df	P-value
Pearson Chi-Square	29.717	1	.000

In Table 4.21, the researcher selected to test whether "being the first one in the family to go to university" has an impact on current study programme (i.e., science or arts). The Chi-square test reports that ones who "being the first one in the family to go to university" are likely to currently study in the 'arts' programme while ones who "not being the first one in the family to go to university" are likely to study in the 'science' programme. This suggests that the factor of "being the first one in the family to go to university" has an impact on the study programme that students have selected at a significant level.

Overall, the researcher found that students being or not being the first one in the family to go to university has an impact on the other factors relating to the cultural values, as assumed in the beginning of this section. Students who are not the first one in the family to go to university are likely to have higher Thai cultural values and be more privileged.

Cultural capital factors influencing higher education choices

Since one of the research questions of the thesis is "what are the cultural capital factors influencing the student's decisions in relation to study programme, higher education institution, or occupations?", the researcher also attempted to find the factors which could indicate directly the cultural capital factors using the questionnaire. In brief, the method can be explained as the following.

The researcher began by listing possible factors which could influence the student's decision making in educational institutions and field of study (see list of factors in Table 4.21 and 4.22) in the questionnaire. The sample were asked to rate how much each factor influenced their decision on a scale of 1-5 in which one is the lowest influence and five is the highest influence. Then the researcher calculated the average values of each factor for the students from school A and B. Finally, the values of each factor are compared and examined to see whether they are significantly different statistically using t-statistical analysis. The results are shown in the following tables.

Table 4.22 Factors Influencing Decision Making in Educational Institution between the Two Schools

Factor	Mean		p-value	Significantly different
	School A	School B		
Reputation of the university or professors	3.97 ± 0.91	3.64 ± 1.09	0.01	Yes
Interesting study programme	4.47 ± 0.74	4.46 ± 0.69	0.89	No
Low admission requirement (Choice of University)	2.77 ± 1.17	2.88 ± 1.17	0.42	No
Affordable tuition fee (Choice of University)	3.14 ± 1.18	3.44 ± 1.16	0.03	Yes
Location of the university	3.46 ± 1.36	3.95 ± 1.05	0.00	Yes
Environment of the university	3.83 ± 0.99	3.88 ± 0.90	0.69	No
Family influence (Choice of University)	2.98 ± 1.3	3.28 ± 1.23	0.06	No
Teacher influence (Choice of University)	2.60 ± 1.04	3.14 ± 1.04	0.00	Yes

Factor	Mean		p-value	Significantly different
	School A	School B		
Friend influence (Choice of University)	2.88 ± 1.19	3.37 ± 1.11	0.00	Yes
Media influence	2.38 ± 1.12	3.16 ± 1.21	0.00	Yes

Table 4.23 Factors Influencing Decision Making in Study Field between the Two Schools

Factor	Mean		p-value	Significantly different
	School A	School B		
I am good at this subject	3.81 ± 0.87	3.80 ± 0.82	0.90	No
Career opportunities	3.96 ± 1.09	4.11 ± 0.88	0.23	No
It is my passion	4.37 ± 0.81	4.35 ± 0.76	0.86	No
It is trendy	2.57 ± 1.07	2.59 ± 0.88	0.86	No

Factor	Mean		p-value	Significantly different
	School A	School B		
Social status	3.04 ± 1.19	3.32 ± 0.99	0.04	Yes
Family influence (Choice of Field)	2.99 ± 1.27	3.05 ± 1.19	0.74	No
Teacher influence (Choice of Field)	2.41 ± 1.03	2.80 ± 0.99	0.00	Yes
Friend influence (Choice of Field)	2.68 ± 1.13	2.99 ± 1.12	0.02	Yes
Low admission requirement (Choice of Field)	2.44 ± 1.09	2.76 ± 1.09	0.01	Yes
Affordable tuition fee (Choice of Field)	2.70 ± 1.18	3.27 ± 1.05	0.00	Yes

Starting from the factor that influenced the decision making in educational institution (Table 4.22), the key points could be summarised as the following. The students from school A, statistically, think more about the reputation of the university than those from school B. In contrast, the students from school B seem to

consider the university tuition fee and the location of the university as the key factors when selecting the university or higher education institutes. It was found that the students from school B are more influenced by teachers, friends and the media. In another area, the two student groups hold similar characteristics. It seems that the students from school A and school B consider these factors at the same level: "interesting study programme", "low admission requirement", "environment of the university" and "family". Students in both school A and school B would like to study programmes that they are interested in; this factor was rated highest among the other factors at 4.47 out of 5.

Students from both schools also consider the environment of the university as important in making their choice. In contrast, students from both schools do not consider "low admission" as an important factor for choosing the university: the average point is as low as 2.7 (of the full scale of 5).

For the factors that influence the decision making around the study field, the results obtained from Table 4.23 are quite similar to that of the educational institute. It was found that the students from school B are more influenced by their teachers and friends, at the average value of about 3. They also think more about affordable tuition fees as a key to choosing their field of study, as compared with those of school A.

"Social status" is considered more by students from school B. The students from school B seem to think more about "low admission requirement" compared to school A (i.e., the scores are statistically different). In fact, the score of school B is only 2.76 which is still below

the middle score of 3 (we may consider three as the middle value, out of the full score of 5). So, I conclude that the school B students did not think much about the factor of low admission requirement.

In contrast, the same characteristics of the students from school A and school B can also be seen from the table. Both students from school A and B would like to study in the field that they are good at, and that they are passionate about (at the average values of about 3.8 and 4.4, respectively). In addition, they are likely to choose the fields that have more opportunity for their future career (at average value of about 4). In contrast, neither students from school A nor school B considered the "trendy fields" as key factors for selecting their field of study.

The factors affecting final choice of university

In the previous sections, the researcher presented the factors that could influence the decision making of students regarding their higher education institute, at the time they answered the questionnaire. Later on, the researcher followed up on the results by asking the student sample "what higher education institute they choose as a final choice (i.e., they are admitted; hereafter, final choice of university). This question was asked after the admission result was announced.

In this section, I will consider whether the selected factors affect final choice of university of the student sample. Since the final choices of university are various, I decided to divide the final universities into two groups - "higher prestige universities" and "lower prestige

universities" – in order to utilise the Chi-square statistical method during the tests. The results are shown and discussed.

Table 4.24 School Affecting Final Choice of University

			Final choice of university		
			Higher prestige universities	Lower prestige universities	Total
School	A	Count	158	20	178
		% within School	88.8%	11.2%	100.0%
	B	Count	28	73	101
		% within School	27.7%	72.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	186	93	279
		% within School	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%

	Value	df	P-value
Pearson Chi-Square	108.043	1	.000

The figures in Table 4.24 reveal that, between students from School A and School B, the final choice of university is significantly different at a very high level of confidence (p-value = 0%). Students from school A tended to choose higher prestige universities (88.8 per cent) while students at School B tended to choose lower prestige universities (72.3 per cent). It is quite clear that the school does have a great impact on their students' final choice of university.

Table 4.25 Gender Affecting Final Choice of University

			Final choice of university		
			Higher prestige universities	Lower prestige universities	Total
Gender	Male	Count	72	40	112
		% within Gender	64.3%	35.7%	100.0%
	Female	Count	114	53	167
		% within Gender	68.3%	31.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	186	93	279
		% within Gender	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%

	Value	df	P-value
Pearson Chi-Square	.477	1	.490

Statistics in Table 4.25 show that the final choice of university does not differ significantly between male and female students. Male students tend to choose higher prestige universities (64.3 per cent), while female students do so at 66.7 per cent. The level of confidence is also quite low (around 51 per cent: p-value=49%) i.e., they are not significantly different in their final choice of university.

Table 4.26 Hometown Affecting Final Choice of University

			Final choice of university		
			Higher prestige universities	Lower prestige universities	Total
Hometown	CM, Muang District	Count	77	39	116
		% within Hometown	66.4%	33.6%	100.0%
	CM, Other district	Count	43	40	83
		% within Hometown	51.8%	48.2%	100.0%
	Other northern province, other province, country	Count	66	14	80
		% within Hometown	82.5%	17.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	186	93	279
		% within Hometown	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%

	Value	Df	P-value
Pearson Chi-Square	17.276[a]	2	.000

Statistics in Table 4.26 reveal that the hometown of students has an impact upon choice of university. Most students from the group of Chiang Mai Muang District and other provinces tend to choose higher prestige universities (66.4% and 82.5%, respectively). In contrast, a significant fraction of students from the group of Chiang Mai Other District is likely to be admitted to lower prestige universities. The differences are significant at a level of confidence of almost 100 per cent (p-value=0.0%), suggesting that hometown could affect the

student's final choice university significantly when it comes to choosing prestige universities and lower prestige universities.

Table 4.27 Home Language Affecting Final Choice of University

			Final choice of university		
			Higher prestige universities	Lower prestige universities	Total
Home Language	Central Thai	Count	99	20	119
		% within Home Language	83.2%	16.8%	100.0%
	Local dialect	Count	31	41	72
		% within Home Language	43.1%	56.9%	100.0%
	Both	Count	56	32	88
		% within Home Language	63.6%	36.4%	100.0%
Total		Count	186	93	279
		% within Home Language	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%

	Value	Df	P-value
Pearson Chi-Square	33.052[a]	2	.000

Data from Table 4.27 show that students' home language (i.e., the language they speak at home) also has an impact on their final choice of university. Students who use the central Thai dialect, together with

those who use both the central Thai and local dialects, tend to make higher prestige universities their final choice (83.2 percent and 63.6 percent respectively), while they make lower prestige universities their final choice less often (only 16.8 percent and 36.4 percent respectively). In contrast, a higher percentage of students who use local dialect, comparing with two former groups, are likely to choose lower prestige universities (up to about 60%). This difference in choice of universities is significantly different at a very high level of confidence (almost 100 percent). It therefore can be assumed that 'home language' has an impact upon choice of university; students who can speak central Thai are more likely to choose the higher prestige universities over lower prestige universities.

Table 4.28 Being the First One in the Family to Go to University Affecting Final Choice of University

			Final choice of university		
			Higher prestige universities	Lower prestige universities	Total
Being the first one in the family to go to university	Yes	Count	18	40	58
		% within Be the first one in the family to go to university	31.0%	69.0%	100.0%
	No	Count	168	51	219
		% within Be the first one in the family to go to university	76.7%	23.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	186	91	277
		% within Be the first one in the family to go to university	67.1%	32.9%	100.0%

	Value	Df	P-value
Pearson Chi-Square	43.372	1	.000

Statistics in Table 4.28 clearly show that there is a significant difference in final choice of university between students who are first in their family to go to university, and those who are not. Students who are first in the family to go to university tend to choose lower prestige institutions (69.0 percent) while the others tend to choose higher prestige ones (76.7 percent). The level of difference between the two groups is significant (almost 100 per cent in level of

confidence: p-value=0.0%); this data, again, emphasizes that the factor of being the first in their family to go to university has influence upon Thai cultural values especially on the choice of university.

Table 4.29 Parents' Higher Education Affecting Final Choice of University

			Final choice of university		
			Higher prestige universities	Lower prestige universities	Total
Parents' Higher Education	Both of them had no higher education	Count	44	67	111
		% within Parents' Higher Education	39.6%	60.4%	100.0%
	At least one of them had higher education	Count	131	16	147
		% within Parents' Higher Education	89.1%	10.9%	100.0%
Total		Count	175	83	258
		% within Parents' Higher Education	67.8%	32.2%	100.0%

	Value	df	P-value
Pearson Chi-Square	70.947	1	.000

Data in Table 4.29 shows the significant relationship between students' parents' education and students' final choice of university.

Students whose parents had no higher education were more likely to choose lower prestige universities (60.4 percent), while the students whose parents had a higher educational background tended to choose higher prestige universities (89.1 percent). The level of difference in parent's higher education on final choice of universities is significantly different at almost 100 per cent (p-value =0.0%).

Table 4.30 Fathers' Higher Education Affecting Final Choice of University

			Final choice of university		
			Higher prestige universities	Lower prestige universities	Total
Father's Higher Education	No	Count	44	64	108
		% within Father Higher Education	40.7%	59.3%	100.0%
	Yes	Count	115	15	130
		% within Father Higher Education	88.5%	11.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	159	79	238
		% within Father Higher Education	66.8%	33.2%	100.0%

	Value	Df	P-value
Pearson Chi-Square	60.581	1	.000

Table 4.31 Mothers' Education Affecting Students' Final Choice of University

			Final choice of university		
			Higher prestige universities	Lower prestige universities	Total
Mother Higher Education	No	Count	56	74	130
		% within Mother Higher Education	43.1%	56.9%	100.0%
	Yes	Count	114	7	121
		% within Mother Higher Education	94.2%	5.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	170	81	251
		% within Mother Higher Education	67.7%	32.3%	100.0%

	Value	Df	P-value
Pearson Chi-Square	74.982[a]	1	.000

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 39.05.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

In table 4.30 and Table 4.31, the researcher also tested the relationship between an individual's father and mother's education affecting students' final choice of university. Similar to Table 4.28, statistics in Table 4.29 and Table 4.30 reveal a significant relationship between father's education and mother's education with a student's

final choice of university. Students whose fathers or mother had no higher educational background tended to choose lower prestige universities (about 57-60%), while those whose fathers or mother had taken higher education were more likely to select higher prestige universities (about 89-94%). The difference in their parent's education and its effect on the choice of university is statistically significant.

Table 4.32 Occupation of Father affecting Students' Final Choice of University

			Final choice of university		
			Higher prestige universities	Lower prestige universities	Total
Occupation of Father	Gov, State & Private	Count	99	17	116
		% within Occupation of Father	85.3%	14.7%	100.0%
	Business owner	Count	55	27	82
		% within Occupation of Father	67.1%	32.9%	100.0%
	Freelance, Farmer, & Do not work	Count	28	44	72
		% within Occupation of Father	38.9%	61.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	182	88	270
		% within Occupation of Father	67.4%	32.6%	100.0%

	Value	df	P-value
Pearson Chi-Square	43.646[a]	2	.000

The statistics in Table 4.32 reveal a significant difference in students' final choice of university according to their fathers' occupations. The data shows that students who gave their fathers' occupation as government, state enterprise, or private company official, along with

those whose father was a business owner, tended to choose higher prestige universities (85.3 percent and 67.1 percent respectively). However, students whose parents were freelance, or farmers were more likely to select lower prestige universities (61.1 per cent).

Table 4.33 Occupation of Mother Affecting Final Choice of University

			Final choice of university		Total
			Higher prestige universities	Lower prestige universities	
Occupation of Mother	Gov, State enterprise, & Private	Count	81	6	87
		% within Occupation of Mother	93.1%	6.9%	100.0%
	Business	Count	67	35	102
		% within Occupation of Mother	65.7%	34.3%	100.0%
	Freelance & Farmers	Count	13	40	53
		% within Occupation of Mother	24.5%	75.5%	100.0%
	Housewife or does not work	Count	24	11	35
		% within Occupation of Mother	68.6%	31.4%	100.0%
Total		Count	185	92	277
		% within Occupation of Mother	66.8%	33.2%	100.0%

	Value	df	P-value
Pearson Chi-Square	69.937[a]	3	.000

Statistics in Table 4.33 show a significant difference in students' final choice of university according to the occupation of their mother. Students whose mothers worked in government, state enterprises, or private business, those whose mothers owned businesses, and those who were housewives or did not work outside the home, were more likely to have made their final choice a higher prestige university (93.1 percent, 65.7 percent, and 68.6 percent respectively). However, if the students' mothers were freelance or farmers, the students would tend to choose a lower prestige university (75.5 per cent).

Table 4.34 Study Programme (Science, Arts) Affecting Final Choice of University

			Final choice of university		
			Higher prestige universities	Lower prestige universities	Total
Study programme (Science, Arts)	Science	Count	142	23	165
		% within Study programme (Science, Arts)	86.1%	13.9%	100.0%
	Arts	Count	44	70	114
		% within Study programme (Science, Arts)	38.6%	61.4%	100.0%
Total		Count	186	93	279
		% within Study programme (Science, Arts)	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%

	Value	df	P-value
Pearson Chi-Square	68.348[a]	1	.000

Statistics in Table 4.34 reveal a significant difference in the final choice of university according to the students' study programme at the schools. Students with study programmes in Science tend to select higher prestige universities (86.1 percent), while students whose study programme is Arts are more likely to choose lower prestige universities (61.4 percent).

Table 4.35 Have Been to Other Countries and Final Choice of University

			Final choice of university		
			Higher prestige universities	Lower prestige universities	Total
Have been to other countries	No	Count	77	52	129
		% within Have been to other countries	59.7%	40.3%	100.0%
	Yes	Count	80	15	95
		% within Have been to other countries	84.2%	15.8%	100.0%
	Broader	Count	28	25	53
		% within Have been to other countries	52.8%	47.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	185	92	277
		% within Have been to other countries	66.8%	33.2%	100.0%

	Value	df	P-value
Pearson Chi-Square	20.585[a]	2	.000

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 17.60.

Statistics from Table 4.35 reveal a significant difference between those who have and have not been to other countries in relation to

their final choice of universities. Note that the group "have been to other countries" was divided into two sub-groups: (1) Have only been to countries bordering Thailand and (2) Have been to other countries beyond bordering countries. Most students tend to make their final choice a higher prestige university (59.7 percent, 84.2 percent, and 52.8 percent respectively, compared to 40.3 percent, 15.8 percent and 47.2 percent). The confidence level of this difference is at almost 100 percent (p-value=0.0%).

Table 4.36 Tutorial Classes Affecting Final Choice of University

			Final choice of university		Total
			Higher prestige universities	Lower prestige universities	
Attends tutorial classes	No	Count	8	30	38
		% within Tutorial classes	21.1%	78.9%	100.0%
	Yes	Count	177	63	240
		% within Tutorial classes	73.8%	26.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	185	93	278
		% within Tutorial classes	66.5%	33.5%	100.0%

	Value	Df	P-value
Pearson Chi-Square	40.923	1	.000

Data in Table 4.36 reveal a significant difference between those students who took tutorial classes and those who did not in relation to their final choice of university. Those students who had not taken tutorial classes tended to choose a lower prestige university (78.9 percent), while students who had taken tutorial classes were more likely to choose a higher prestige university (78.8 percent).

Table 4.37 Confidence in Using English Language Affecting Final Choice of University

			Final choice of university		
			Higher prestige universities	Lower prestige universities	Total
Confident in using the English Language	No	Count	79	74	153
		% within Confident of using English Language	51.6%	48.4%	100.0%
	Yes	Count	107	19	126
		% within Confident of using English Language	84.9%	15.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	186	93	279
		% within Confident of using English Language	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%

	Value	df	P-value
Pearson Chi-Square	34.452[a]	1	.000

Statistics in Table 4.37 show a significant difference between those who feel confident and those who do not confident in the use of the English language in relation to their choice of university. While the group of students who are more confident in using English language are likely to choose higher prestige universities (up to about 90%), more students from another group tend to choose lower prestige universities (up to about 50%).

Table 4.38 Parents Divorced Affecting Final Choice of University

			Final choice of university		
			Higher prestige universities	Lower prestige universities	Total
Parents divorced	No	Count	160	82	242
		% within Parents divorced	66.1%	33.9%	100.0%
	Yes	Count	26	11	37
		% within Parents divorced	70.3%	29.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	186	93	279
		% within Parents divorced	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%

	Value	Df	P-value
Pearson Chi-Square	.249[a]	1	.618

The data in Table 4.38 shows that the final choice of university is not affected by the marital status of students' parents (i.e., being married or divorced). The level of significance is very low (p-value=61.8%). Both groups chose higher prestige universities (70.3 percent and 66.1 percent respectively). Thus, it can be concluded that the marital status of their parents has no significant impact upon a student's final choice of university.

Table 4.39 Students' Participation in the Study Loan Funding Programme Affecting their Final Choice of University

			Final choice of university		
			Higher prestige universities	Lower prestige universities	Total
Participated in Study Loan funding programme	No	Count	167	63	230
		% within participated in Study Loan funding programme	72.6%	27.4%	100.0%
	Yes	Count	18	28	46
		% within participated in Study Loan funding programme	39.1%	60.9%	100.0%
Total		Count	185	91	276
		% within participated in Study Loan funding programme	67.0%	33.0%	100.0%

	Value	Df	P-value
Pearson Chi-Square	19.440[a]	1	.000

Statistics in Table 4.39 show a significant difference in final choice of university between students who participate in the study loan funding programme and those who do not. The students who do not participate are more likely to choose higher prestige universities (72.6 percent) while those who do participate tend to choose lower prestige universities (60.9 percent).

Conclusion

In this chapter, the researcher explained the descriptive information of the sample used in this thesis. It was found that the information gathered from the survey shows different characteristics in terms of the cultural capital and social backgrounds of students between the two schools. Although both schools have similarities in terms of size, operational system, curriculum used for teaching, and location (both are located in the city centre of Chiang Mai), the characteristics of the two student groups are different. In fact, these factors could lead to the difference in cultural capital embodied in each individual student. The researcher argues that the sample is appropriate for pursuing the research questions.

Given the data obtained, the researcher attempted to discover factors that might relate to Thai cultural values. In the second section, the "confident of using English language" was selected as an indicator for having high Thai cultural value. From the analysis, the researcher found the factors which could affect the level of "confident of using English language": "home language", "ever travel to other countries" and "being the first one in the family to go to university". Moreover, among the affecting factors, the factor of "being the first one in the

family to go to university" suggests the obvious result (implied by Chi-square statistic) that it has large influence. Therefore, in the third section, the researcher continued to focus on the factor of "being the first one in the family to go to university" to see how this factor has an effect on other factors. The results are very interesting. It was found that the students who are the first one in their family to go to university are likely to have lower Thai cultural values, e.g., no confidence in using English; no confidence of having skill or talent; and have never been to other countries. In contrast, students who are not the first one in the family to go to university are likely to have higher Thai cultural values. These indicate that the factor of "being the first one in the family to go to university" could influence the cultural capital of the students.

In the 4th section, the researcher extracted the factor that could influence decision making in an educational institute and field of study directly from the questionnaire. In summary, the researcher found both similar and different factors were required of students from schools A and school B. The same factors were the need of i) "study in the programme that they are interested"; ii) "being good in the selected subject"; iii) "the good opportunity in the career"; "the selected subject which is their passion". In addition, it also seems that the students do not think much about low admission requirements and 'trendy' subjects. However, they do think about the university environment when choosing a university.

For the different factors required by students from schools A and school B, it seems that students from school A are more concerned about the reputation of a university, while those of school B are more

concerned with affordable tuition fees and location. Finally, it seems that students from school B get more influence from teachers, friends, the media, and family when they choose the university and field of study.

This chapter provides an indication of the factors that could affect the level of Thai cultural value of the student sample. It helps to clarify the behaviour of the student sample. This will be analysed qualitatively in the next chapter.

The findings of the quantitative analysis clarify the key cultural capital and related factors that impact the choices that participants make after finishing secondary education, and contribute to answering the research question, 'how does cultural capital impact upon the higher education opportunities and career choices of youth in Thailand?'

Quantitative data was obtained from the questionnaire to analyse students' sociocultural backgrounds and their educational choices. The focus was on three questions:

- What forms does cultural capital take in different socio-economic contexts in Thai society?
- How do young people from different socio-economic backgrounds in Thailand make educational and career decisions after secondary education?
- What are the cultural capital factors influencing their decisions in relation to study programmes, higher education institution, or occupations?

The statistical data of the Northern Quota Entrance Examination, hosted by Chiang Mai University in the academic year 2012, show differences in the success rates between the two sample schools: school A had the highest success rate, whereas school B had the lowest. This classification could have an impact on the position of the two schools in the education field. Also, the differences in students' characteristics, such as their socioeconomic backgrounds, between the two schools mean we could view them as two separated social fields.

To expand further on how the quantitative analysis findings between the two schools show differences in socioeconomic background, we can refer to the students' parentage. Most parents of school A students have higher education degrees and higher-status jobs, while most of the parents of school B do not; more students from school B are in receipt of study loan funding.

Looking into the differences between these two social groups - in particular, the analysis of factors influencing decision-making in choice of study programmes and higher education, as well as the factors related to their personal resources such as family, teachers, friends, and media - show significant differences in cultural capital. As most of the parents from school A have been to universities, school A students attributed lower importance to the factors of teacher influence, friends' influence, and media influence, whereas for students from school B these were more important. This could be because the parents of school B students lacked relevant experiences. However, among the factors relating to personal resources, family influence was important for both groups of students.

Chapter 5
Research Findings on Qualitative Analysis

Introduction

This chapter first describes the strategy used for analysing the interview data and then reports the qualitative findings from the individual interviews.

The qualitative data was collected from personal interviews conducted by the researcher with student participants. The interview participants were selected from those who indicated a willingness to participate at the end of the questionnaire. The total number of the interviewees was thirty-two, with all of them being Mathayom 6 students (last year of secondary education), aged around 17-18 years old, from the two schools in Muang District (city municipal area) of Chiang Mai Province. The research methods used for participant selection were introduced and described in detail in Chapter Three above.

The purpose of the interviews was to develop an in-depth understanding of how cultural capital impacts on higher education opportunities, as well as career choices, of youths from different sociocultural backgrounds in Thai urban settings. Semi-structured interviews were designed in order to investigate this, with the interview questions focusing on students' family background, parentage, family values, school experiences, and their views on the significance of HE qualifications and career choices.

The face-to-face interviews were conducted on two separate occasions with the same group of students. Phase I took place before the students took the CMU quota entrance examination, and Phase II after the students knew the result of the CMU quota entrance examination, and when most of them had already made a final decision about their higher education destination. The timing of the phases was designed to ensure that the researcher could obtain the perspective of the students both before and after the announcement of the CMU quota entrance examination. This allowed the researcher to examine the process by which students made education and career decisions for tertiary education, as she believed these decisions might change after knowing the result of the CMU quota entrance examination. This interview structure enabled the researcher to clarify the key factors that impacted upon the decisions of the students.

Interview questions in Phase I were designed to obtain essential information about family background, family values, parentage, childhood experiences, students' HE plans, and their parents' expectations. Each interview lasted approximately one hour. A list of the interview questions can be found in Appendix B.

In the Phase II interview, the students were asked about their final decisions after secondary education graduation, the importance of HE qualifications, school experiences, and their self-perception. A list of these questions can also be found in Appendix B.

In order to be able to ensure heterogeneity of the research participants, the research sample was intended to comprise an equal number of students from each school, as well as considering diversity

in their study programme, HE choice, gender, and family background. However, when the interviews were eventually conducted, sixteen students from School A and thirteen students from School B made themselves available for the first phase of interviews.

The second phase interview was conducted around six months after the first phase, by which time most of the students were able to finalise their decision about their HE destination. However, at this time only eighteen of the students previously interviewed were available to participate in a second face-to-face interview. These were ten students from School A and eight from School B. Nevertheless, the researcher was able to collect further information on the absent students and other sample students through various follow-up methods, such as conducting telephone interviews (two cases) and obtaining information from school reports presented by guidance teachers from both schools which provided data about students' final decisions on destination after secondary education. Also, three more students (in addition to those interviewed in Phase I) were recruited to ensure that sufficient data was collected: two students from School A and one student from School B. Hence, the research sample comprised thirty-two participants. The distribution of interview participants according to their sociocultural background (school, socioeconomic, and education qualification of parents) can be seen in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Distribution of numbers of interview participants from the two schools, according to their socioeconomic background and education qualification of their parents.

School	A		B		Total
Socioeconomic	Higher	Lower	Higher	Lower	
At Least One Parents has Higher Education	12	1	1	-	14
Parents Have No Higher Education / Do Not Know	2	3	-	13	18
Total	14	4	1	13	32
	18		14		

The researcher tried to recruit interview students from different family backgrounds by using key indicator factors such as occupational status and educational qualification of their parents, study loan fund participation, and whether or not the student was a member of the first generation in their family to go to university.

In this research context, student participants could be roughly divided into two groups based on their family background: higher and lower privilege groups. Among thirty-two participants, fifteen were classified as the higher privilege group (fourteen in School A and only one in School B). This group reflected the typical characteristics of

the Thai middle class: most of the parents graduated at tertiary education level and worked in a professional occupation, such as government officials, state enterprise employees, and an entrepreneur. However, only one student from School B was classified in this group. The other seventeen students were classified as falling into the lower privilege group: most (thirteen compared to four from School A) attended School B. This group reflects the typical characteristics of the Thai working class, generally considered to be disadvantaged in Thai society. Most of the parents in this group worked in non-professional jobs or as daily hired workers. They either lacked formal educational qualifications or had graduated at secondary education level. As a consequence, most of the students in this group either participated in Student Loan Funded Programme or received another kind of financial support.

In classifying the students into the two social groups, the researcher also tried to take other sociocultural factor indicators into account, such as the school they attended, their hometown, the language they spoke at home, their family's activities, and lifestyle.

Thematic analysis of the interview data

In this section, the researcher will explain the process and strategy used to analyse and interpret the interview data.

All the conversations were tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim. The researcher endeavoured to interpret the scripts from the point of view of each interviewee by drawing on their own cultural knowledge and experiences, along with a background of psychological knowledge. The researcher took special care that nothing was

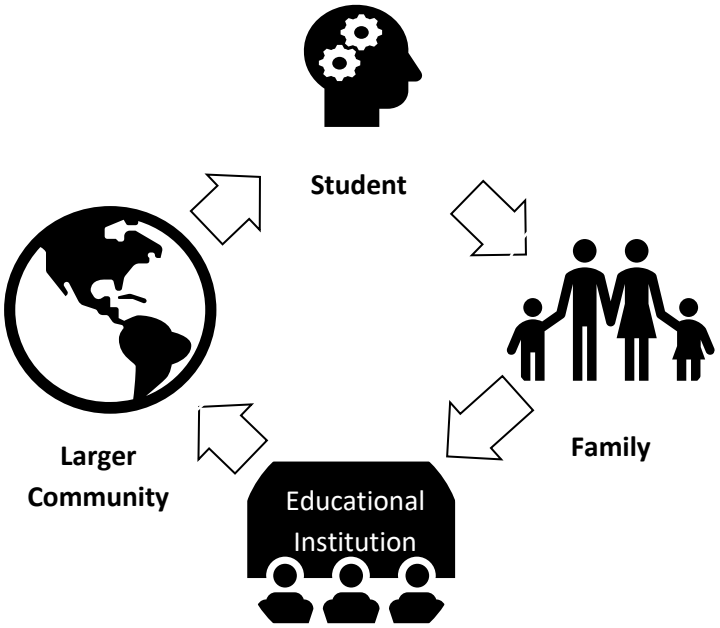
omitted or mistranslated when the original data was translated from Thai to English.

Thirty-two participants were categorised into three different groups according to their destinations after secondary-education graduation: Prestige (Group 1), Challenging (Group 2), and Less Competitive Destination (Group 3), which are summarised in Table 5.2. These criteria were constructed based on the mainstream social values in this research context.

Each case contained data and information about each individual, derived from the survey and interviews from both phases. The researcher used the Nvivo programme to analyse the data for each case with respect to their education-destination group and family background. The researcher then utilised the Cultural Capital theoretical framework, applying it to the Thai sociocultural context of this research study. In order to draw out the answer to the key research question ("How does cultural capital impact upon the higher education opportunities and career choices of youth in Thailand?"), cultural resource domains in this study were classified in three categories: family unit, educational institution, and larger community. These three institutions are considered to be core environmental factors which have a significant impact on students' habitus formation. Indeed, the process of habitus formation involves a correspondence between social structures and cognitive structures of human mind (Bourdieu, 1996b). This process is crucial, as it is a fundamental part of human development.

The core cultural resources and process of habitus formation of the students is presented in Figure 5.1.

Figure 5.1 Influenced Factors toward Habitus Formation of Each Student



Using this analytical framework, the researcher tried to analyse the key cultural factors from each institution which influenced student habitus and resulted in the differences in higher education opportunity and career choice between the two groups of students (higher and lower privilege backgrounds).

Table 5.2 Distribution of numbers of interview participants according to the destination after secondary education and their family background.

Group of Destination	Prestige	Challenging	Less Competitive	Total
Higher privileged background	8	7	-	**15**
Lower privileged background	-	7	10	**17**
Total	**8**	**14**	**10**	**32**

From the thirty-two participants interviewed, only eight were able to continue to higher education in a prestige destination. All of these eight students were School A students from higher privilege group; this number is equal to or slightly more than half of the total sample group from higher privileged backgrounds. The rest of this group also continued their higher education at a destination classified as challenging (i.e., highly competitive) or considered to be among the most popular and competitive from the perspective of Thai-mainstream social values. Indeed, none of the sample students from higher privileged backgrounds entered less-competitive higher education destinations after their secondary education.

In contrast, none of the sample students from a lower privileged background entered a prestigious higher education destination after

finishing their secondary education. The majority of students (ten) in this group, particularly those from School B, entered less-competitive destinations after their secondary education.

Among the three groups of higher education destination, the challenging destination was the most popular, receiving fourteen of the 32 students in the sample. Interestingly, the challenging-destination group received an equal number of students from both family backgrounds. However, the sample students from higher-privileged backgrounds (eight) in this group tend to be able to continue their higher education in Science disciplines, which match their preferences, more than those from lower-privileged backgrounds (ten); the latter group of students mostly changed their discipline from studying a Science programme in secondary education into Arts disciplines at tertiary-education level, which differed from their initial goal.

The following section discusses the responses to the interview questions within the Cultural Capital theoretical framework in the context of Thai cultural values. The researcher analysed the data in two layers: firstly, by classifying the students into three groups according to their type of destination after secondary education (prestige, challenging, and less competitive) and secondly, by using family background factors to divide students into two different social groups. These factors consist of occupational status of parents, education qualification of parents, study loan fund programme participation, and whether or not the student was the first in the family to go to university. This approach allowed the researcher to identify significant sets of data that were relevant to the cultural

factors that influence the habitus of students from each group; particularly on how those factors had an impact on their choices of higher education and career path.

This section is intended to help readers understand the research findings more clearly. In accordance with the research question framework, fruitful information is drawn out to identify possible answers.

Cultural Resource and Habitus of a Group of Students who Entered Prestige Destination (Group 1)

Of the thirty-two participants interviewed, eight were classified as Group 1, a group of students who entered prestige destinations after secondary education. In fact, all of them were School A students from higher privilege backgrounds. The group with a higher privilege background was classified by indicators such as 'not being the first generation in the family to go to university', 'parents' occupations considered to be honourable', and 'to have financial security' in the perspective of Thai social value. As a consequence, most of the parents in this group had achieved a bachelor's degree or above. This group of students reflect typical characteristics of the Thai middle class who mostly live in the city or urban area.

In Thailand, there is a distinction between urban and rural communities due to the differences in public infrastructure, economy, and cultural diversity. People who grew up in a city, or a suburban area, would typically have more advantages when it comes to resource accessibility such as education choices and career path.

Most of the students in this group grew up in a nuclear family, although most of the family members seem to have strong connections with their extended families as well. Even though in most cases both parents have full-time jobs, working 5-6 days a week, the families in this group seem to have had regular family quality-time together. Indeed, the students in this group appear to have good relationships with their parents, with many students saying that they are quite close to their parents and are able to talk about everything with them. In addition, most of the students in this group grew up with older brothers or sisters who they considered to be their supporters or role models. Therefore, this group of students have family members that are able to offer advice towards their education, as well as being supporters in other more informal ways. This is what they had to say: "Mom is the boss in the family and supporter in education.", "…My dad has no opinion. Mom is the one who gives advice.", "When I was young, my mom taught me to do homework.", "My parents are my idols. They told me that when I was 1 or 2 years old, our family faced various difficulties. They worked very hard and did not want us to be like them. My parents have tried very hard to support their children as much as they can.", "My father said that the legal profession is a stable career. My father is a businessman and he used to have a tough time. He told me that doing business is difficult. Therefore, he did not want me to go into business like him. But for my older brother, if he were interested in business, my father would teach him. It may be because I am a woman. Therefore, he does not want me to face what he has encountered."

Most of these students also take extra activities after school or during weekends, such as music lessons or sport classes, which are paid for

by their parents. One commented: "Every year, we always go to the seaside and go snorkelling. But now we cannot do that due to my busy schedule taking extra classes at cram school."

In order to look into the family's values and expectations, the researcher used several open-ended questions during the first phase of interviews: How were you raised? What are your family activities? What do your parents often get concerned about? What is your parents' expectation about your education and future?

In addition to this, after the students knew the final choice of their higher education destination (i.e., during the second phase interview), the researcher asked the students the following questions: What did your family think about the result? How did your family reward you? Or how did they comfort or encourage you?

The students' answers to these questions helped the researcher to obtain information about family values and expectations, as reported in the following paragraphs.

Since most of the parents had achieved a bachelor's degree or above, they expected their children to achieve at least a similar qualification or higher. All of the parents' occupations were classified as professional or above. These occupations were made up of managerial or skilled professions, such as a government officer, state enterprise officer, employee in a large private company, or entrepreneur.

In each family, both parents tend to have similar levels of education. However, there were two students in this group who did not know their fathers' levels of education (cases 04 and 08). For case 04, her parents were divorced, and she had been raised up by her mother

and grandparents. Although her mother did not have a bachelor's degree, her grandfather had attained a Master of Law degree from one of Thailand's prestigious universities. For case 08, the mother had achieved a college certificate, but the student could not indicate the education qualification of her father. Her father is a police officer and had therefore undertaken a different type of education and training; she could not clarify the level of equivalence of his educational qualification. Nevertheless, she cited her older sister as a role model who is academically outstanding and studying at university level: "My sister got a PTT scholarship to study at one of the prestigious universities in Bangkok, but she chose instead to study in Chiang Mai. She thought that it was better to study near home. However, my sister told me that the truth is that she chose not to go because of me. She said that if she decided to go, I would be the one who had to stay home. She is really a good girl….", "I think my sister, Ann, would like to be a doctor. She may not have wanted to study Science, but she chose this route because of the scholarship and my mom really wanted her to accept this scholarship."

All of the students in this group also aim to achieve at least a masters-level degree - they said that bachelor-degree qualification is not enough nowadays to find a decent job for living. For example, one said: "A Master's degree is enough. Mother said a bachelor's degree is not enough. I need a master's degree." Another case shows that parents' perspective was influenced by the dominant culture, as the student mentioned that her mother "studied accounting", but wanted them to "be a doctor, which I [the student] do not like." The student

also mentioned that her dad "likes business" and wants her to "study economics." Students in this group also acquired cultural values and perspectives from their family, such as perceptions of what constitutes an honourable career: "Doctor is an honourable job. This is because everyone would like to be a doctor. Doctors always get respect from others. The second career choice for an honourable career would be a businessman. But it must be a highly successful business role like Mr. Tan Passakornnatee. However, it is not easy to be successful like him." Another example was: "My relatives are almost all medical doctors. I think I will open a hospital. Let them work, and I will be the one who collects the money."; "I think being a medical doctor is an honourable career. I have thought about being a medical doctor. But when I think about it, I find that I do not want to study because I do not want to wake up every day and go to see patients. (Second choice after medical doctor?) Being a government official. This is because my dad is a government official. (Does your dad want you to be a government official?) Not that much. It might be because I am a woman."

Most of these families have similar cultural values and share similar backgrounds and social environments. All of their hometowns were located in the city area, where modernisation has significantly changed traditional cultural values and lifestyles. Although these families have been influenced by the dominant culture and mainstream cultural values, they also have an advantage when it comes to adjusting themselves to global perspectives, compared with the other group (group 3).

For example, despite originating in Northern Thailand, all of the students in this group use standard Thai (rather than the Northern dialect) to communicate with family members. Also, they tend to feel confident or comfortable using English for communication; one student indicated that she sometimes used English at home.

The parents in this group showed concern, in line with their Thai dominant culture and their concerns regarding capital, as the case of a student who would like to study abroad shows: "Having talked frankly to my mom, I want to go back to study abroad. But my mother said that, even supposing she could afford me to study abroad, she still did not want me to go. She wanted me to wait until I graduated with a bachelor's degree in Thailand. So, I think I have to accept that. But mom also said that it is okay for me to go back to the US for travelling if I can pass a university entrance exam. I think it was my own fault because, at that time, when I came back home, I was so influenced by western culture. At the bottom of my heart, I think my mom feared that if I went to study abroad, I would estrange myself from my family…" Another similar case: (Do you want to study abroad?) "Dad said no. He said I just came back. I also agree with him. It is better to study here otherwise I would have no society. Some of my friends, who study bachelor's degrees abroad, have said online that they are lonely. Therefore, I am afraid that if I go to study abroad, I will have no friends when I come back to Thailand."

Traditional Thai culture is greatly influenced by the perspectives of the previous generation (i.e., the students' parents). In Thai society, females were normally perceived as more fragile than males. Therefore, in many families, daughters and sons have been raised with different expectations. The style of parenting in Thai middle-class families is quite protective: daughters are normally raised with more rules than sons. Parents prefer to have daughters stay close to them until the daughters get married and have their own families. In tertiary education, most parents who have daughters prefer their children to study close to their hometown. However, this often depends on whether or not the child can get a scholarship or receive an offer from a prestigious university, as in this case: "However, although she wants me to be near, she admits that universities in Bangkok are better." This also emphasises the family values associated with cultural capital in education.

Another example also shows that the parents give priority to the education of their children: "… my mother did not allow me to do a part-time job. I have really wanted to do a job since high school. I feel that I spend a lot of money. Therefore, I would like to help my mom and dad. My mom totally disagreed with me on this. She said that the child has a duty to study. Parents will find the money, but I have to do my best in studying."

One of the reasons that parents of students from School A decided to send their children to study at School A was because of the school's academic reputation. They believed that being a student at School A would enhance their children's chances of securing a place at a high-prestige university.

"My parents think that if I can get into School A, I will be able to get into Chiangmai university. School A also has a good reputation because more of its students can get into the university."

"I think studying in Chiang Mai provides me with more opportunities than studying in Phayao. Phayao is just a small city that has less educational opportunity. It started from my teacher, who told me about Chiang Mai and its education system, which is better than Phayao. My teacher advised me to go to study at a better place. My school in Phayao was a private school. Classrooms were divided based on each student's results. The teacher recommended students who got good grades to study in Chiang Mai because the educational opportunity is greater than in Phayao". "Actually, it started from the 10th grade. My mom asked me which programme I want to study. I said wanted to choose the Science-Math programme because I still do not know what I want to be. I was influenced by mainstream social values, but I did not want to be a doctor. I thought at that time that being a dentist or pharmacist was an interesting idea. However, after studying for a year, I have found that I am more interested in studying Politics and Law. I feel more comfortable studying in these areas and believe that I can do better. So, I talked to my friends and my parents and asked their opinions regarding changing my study programme. They supported me because at the beginning my dad really wanted me to study law. But at the time I did not like it at first. Like most teenagers, I rebelled against my parents. But when I was in 11th grade, I realised that this programme suited me better."

However, Thai parents often still use punishment as a tool to teach discipline to their children, and from their perspective, they have the

right to do so - a view in line with the cultural values of the hierarchical system. For example: "…my mom and I are always fighting. I still remember an occasion when she was wrong, but she said she was right and then punished me. I remember that situation because it hurt.", "I used to get hit as a punishment by my parents. The reason that I was punished is because I argued with them incessantly."

Compared to the other two groups, this group of students had more options in education and were able to choose their own preferences. "I do not like Science, but my mom wants to me study the Science-Math programme because she thinks this route provides more job opportunities. Nevertheless, after I came back from an oversea-student exchanged program, I changed from the Science-Math to the Arts-Math programme."

When the researcher asked students "what is your dream job?", each student tended to give more than one occupation. This group of students seem to have had more variety in their views on dream jobs when compared to other groups. Students in this group were likely to have a dream job which looks honourable in the context of Thai society, such as a doctor or an engineer (at least, these jobs could help them earn more than others). They are also likely to have been encouraged to study in these fields by their family. However, they were also free to choose their field of study. For example, subjects such as music or art could be their choice of study, although it is well known that it is hard to find employment in these careers in Thailand. In addition, they also wanted to study at a prestigious university (and in fact, they could). Indeed, their parents were likely to support them

to study in the fields and/or the university that they would like, regardless of tuition fees or location. For example, they could move to live in Bangkok to study in Chulalongkorn University, although their family lived in Chiang-Mai. In certain cases, the students wished to change their field of study after they had studied for a while and found that they did not like their original subject. In fact, the students were supported well by their parents and friends, who suggested that they had more freedom to choose field of study.

Table 5.3 Summary background information of the eight students who entered prestige destination after their secondary education.

ID	Gender	Home town	Home Language	Education/ Occupation of Mother	Education/ Occupation of Father	The Farthest Visited Coast	Part time Job	School	Program	English Language	Other Foreign Language	Dream Job	Expectation of Parent	Choice of Discipline
01 PH	Female	City, CNX	Standard Thai	Bachelor/ House Wife (Play Stock)	Bachelor/ Chief-District Officer	Europe	No	A	Arts	Yes	German	Working in the Private Sector	Doctor/ Economics	Business
02 PH	Female	Suburb, CNX	Standard Thai	Bachelor/ Jewellery Shop	Bachelor/ Cotton Gourmets	Europe	No	A	Arts	Yes	French	Business	Study at Prestige University	Communication Arts
03 PH	Female	City, Other	Standard Thai	Bachelor/ Teacher (Government)	Bachelor/ Land Business	Asia	No	A	Arts	Yes	No	Law Firm	Study Law	Law
04 PH	Female	City, Other	Standard Thai	Diploma/ Housewife (Grandfather: Barrister)	Do not know/ Entrepreneur	Asia	No	A	Arts	Yes	No	Working in big private sector	Doctor	International Relations

ID	Gender	Home town	Home Language	Education/ Occupation of Mother	Education/ Occupation of Father	The Farthest Visited Coast	Part time Job	School	Program	English Language	Other Foreign Language	Dream Job	Expectation of Parent	Choice of Discipline
05 PH	Female	City, Other	Standard Thai	Bachelor/ Entrepreneur	Master/ Entrepreneur	Europe	No	A	Science	No	No	Doctor	Doctor/ Dentist	Medicine
06 PH	Male	Suburb, Other	Standard Thai	PhD/ Medical Physician (Government)	PhD/ Private Clinic	Asia	No	A	Science	Yes	No	Doctor	Do what you like	Medicine
07 PH	Male	City, Other	Standard Thai	Bachelor/ Entrepreneur	Bachelor/ Senior Engineer (State Enterprise)	Europe	No	A	Science	Yes	Chinese	Lecturer	Architect/ Doctor	Medicine
08 PH	Female	City, CNX	Northern Dialect, Standard Thai, English	Diploma/ Human Resource Manager (Private)	Do not know/ Police Officer	America	No	A	Arts	Yes	No	Work for UN	Study in Thailand	Political Science

Cultural Resource and Habitus of a Group of Students who Entered a Challenging Destination (Group 2)

Table 5.4 provides sociocultural background information about the fourteen students who entered a challenging destination after secondary education. Comparing the sociocultural background of the students in this group with the other two groups, prestige and less-competitive destinations, the range of social backgrounds of students in this group seemed to be wider. Half of the participants in the challenging destination group (seven) were classified as falling into the higher-privilege background sample group. The other half of the students (seven) fell into the lower-privilege background group. However, the majority of the group are from school A. Similar to group 1, most of the students in this group were originally from an urban area, most of them from Chiang Mai city.

Nevertheless, there are other cultural factors which impact upon the students' choices of higher education destination in this group. These will be discussed further in in the following sections.

The definition of a challenging destination in this research is quite broad. It includes a wide range of universities and disciplines which could not be classified as either prestige or less competitive destinations and disciplines. Hence, this group has more sample cases than the other two destination groups.

According to the study, the majority of the student in this group are from school A, with some of them from a lower privileged background. This demonstrates that school plays an important role in shaping students in specific ways, despite differences in cultural capital inherited or absorbed from families. School environment, including teachers and friends, can build both the social and cultural capital of students from lower privileged backgrounds, and thereby support them to achieve their goals in higher education. In other words, attending a school with a strong academic environment could enhance a student's success in higher education.

This can be clearly seen in the case of one male student from school A who was admitted to study law at Chiang Mai University. The student is a native of Chiang Rai Province whose parents are wholesale merchants of farm produce. His older brother, who failed to finish his degree from Phayao University, helps out with the family business. When he was in year 9, his parents separated, and his mother remarried. He said that when he moved to study at school A, he stayed on his own at a student flat close by. He was nervous and felt uncomfortable being with his classmates who were mostly from better-off families and who spoke in the Central Thai language. However, after a while, he got used to his new surroundings.

Meanwhile, only a few students with a lower-privileged background from school B entered a challenging higher education destination. Compared with school A, school B is much less competitive. It is undeniable that valuable forms of cultural capital that are closer to the dominant culture are deeply ingrained in school A. The students at School A have gained more cultural capital, both in quantity and

value than students at School B, with this positively affecting their academic achievements as a result. In contrast, students from school B lack sufficient cultural capital, particularly capital that is closer to the dominant culture. This unfamiliarity has negatively affected the educational achievement of these students.

There is also parental influence on students in this group. The study shows that parents who had no higher education tend to have no preference for the field of study their child should follow. However, they still expected their children to study at university. This can be seen in the case of one female student who was admitted to study Physics at Chiang Mai University. She said that "my parents give me freedom on making my own decision. They also want me to study as high as possible so that I can have a secured job."

Another example can be seen from one male student who chose to study law at open university. His parents are doing agricultural business in Lamphun. He said that "...My dad does not mind which university I will attend; he just wants me to play football for a football club. But now I put playing football on hold. Dad said that when he was a kid, he wanted to play basketball, but he had no chance to do so because he had to help grandfather to work. So when he had his own child, he wanted to give me this chance. My mom would like me to give first priority to my studies. She said that the national team has 11 people, but hundreds of thousands of people want to be in the national team. ... Dad will be disappointed with football. Whereas mom will be disappointed with my studies. My dad spent a lot of money for me on football. Meanwhile, mom spent a lot of money for

me on studying. Therefore, if I cannot get into any university, they would both be quite disappointed in me."

The following quotation from the interview also provides an example of how family cultural values were perceived by students and how these values influenced their decisions.

"My mother always says that we do not have to be rich. Just keep on working and do not spend extravagantly. I do not have to be a doctor."

"At that time, I did not know what I really would like to be. Therefore, dad suggested I study the Science-Math programme because it gives me more career choices."

However, some parents were conscious of the hierarchy of universities and some wanted their children to make extra effort to gain entry:

"I got an offer from the School of Law, Payap University, but my mom did not want me to study there. She said that this university is usually the last choice for students who cannot get into a public university. Dad also wants me to study at a public university. He told me that in the public universities, graduates are given their certificates by members of the royal family. In private universities, on the contrary, the president of the university will be the one who gives certificates to the graduates."

Some students were very aware of the attitudes and preferences of their parents, even to the extent of recognising parental disappointment in their siblings:

"... My older brother is now in his 5th year at the Faculty of Fine Arts. He is studying Thai Arts. He is a quiet and not an outgoing person. He really likes to go to temple. He said that he will be ordained as a monk in the long term. I feel sorry for him. ... mom agreed with him. She said this can help cut our family's expenses. I also think it's good because I would inherit all the family assets.... Mom also said that I was the only hope for the family."

It is evident that school and family are the core factors that can provide a significant impact on students' achievements in higher education. However, different family backgrounds, particularly different cultural capital possessed by parents, can lead to different expectations for their children's academic attainment.

Table 5.4 Summary background information of the fourteen students who entered challenging destination after their secondary education.

ID	Gender	Home town	Home Language	Education/ Occupation of Mother	Education/ Occupation of Father	Oversea Experience	Part time Job	School	Program	English Language	Other Foreign Language	Dream Job	Expectation of Parent	Choice of Discipline
09 CH	Female	City, CNX	Standard Thai	Bachelor/ Entrepreneur	Master/ Ministry of Defence Adviser	America	No	A	Science	Yes	No	Cosmetic Science	Doctor	Pharmacy
10 CH	Female	City, CNX	Standard Thai	PhD/ University Professor	Master/ Managerial (Government)	America	No	A	Science	Yes	No	Cosmetic Researcher	Pharmacy	Pharmacy
11 CH	Female	City, CNX	Standard Thai	Master/ Entrepreneur	Bachelor/ Police General	Europe	No	A	Science	Yes	No	Attorney	Do what you like	Law
12 CH	Male	City, CNX	Standard Thai	Bachelor/ Ground Staff (State enterprise)	Bachelor/ Entrepreneur	Asia	No	A	Arts	Yes	French	Lecturer	Do what you like	Archaeology
13 CH	Male	City, Other	Standard Thai, English	Bachelor/ Entrepreneur	Bachelor/ Entrepreneur	Asia	No	A	Science	Yes	No	Engineer	Doctor, Management	Engineer

ID	Gender	Home town	Home Language	Education/ Occupation of Mother	Education/ Occupation of Father	Oversea Experience	Part time Job	School	Program	English Language	Other Foreign Language	Dream Job	Expectation of Parent	Choice of Discipline
14 CH	Male	City, Other	Standard Thai	Bachelor/ Housewife	Master/ Entrepreneur	Asia	Yes	B	Science	No	No	Engineer	No expectation	Engineer
15 CH	Male	City, Other	Northern Dialect, Standard Thai	Do not know/ Entrepreneur	Do not know/ Police Officer	Asia	No	A	Arts	No	No	Architect	Do what you like	Agricultural Technology
16 CL	Female	Suburb, CNX	Standard Thai	Diploma/ Dressmaker	Bachelor/ Police Officer	Boarder	No	A	Science	Yes	Japanese	Business	Dentist	Business
17 CL	Male	Rural, Other	Northern Dialect	Elementary/ Self Employed	Elementary/ Farmer	No	No	A	Science	Yes	No	Engineer	University Degree	Law
18 CL	Female	Suburb, CNX	Miao, Standard Thai	No Formal Education/ Farmer	No Formal Education/ Farmer	No	Yes	B	Science	No	No	Teacher	No expectation	Physics
19 CL	Male	City, CNX	Standard Thai	Do not know/ merchant	Secondary/ merchant	Boarder	No	B	Science	No	No	Architect	Doctor	Geography

ID	Gender	Home town	Home Language	Education/ Occupation of Mother	Education/ Occupation of Father	Oversea Experience	Part time Job	School	Program	English Language	Other Foreign Language	Dream Job	Expectation of Parent	Choice of Discipline
20 CL	Male	City, Other	Northern Dialect	Diploma/ Entrepreneur	Do not know/ Police Officer	No	No	A	Arts	No	No	Assistant Football Coach	Study at CMU	Law
21 CL	Female	City, CNX	Northern Dialect	Secondary/ Self Employed	Do not know/ Pass away	No	No	B	Science	No	No	Physical Therapist	No expectation	Mathematics
22 CL	Male	Rural, Other	Northern Dialect	Secondary/ Housewife	Elementary/ Self Employed	No	No	B	Arts	No	No	Teacher	No expectation	History

Cultural Resource and Habitus of a Group of Students who Entered a Less-Competitive Destination (Group 3)

All of the students who entered universities classified as less-competitive destinations were students from school B, who were from lower-socioeconomic groups. When the background of these students was compared with that of the other two destination groups, this group of students seemed to come from the least privileged background. None of their parents had a higher education degree; most of them finished school at elementary level or never participated in formal education at all. All of them worked as lower-skilled workers or in nonprofessional careers. The parents of students from School B are likely to work in positions that are insecure and temporary; most of them work as farmers, daily labourers, or small-scale business owners. These are considered to be "lower-grade" jobs as they normally offer only short-term contracts or daily labour rates. They do not come with packages of welfare support.

As a consequence, all of the students in this group were among the first generation in their family to enter higher education. However, their higher education destinations were expected to be their local teacher college or technical college; institutions that were not highly competitive.

Most of these students came from the Chiang Mai suburbs, and almost every student in this group used local dialect to communicate at home. Those who used local dialect tended to have insufficient English language ability for communication.

One of the students, whose parents did not have any higher education experience, described their decision-making process:

"At first, I chose the Science-Math programme. But two weeks before the start of the semester, I decided to change. The reason was because I am afraid, I would have no time for practising football. Another reason that I chose Science-Math programme to begin with was because of my mom. She promised me that if I chose Science-Math programme, she would buy me a motorcycle. She also said that if I chose the Science-Math programme, I would have more educational choices."

Like many Thai students, this group of students valued higher education and recognised the benefits it could bring them. They sometimes looked beyond a first degree to think about postgraduate study, as in this comment from a School B student from a remote rural area in Chiang Mai province. Both of her parents are famers and have no formal education. She said: "At first I thought having a bachelor's degree is fine. But now I think that if I were only a bachelor's degree graduate, I wouldn't be able to find a job. I thus want to further my study to postgraduate level like a master's or PhD degree."

Table 5.5 Summary background information of the ten students who entered less competitive destination after their secondary education.

ID	Gender	Home town	Home Language	Education/ Occupation of Mother	Education/ Occupation of Father	Oversea Experience	Part time Job	School	Program	English Language	Other Foreign Language	Dream Job	Expectation of Parent	Choice of Discipline
23 LL	Female	City, CNX	Northern Dialect	Secondary/ Self Employed	Elementary/ Merchant	Boarder	No	B	Science	No	No	Teacher	No expectation	Fisheries Technology
24 LL	Male	Rural, CNX	Northern Dialect	Do not know/ Merchant	Do not know/ Merchant	No	No	B	Arts	No	No	Football Player	Study at CMU	IT Business
25 LL	Female	Rural, CNX	Miao, Standard Thai	No Formal Education/ Farmer	No Formal Education/ Farmer	No	No	B	Arts	No	Chinese	Lecturer	No expectation	Chinese Language
26 LL	Female	Rural, Other	Standard Thai	Elementary/ Merchant	Elementary/ Self Employed	No	Yes	B	Arts	Yes	No	Animation	Study at CMU	Communication Design
27 LL	Male	City, CNX	Norther Dialect, Standard Thai	Secondary/ Employee	Diploma/ Postman	Boarder	No	B	Arts	No	No	Designer	Do what you like	Textiles and Clothing

ID	Gender	Home town	Home Language	Education/ Occupation of Mother	Education/ Occupation of Father	Oversea Experience	Part time Job	School	Program	English Language	Other Language	Dream Job	Expectation of Parent	Choice of Discipline
28 LL	Male	City, CNX	Shan, Northern Dialect	Elementary/ Self Employed	Elementary/ Self Employed	No	Yes	B	Sciences	No	No	Technician	Study mechanical	Engineering
29 LL	Male	City, Other	Norther Dialect, Standard Thai	Elementary/ Merchant	Elementary/ Merchant	Boarder	Yes	B	Sciences	No	No	Engineer	Being a Government Official	DN
30 LL	Female	Rural, CNX	Lua	Elementary/ Employee	Elementary/ Employee	No	Yes	B	Arts	No	No	Teacher	Teacher	English Language
31 LL	Female	Rural, CNX	Norther Dialect	Elementary/ Farmer	Elementary/ Farmer	No	No	B	Arts	No	No	Teacher	Teacher	Home Economics
32 LL	Female	Rural, CNX	Shan, Northern Dialect	No Formal Education/ Self Employed	No Formal Education/ Self Employed	Boarder	No	B	Sciences	No	No	Nurse	Work	Work

Conclusion

According to the data collected in this study, the impact of cultural capital on Thai students' choice of education and career after graduating from school is affected by the following: family is a primary cultural resource domain in Thailand, and one which has significant influence on the habitus of each student. Cognitive science indicates that the functions of cognition and the cognitive structure of the human mind are constructed and developed from the earliest stages of life. This is how "nurture became nature" in human development.

In Thailand, a child is normally raised up by a mother, with a father as their supporter. The role of a father is mainly to be responsible for the security of the family income. However, in many cases, both parents have to work. They are either reliant upon grandparents to assume parental responsibilities or upon a hired babysitter to look after their child. How a child is raised and who has played a significant role in nurturing the child needs to be clarified and analysed in order to understand where their cultural capital comes from.

Educational institutions also play a significant role in the onwards transfer of the core cultural values of the nation. They do this through the curriculum, university regulations, and inducting students into the culture of their disciplines. Dominant cultural value is also promoted by school activities and ceremonies. Nevertheless, these cultural practices mostly benefit those with prior advantages through their pre-existing cultural capital, with less benefits for the majority of citizens.

The education system creates a sense of belonging which is important to the self-perception of students. Therefore, the experiences of school, feedback from teachers, and important friendships play a big part in forming the habitus of students.

This chapter has examined the student groups from School A and School B to understand how their communities, families, and other cultural resources have affected their opportunities and their access to higher education. It has also examined how the dominant culture has impacted upon the habitus of students from different family backgrounds. The next chapter will discuss the key findings from the analysis of the quantitative and qualitative data presented and will relate these to the research question.

The qualitative analysis of interview data is the main process used to enhance the understanding of the study context and to answer the research questions.

The analysis of the samples' family backgrounds, life stories, and choices after secondary education showed that students from more privileged backgrounds—whose parents or other family members had already been to universities and were able to transfer the cultural capital in forms such as giving advice, providing emotional support, or offering extracurricular activities—tend to have greater success in their endeavours. In fact, the higher education choices of these students reveal not only the values of their families, transferred through parenting, but also the values from the social group to which they belong.

This shows that the formal aspects of school are not the only significant factors in enabling students to achieve their higher educational goals. School is also an important social field which allows students to develop academic skills and value. Thus, practices within the field also have an impact on students' choices and preferences in higher education.

However, students' habitus and related factors that influence their decisions involve long histories, beginning with family background and childhood experiences.

Chapter 6
Factors Involving Inequality in Higher Education Opportunity

Introduction

This chapter discusses the issues and core factors obtained from the analysis of the research findings in previous chapters. These help to answer the research questions which shape the objectives of the study.

According to the analysis provided in Chapters 4 and 5, the core factors that influence students' decisions in relation to study programmes, higher education institution, or occupation are family, school, and the larger community. These factors tend to entail inequality in higher education opportunity in the Thai education system and also involve in this pattern of decision-making and career choice. These factors are discussed in turn below.

Family

The family is regarded as the primary social unit in Thailand, playing an important part in the transfer of values and norms, as well as in shaping cultural roles for the next generation. The family is influential in forming an individual's habitus, especially by providing the individual with their first role models and closest relationships. According to Bourdieu, cultural capital can be inherited: cultural capital possessed by parents can be transferred to their children - including knowledge and attitudes towards education. The findings of this study suggest that the major factors that lead to inequality in higher educational opportunity between

students from higher and lower social groups are related to the differences in cultural capital derived chiefly from parental education, parental occupation, and parental support and responsibility.

Level of parental education

The data shows that the students whose parents have higher educational backgrounds were influenced to take subjects such as Medicine, Pharmacy, and Law. These students were also admitted to more prestigious or academically challenging universities in the country. This can be seen, for example, in one male student who was admitted to study Medical Science at a prestigious university in Bangkok. His father is an engineer working at one of the Electric power plants, and his mother has her own business, having opened a ceramics factory. This student always received good grades, achieving a GPA of 4.00 since the 1st Grade. He also competed in the National Chemistry Olympiad and received the gold prize. He stated that he is close to everyone in the family, although they are quite strict and teach him to be self-disciplined.

Another example is a female student who decided to study at the Faculty of Pharmacy, Chiang Mai University. Her father graduated with a master's degree from the USA, and her mother graduated from the Faculty of Economics, Chiang Mai University (CMU). She pointed out that her father encouraged her to read a lot of books; he frequently bought her story books and would read with her if he had free time. She added that her parents had supported her to attend tutorial courses since she was young.

In contrast, it is evident from participants whose parents had low levels of education that their parents gave less support in their children's higher educational choices. This seems to be a result of their lower

educational background. Only a few such students were admitted to study in a good programme at a prestigious university. Instead of choosing a prestigious university, the students whose parents had lower levels of education tended to choose to study at less competitive universities. For instance, one female student chose to study in the Faculty of Science and Technology, Department of Home Economy, at Chiang Mai Ratjabhat University. Her parents are both farmers.

This study demonstrates the close relationship between parental education and a student's higher education choices. Students whose parents are well-educated seem to receive more support throughout their education, which positively affects their decision-making relating to higher education. This suggests a strong influence from the educational background of parents on students' subject choices. This is consistent with one of the core values of dominant culture in Thai society: obeying seniority. Thai children grow up respecting their parents and other older members of the family. According to Wichitwathakan's study (1989), both status and seniority are ways to explain inequalities among Thai people. This study explained that less powerful people in Thailand are typically dependent on the more powerful; children treat their parents with obedience, while teachers receive respect from students.

Parental occupation

This study shows that students whose parents are in professional careers choose to study professional subjects, such as Medicine, Pharmacy, and Engineering, more often than students of parents in non-professional careers. Consider, for example, one student in School A who was admitted to study at the Faculty of Medicine, Chiang Mai University. His

parents are both Doctors. His father runs his own medical clinic, while his mother is a government official working as a doctor at a hospital in Mae Sot, Tak Province. He said that, before he moved to School A, he had attended a famous school in his hometown in Tak Province. However, after he finished primary school, his father sent him to study at School A because this school had a great academic reputation, and this would help his son to have an excellent education. Another student chose to study Engineering at Chiang Mai University: his father had graduated from Chulalongkorn University's Faculty of Engineering, majoring in computer science. This is consistent with Water's (2006) argument that well-educated parents tend to use education as a mechanism to transmit more cultural capital.

On the other hand, students from families with lower educational background tend to experience more pressure. These students prefer to choose subjects that would lead them to high paying jobs, and thereby improve their quality of life. However, the second set of interviews showed only a few students had achieved their goals in this respect. This appears to be associated with the limited support provided by parents and family members, as well as the limited cultural capital possessed by the students and their families.

This demonstrates a relationship between a parent's occupation and their children's higher educational choices. Parents who are well-educated and have good occupations are highly likely to lead their children to follow their career paths. The students tend to have more confidence about their choices because they are provided with sufficient information, as well as familiarity about the issue, from their parents. This contributes to a reproduction of the higher-prestige social class. On the other hand, a low educational level among parents tends to negatively affect the academic achievements of children. Although

parents wanted their children to pursue higher education, they did not have the necessary or sufficient knowledge to assist their children in moving towards these goals.

Parental support and responsibility

One of the major factors that influence students' higher education subject choice is the support they receive from parents and other family members. Students tend to make their decisions based on direction or guidance received from their parents. Students from families with well-educated parents tend to choose study programme that please their parents. Most of the students from more privileged backgrounds attained their chosen subject of study in accordance with their parents' expectations. On the other hand, parents with less privileged backgrounds do not have enough capital, particularly cultural capital, to influence their children's decisions effectively. The students from this group therefore tend to not achieve their expectations. This suggests that parents with more privileged backgrounds tend to place more value in higher education, and have enough social and cultural capital to influence their children's education. On the other hand, parents with less-privileged backgrounds do not have the understanding and knowledge necessary to help their children in the process of selecting study programmes.

Another important factor is parents' capacity to support their children. The students from a higher social class tend to have more support, in terms of both economic and cultural capital, from their parents. The study shows that all the students admitted to study at prestige universities come from more highly privileged backgrounds. Furthermore, all had experience of travelling or studying abroad;this

could strengthen an individual's cultural capital, as well as providing an extra dimension to educational experience.

School

School is like a second home to Thai students. School is also the locus of hope for many Thai parents, especially in families with lower cultural capital and without a tradition of participating in higher education. School is not only a socialisation agent that influences human development and citizenship, but also provides a cultural space where the individual becomes a member of an educational community and is empowered with a sense of belonging. School experience also has a direct effect on the habitus of the individual. School has the power to shape students in specific ways to either reproduce or change pre-existing cultural capital (Macquarrie 2016).

The study shows the core factors that provide a significant influence on students' higher education choices are friends and teachers. Some students, particularly those in School A, made subject choices based on their friends' and teachers' perceptions. Friends and teachers were noted to have influenced students' decisions by giving information and encouragement. One student stated that her teachers and friends had been very important for providing good information on the university entrance examination. Encouragement from others to study hard, and to follow up with news on entrance examinations, is clearly beneficial.

Moreover, the study shows that valuable forms of cultural capital are deeply ingrained in School A. Compared with School B, School A is more competitive. It is a popular public school in the Thailand's northern region. In the year 2012, within the municipal area of Chiang Mai province, School A had the highest success rate in the Northern Quota

Entrance Examination, whereas School B had the lowest success rate: 48.19% (within school A) and 7.75% (within school B). Many parents of students at School A wanted their children to achieve more than a bachelor's degree. It seems likely that one of the reasons parents of students from School A sent their children to study at this school is because of its academic reputation, believing that being a student at School A would enhance their child's chances of success in getting into CMU or another prestigious university. Therefore, the students, particularly at School A, were aware of their academic standing relative to their friends. A strong academic culture in a school can, it appears, help students, whether they are from privileged or underprivileged backgrounds, to quickly acquire an understanding of how to be successful in higher education. In other words, the students at School A have gained great amounts and more valuable types of cultural capital than those at School B. It seems undeniable that School A produces more high-performing, high-achieving, and elite individuals.

The role of friends and teachers tends to be more influential for students whose parents have limited capacity to assist them in making educational choices. The study shows that, since the parents of students at School B have a lesser capacity to give advice to their children concerning education, students at School B tend to seek advice from their teachers and friends. However, unlike School A, School B tends to provide fewer opportunities for their students to accumulate larger amounts, and more valuable forms, of cultural capital due to a weaker academic culture, including teachers' expectations and students' background. In this way, School B serves as a mechanism of social class reproduction.

Thus, it is inevitable that students' interests in higher educational choice and career path were shaped by their school environment, particularly

by friends and teachers. A strong academic culture at school can provide students with greater opportunities to obtain more highly valued forms of education. It is clear, then, that School A and School B exhibit such a disparity in education opportunities for those students as mentioned.

Larger Community

Community and society form a larger social unit. The social system provides the foundation of all culture and values; it directs the habitus of each individual, unconsciously, according to their social roles. The social system and social philosophy prevalent within the community have a crucial impact on the individual's habitus and perception of reality. Therefore, in addition to family and school, community is considered a reference group that is highly likely to influence students' choice of programmes of study, higher education institution, and occupation.

Dominant culture and core value

Dominant culture is normally perceived as the culture of the elite social group, which has higher social value compared with cultures of other social groups. At school, most literature in Thai students' curricula were composed by monarchs and members of the upper classes. Indeed, in ancient times, many members of the upper classes tried their hands at literature. Monarchs also played an important part in promoting literary culture by providing patronage to courtly poets, commissioning literary works, and composing some themselves. As a result, the dominant culture also became a mainstream culture, influencing the perspectives, norms, and practices of the general population. People who were

dominated by the culture eventually valued it and adopted it as providing a model for their way of life. Social institutions and the government sector, particularly educational institutions, play a significant role in promoting such cultural values.

Intrinsic to the dominant culture and core values of Thai society is a correlation between social status and the prestige of both academic subjects and educational institutions. For one, medicine is highly valued; students chosen to study this subject were respected among their peers and society. Therefore, after graduation, they are granted a high social status.

The reputation of an educational institution is also a significant factor that influences students' decisions. This seems to be due to an apparent relationship between the university reputation and the possibility of finding well-paying jobs. Thus, students clearly recognise the academic reputation of the university as an important factor in subject selection. A student's decision to choose a study programme was also affected by their parents, friends, teachers, and the wider community. In Thailand, old public universities such as Chulalongkorn University, Thammasat University, and Chiang Mai University are considered the three most prestigious universities. For example, Thammasat University is known for its highly selective law school. Graduating from these prestigious universities is seen as a possible way to change one's social status and quality of life. This shows a strong connection between the influence of the larger community and students' higher education choices. In other words, students' dream jobs seem to be shaped by social environment and social system, as implied by the field theory of Bourdieu.

Higher education is sometimes referred to as a social defence mechanism, one symbolic of hierarchy. Most Thai parents would encourage their children to achieve the highest level of education their

economic status allows. Higher education not only brings pride to families but also broadens a person's chances of obtaining good employment and improving their social status. Nevertheless, it can also be viewed as a mechanism of social reproduction of a status system, rather than offering the potential of social class improvement. Students from higher social classes have an advantage due to their familiarity with the dominant culture and core values generated by dominant social elites, while those who are not part of the dominant class are less likely to have access to this knowledge. In other words, education and career choices are often limited by the everyday problems of how to survive. These 'problems' are affected by the cultural capital available to an individual, such as their home origin, economic status, gender, ethnicity, physical appearance, and by their social capital such as social connections and membership of privileged social groups. Therefore, it is much harder for students from lower social classes to accomplish academic and career goals that can improve their quality of life. This tends to lead to widening inequality within society.

Religion

Religion holds an important position in Thailand, with most Thai people living their lives according to their religions. It is no surprise, then, that religious values influence students in their choice of study subject and future career.

Although religion did not appear to have a direct influence on students' higher education choices, it is clear that there was influence from religion, particularly Buddhism, embedded in students' choices. For instance, the Buddhist way of life and teachings underpin a strong sense of hierarchy in Thai society; Thai society is organised along hierarchical

lines, with strong ties to patronage. People tend to know their place, with power being exercised by cliques within fiefdoms. Hierarchy is based on age, occupation, wealth, and residence. Social interactions are often hierarchal and defined by patron-client relationships, or debts of gratitude, between young people and elders. Buddhists are taught to accept their destiny as being tied to fate or fortune. Therefore, students from lower social classes tend to be less ambitious and have lower aspirations than those from higher social classes. This can be seen in the research data, which clearly shows that lower social class students (in School B) were not as inclined to choose professional courses, such as Medicine and Pharmacy, as their higher social class counterparts (in School A). Of course, this also correlates with other factors: for instance, with family and schools where students find the information and guidance on the educational choice and career paths.

Conclusion

Individuals' differing levels of cultural capital contributes to the inequality in higher education opportunities in the Thai education system. Indeed, it is evident this circumstance influences students' decisions in relation to study programmes, higher education institution, and occupation. The research findings in this part also correspond with the study's objective of revealing inequalities in the higher education system when it comes to the opportunities that are available to students. These opportunities are also impacted by students' family, school, and community, with more privileged social backgrounds possessing an advantage when it comes to admittance at high prestige universities. This seems to be due to the way students in this group "inherit" cultural capital from their family, school, and community. The familiarity with

the knowledge, skills, and cultural competence of the dominant culture also assists them in achieving their higher education goals. In contrast, students from less privileged backgrounds tend to have fewer advantages and achieve less in education. This appears to be because of the lower cultural capital they derive from family and school, as well as their unfamiliarity with the dominant culture. In this way, education is a key mechanism of social reproduction and contributes to a further widening of inequality in Thai society.

Employing Bourdieu's paradigm to investigate the factors involving inequality in higher education opportunity in Thailand, the researcher draws on the findings from quantitative analysis in Chapter 4 and qualitative analysis in Chapter 5 to discuss how cultural capital has an impact on the higher education opportunities and career choices of youth in Thailand.

The findings highlight socio-cultural factors which have an impact on the students' cultural capital acquisition. These factors, such as whether or not a student is the first in the family to go to university, tend to have an embodiment form of cultural capital in a greater extend. Not only do students whose relatives are university graduates have greater personal resources of first-hand knowledge to draw on, but the environment they grew up in also shaped their attitudes and feelings in a way that prepared them for life in higher education.

The findings from both quantitative and qualitative chapters reveal important roles of cultural capital in Thai society, particularly in the field of higher education. Higher education institutions could be seen as an institutionalised form of cultural capital, serving to reproduce habitus through cultural practices, and also produce other objectified form of

cultural capital; the process within the field causes the social reproduction.

In fact, the recruitment process, as well as established practices within the field, burden students from lower-privilege backgrounds who are regarded as possessing lower cultural capital. Thus, the role of higher education in Thailand rarely meets the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), that goal being to enable upward socioeconomic mobility and eliminate social inequality.

Besides, getting into the elite universities or highly competitive study fields tends to be reliant on having high capital, which often correlates with a high degree of all forms of cultural capital. Thus, elite universities tend to serve those who already have high cultural capital, whilst lower competitive universities tend to serve those who have lower cultural capital.

Chapter 7
Conclusions and Recommendations

Introduction

This final chapter will provide conclusions, drawn from the research as well as the objectives of this research, to investigate how cultural capital impacts upon the higher education opportunities and career choices of youth in Thailand. This chapter will derive the conclusions from the findings in the Chapter 4, 5, and 6, highlighting their relevance to the research questions. In addition, the significance of the work and its original contribution to knowledge will be discussed.

Importantly, the qualitative data helped the researcher to understand the core process of habitus formation by which individuals acquire embodied forms of cultural capital through socialisation and cognition from the early stages of life. Indeed, this process may also operate through passive inheritance, the traditions and social norms of the community where a person has lived has shaped their upbringing. Thus, cultural capital is an important foundation of habitus formation and human development.

The analysis helped the researcher to illuminate differences in cultural values and cultural capital among different social groups in Thai society, and to develop recommendations concerning the role of higher education in social development. These recommendations would necessitate the Thai education system taking a broader perspective and taking account of cultural capital as a factor causing inequality in higher educational opportunities. This should lead to improved awareness of such

inequalities and point to potential solutions to help improve the chances of disadvantaged students in education.

Key Cultural Capital Factors Impacting Higher Educational Opportunity of Thai Youth

As mentioned above, the objective of this study was to examine the impact of cultural capital factors upon higher education opportunities and career choices of grade 12 students. Cultural capital factors have a direct impact on students' habitus, particularly their perceptions and their comfort zones, which shapes – and for some, limits – their higher education opportunity and career choices. Factor's worthy of further discussion are 1) family (values and norms, discipline, and ability to provide relevant information), 2) school (curriculum, attitude of friends and teachers), and 3) the community in which they live. These institutions provide sources of cultural knowledge and value which develop in the process of habitus formation and constitute embodied forms of cultural capital at both conscious and unconscious levels. This social influence has an impact on each individual student's self-perception, as well as on the way they interact with the social world. These are discussed below.

Family

The most influential form of cultural capital – embodied cultural capital – is an important foundation of human development and individual habitus, originating principally in the social institution of the family. Family values are normally transferred to children from parenting style, discipline, and parents being role models. Therefore, the family is

considered to be the primary social learning environment, as well as a major social factor that impacts upon students' higher education choices. It has been found that in Thai society, cultural capital is strongly associated with parents' education, occupation, as well as the support they provide and the responsibility they take. These factors also have a strong effect on a student's academic skills. Parents with more privileged backgrounds also tend to value higher education and possess cultural knowledge from their own experiences which can influence their children's education and career paths. Furthermore, the "better" the occupation that the parents have, the more likely it is that they will be earning high incomes. This combination of two capitals in the family allows the parents to provide more support and opportunities for their children's higher education. On the other hand, parents with less privileged backgrounds tend to not have sufficient cultural capital to assist their children in achieving comparable goals in higher education.

School

In Thailand, the school is held in high regard as an important institution. Most Thai parents rely on schools to educate their children. Therefore, schools serve as a key tool to help prepare students for life. Students are not only sent to school to learn basic skills in literacy, numeracy, and other academic fields, but also to learn about people, places, society, and nature. Therefore, school inevitably has power to shape students' perspectives in specific ways, and these can either reproduce or change pre-existing cultural capital. For one, friends and teachers at school were noted to have influenced students' motivation. Valuable forms of cultural capital are deeply ingrained in schools that have a strong academic environment.

The students attending the more competitive school are more able to navigate the dominant culture. Hence, the students from more privileged backgrounds tend to have higher success rates than students from less privileged backgrounds, who are less familiar with and at home in the dominant culture. As a consequence, students whose cultural backgrounds are significantly different from the privileged culture tend to withdraw themselves, returning to their comfort zone instead.

Community

In addition to family and school, community is another factor that directly impacts on students' educational opportunities and career choices. The community provides a key foundation for all culture and values, but it is, nevertheless, shaped by the mainstream dominant culture which influences perspectives, norms, and even moral judgments for a majority of people in society. Therefore, the possession of cultural knowledge and values that are close to a society's dominant culture and core values are a source of privilege. However, this process reproduces, or even increases, inequality in society: cultural capital can be a route to secure possession of, and dominate, other forms of capital. In the field of social competition, students from more highly privileged backgrounds have an advantage due to their familiarity with the dominant culture and with the core values of dominant social elites. On the other hand, students from less privileged backgrounds are at a disadvantage due to their limited access to this dominant cultural capital.

It is evident that differences in the cultural capital possessed by individuals have led to inequalities of opportunity in attaining higher education in Thai society. Students from more privileged backgrounds

tend to have more advantages, and to achieve more in higher education. This is because students in this group inherited more elite cultural capital from their families and school. Familiarity with the knowledge, skills, and cultural competence of the dominant culture also assists them to achieve their goals in higher education. In other words, their cultural capital is converted to social and economic advantage in several ways. On the other hand, students from less privileged backgrounds tend to have fewer advantages and to achieve less in higher education. This is because of the lower "value" of the cultural capital they derive from both family and school, as well as their unfamiliarity with the dominant culture. Thus, education can clearly be seen as a mechanism of social reproduction, rather than serving social development as a whole. This propagates the growth of social inequality. For this reason, strengthening cultural capital alone may not be enough to enhance educational opportunities for disadvantaged students, or to achieve the overall outcome of reducing inequality of opportunity in higher education in Thailand. To help combat this problem in a sustained way, perspectives on education should be broadened.

Broadening Perspective in Education and Deepening Understanding of the Role of Higher Education in Thailand

Among cultural resources, the correspondence between higher education and other social institutions has the strongest capacity to empower citizens and shape students' perceptions, either to reproduce or change pre-existing cultural capital. Therefore, in order to enhance both individuals' development and social development, the educational system should be focused more on the needs of the disadvantaged.

Thailand's education system is highly competitive. This reduces or eliminates opportunities for students who are perceived as weaker, ejecting them from the education system at various stages. In most developing countries, where there is a wide gap between rich and poor and inequality in access to basic services and education resources, the educational system is likely to favour the wealthy or privileged; such is the situation in Thailand. In order to succeed in mainstream education, several factors (mostly associated with dominant cultural factors) are required.

Unless society provides opportunities, it can be very difficult for people who have little or no access to educational resources to survive, or to compete with more affluent or privileged groups. Therefore, it is crucial for the government, policymakers, and all educators to consider the core value of education, particularly the role of higher education.

Developing more opportunities for disadvantaged social groups to participate in higher education not only improves equity in social competition, but also enhances social mobility and sustainable development. However, in a complex world, this is not as simple as it may seem.

The teaching methods commonly used by Thai teachers still focus on rote learning or memorizing. This method does not help students to think critically or to be able to develop themselves. Moreover, the content of what they learn is also mainly based on dominant-culture perspectives.

Therefore, the Thai education system should put more emphasis on providing social learning environments that are suitable for processes of cognitive development. Group participation and interactions with social institutions could develop social awareness among students and broaden the range of accepted cultural values in society.

"Give a man a fish and you feed him for a day;
teach a man to fish and you feed him for a lifetime."

This saying has been taught to both the researcher and other Thais for many generations. In Thai society, this phrase has been used to emphasise the importance of education as a key to solving the problems of poverty. Higher education has long been viewed as a means of stimulating the nation's economy and development.

Indeed, it seems that in this competitive world, people need more and more advanced knowledge and skills to be able to survive, "like catching a fish for self-consumption". As in some other societies, most of the resources are reserved for limited groups of people. "Finding fish" is therefore very challenging for some people who have limited access to the necessary resources.

In fact, the better-off group represents a small minority of people who own or control most of the resources in society. The resources may therefore be either wasted or misused. The better off group always have plenty of fish, arguably far more than their needs require. This ignorance could be a factor that contributes to the growing consumption of unnecessary things.

This phenomenon also has a great impact upon social values as well as people's habitus. It has not only limited opportunity to access resources among disadvantage groups, it has also limited their perspective on the value of education. As Maslow indicated, human behaviour is driven by a motivation to satisfy each level of the hierarchy of needs.

The researcher believes that education is more than just a tool to create skilled employees and equip them to earn a living; education should be part of human development at every stage of life, enhancing social development. This would, of course, ensure that the Thai educational

system is more effective producing more qualified students for the country in the long run.

As people's perspectives on education need to be broadened, so too must the role of education. Education should broaden people's perspectives and cultural value, helping people to develop deeper understanding through diversity. Nurturing a greater awareness of society as a whole, with oneself as a part of society, would help build a stronger citizenry with greater concern for their role and responsibilities within the world.

Significance of the Work and its Original Contribution to Knowledge

Employing Bourdieu's theory of Cultural Capital, Habitus, and Field into the context of Thai socio-cultural setting, the researcher aims to enhance understanding towards the root causes of social problems in relation to inequality in education, opportunity, and human development in Thai society. By using quantitative and qualitative approaches to derive information of students relating to their socio-cultural background and other related factors, which impact students' self-concept and their perceptions toward educational experiences.

The study focuses on the impacts of socio-cultural factors and cultural capital which significantly influence individual's decisions relating to higher education and career choices through the process of habitus formation. This process also impacts an individual's general perception of reality.

Education is a fundamental human right, as it is a vital process that enhances human and social development. However, Thai society was

built upon a hierarchical patronage culture, thus, the sociocultural context of education and its value, specifically in the higher education scheme, has been constructed mostly on the perspectives of the dominant group. Along with Thai sociocultural structure, the perspective of the general populace towards education and human development is quite limited. This propagates inequalities relating educational opportunities.

In relation to the theory of Social Reproduction, such social structures and systems not only prevent the lower privileged groups from social mobility, but also widen social gaps in society.

For this reason, access to higher education could truly be a challenge for a subordinate group. In this case, the function of education is not only to reproduce hierarchical social order, but also to legitimise social inequalities in Thai Society. Be that as it may, human dignity and virtue could also be distorted by these complex social orders.

Widening participation in higher education endeavours to empower the citizen, enhancing social development. However, in order to achieve this goal, not only do the policies have to be proposed, but the knowledge and understanding of human nature as a consequence of sociocultural factors should also be deeply explored. This is especially crucial, as young people tend to construct their dreams and self-perceptions through their experiences of culture and society.

The impact of cultural capital is a complex one. Such a social system limits the perspective of a citizen in relation to cultural value and impedes freedom of choice in self-development. A singular dominant perspective leads to singular dominant views, leading people to share similar values and life goals, this somehow also enhances social competition.

Despite being dominated by social conventions established by the ruling class, social norms and justice in Thai society also grant benefits to the dominant group, as well as groups that are partially accustomed to such cultural value, such as the middle-class or the higher privilege group. This phenomenon burdens other social groups, particularly the working-class or the lower-privilege group, in many ways, especially in relation to educational opportunities and career choices. Hence, cultural capital factors are key, though these factors also propagate inequality and widen gaps in society.

Looking into issues of inequality in education in a sociocultural perspective, through the application of Bourdieu's theoretical framework, is much needed in the field of Thai education. The problem of inequality in Thai educational settings generally revolves around economic factors, with a solution potentially lying with the application of pedagogical approaches to solve the underlying causes. The findings of, and the approach taken in, this study should broaden the view of the root causes of Thai social problems and enhance understanding the problem of inequality – particularly in the context of opportunities within higher education– in Thai society. This would also reaffirm the role of government in ensuring equal access to higher education remains a priority.

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Appendixes

Appendix A: Questionnaire for year 12 students

Please mark X in the most appropriate choices and write down additional details in the reserved space.

Section 1: Your Personal Information

1. Gender

1) ☐ Male 2) ☐ Female

2. Nationality

1) ☐ Thai 2) ☐ Others (Please indicate) ……

3. Ethnicity

1) ☐ Thai 2) ☐ Others (Please indicate) ……

4. Religion

1) ☐ Buddhist 2) ☐ Christian 3) ☐ Islamic

4) ☐ Non-religious 5) ☐ Others (Please indicate) ……..

5. Your hometown

1) ☐ Chiang Mai, Muang District

2) ☐ Chiang Mai, Other district (Please indicate) ……

3) ☐ Other province in northern region (Please indicate) ……..

4) ☐ Other province out of northern region (Please indicate) ……

5) ☐ Other country (Please indicate) ……

6. At present who do you live with?

1) ☐ Family

2) ☐ Relative's house

3) ☐ Living on your own (including living in a dormitory)

4) ☐ Others (Please indicate) ……

7. What languages do you speak? (Please select all that apply)

1) ☐ Thai 2) ☐ Northern Thai 3) ☐ Chinese 4) ☐ English

5) ☐ Others (Please indicate) ……

8. What language do you mostly speak at home (with your parents)?
(Please select all that apply)

1) ☐ Thai 2) ☐ Northern Thai 3) ☐ Chinese

4) ☐ English 5) ☐ Others (Please indicate) ……

9. Number of siblings (including yourself)

1) ☐ One 2) ☐ Two 3) ☐ Three

4) ☐ More than three (Please indicate) ……

10. Your birth-ranking in the family

1) ☐ First 2) ☐ Middle (between the first and the last one)

3) ☐ Last

11. Your Study Programme

1) ☐ Science 2) ☐ Arts-Math

3) ☐ Arts-linguistic (Please indicate): ……

4) ☐ Arts- …… (Please indicate)

12. GPA (from year 10-11)

1) ☐ Below 2.0 2) ☐ 2.0 – 2.49 3) ☐ 2.5 -2.99

4) ☐ 3.0 - 3.49 5) ☐ 3.5 and above

13. Have you participated in a student loan funding programme?

1) ☐ Yes 2) ☐ No

14. Have you been awarded any scholarship?

1) ☐ Yes (Please indicate): ……..……..

2) ☐ No

15. Do you have any skill or talent that you are proud of?
(e.g., sports, music, performance, dances, arts, crafts, inventions, or awards)

1) ☐ Yes (Please indicate): ……..……..……..……..……..

2) ☐ No

16. Do you have a part-time job or work for family's business?

1) ☐ Yes (Please indicate your job): ……..……..……..……..

2) ☐ No

17. Have you ever attended any tutorial classes besides those classes provided by your school?

1) ☐ Yes 2) ☐ No

18. Have you ever been to other provinces besides your hometown, Chiang Mai, and Lamphun?

1) ☐ Yes 2) ☐ No

19. Have you ever been to Bangkok?

1) ☐ Yes 2) ☐ No

20. Have you ever been abroad?

1) ☐ Yes (Please indicate the country name):……..……..……

2) ☐ No

Section 2: Family Information

21. Marital status of your parents (Please select all that apply)

1) ☐ Married 2) ☐ Divorced 3) ☐ Not married

4) ☐ Live together 5) ☐ Do not live together

6) ☐ Father passed away 7) ☐ Mother passed away

22. Your father's occupation (If your father retired, currently unemployed, or passed away please select the last occupation had.)

1) ☐ Government official Position …… Workplace …….

2) ☐ State enterprise official Position ……Workplace …….……

3) ☐ Private sector employee Position ……Workplace …….

4) ☐ Business owner (Please indicate type of business) ……..

5) ☐ Labour worker

6) ☐ Farmer or fisherman

7) ☐ Househusband or does not work

23. Your mother's occupation (If your mother retired, currently unemployed, or passed away please select the last occupation she had.)

1) ☐ Government official Position …… Workplace …….

2) ☐ State enterprise official Position …… Workplace …….……

3) ☐ Private sector employee Position …… Workplace …….

4) ☐ Business owner (Please indicate type of business) ……

5) ☐ Labour worker

6) ☐ Farmer or fisherman

7) ☐ Housewife or does not work

24. Your family's' highest level of education

(Please mark **X** in the appropriate box and provide details in the reserved space)

Highest level of education	**Father**	**Mother**	**Among grand parents**
1. No formal education			
2. Elementary level			
3. Secondary level			
4. Vocational certificate			
5. Vocational / college diploma			
6. Bachelor's degree			
7. Master's degree			
8. PhD			
9. Others (Please indicate)			
10. Do not know			
Name of institutions			

Section 3: Your choices after school

25. What do you plan to do after you finish your 12?
(Please select all that apply)

1) ☐ Go to University
2) ☐ Go to vocational or technical college
3) ☐ Go abroad
4) ☐ Work
5) ☐ Not sure or not yet decided
6) ☐ Others (Please indicate): …….

26. What do your parents want you to do after you have left school?
(Please select all that apply)

1) ☐ Go to University
2) ☐ Go to vocational or technical college
3) ☐ Go abroad
4) ☐ Work
5) ☐ Not sure or not yet decided
6) ☐ Others (Please indicate): …….

27. How would you rate your ability to be successful in your career in the future?
(Please rate your ability and put X cross over the appropriate number.)

Lowest	**Low**	**Moderate**	**High**	**Highest**
1	2	3	4	5

If you plan to go to university next year, please continue to answer the following questions in section 4 and 5. But if you do not plan to go to University next year, you can skip section 4 and go to section 5 in the last page.

Section 4: Your thoughts about your higher education plan

28. Would you be the first member of your immediate family (immediate family means parents and siblings) to go to University?

1) ☐ Yes 2) ☐ No

29. Have you already selected a particular university that would be your first preference to attend?

1) ☐ Yes, I have a particular university in mind

2) ☐ No, but I have a couple of universities in mind

3) ☐ No, I have no ideas regarding which universities I would be interested in attending (Please skip no.30 and 31, and go to no.32)

30. Which universities are you particularly interested in attending?
(no.1 is your first preference)

1) ……

2) ……

31. Which of the following factors influence your decision making on choosing these universities?

Please rate the influence level and put X cross over the appropriate number on your right hand side base on your true reasons (1= Least, 5 = Most).

		Influence Level				
		Least				**Most**
1)	Reputation of the university or professors	1	2	3	4	5
2)	Interesting study programme	1	2	3	4	5
3)	Low admission requirement	1	2	3	4	5
4)	Affordable tuition fee or scholarships availability	1	2	3	4	5
5)	Location of the university	1	2	3	4	5
6)	Environment of the university	1	2	3	4	5
7)	Family influence	1	2	3	4	5
8)	Teacher influence	1	2	3	4	5
9)	Friends / seniors influence	1	2	3	4	5
10)	Media influence	1	2	3	4	5
11)	Other (Please indicate): ……	1	2	3	4	5

32. Have you already selected a particular field of study that would be your first preference to study at university?

1) ☐ Yes, I have a particular field of study in mind

2) ☐ No, but I have a couple of fields of study in mind

3) ☐ No, I have no ideas regarding what field of study I would be interested in studying at university (Please skip no.33 and 34, and go to no.35)

33. What is the main field of study you would like to do at University?
(Choose only one)

1) ☐ Health Science

2) ☐ Science, Technology, Environment, Energy, and Resource

3) ☐ Engineering

4) ☐ Architecture

5) ☐ Agriculture

6) ☐ Business, Commerce, Accountancy, Management, Tourism, and Economics

7) ☐ Education

8) ☐ Fine and Applied Arts

9) ☐ Humanities

10) ☐ Social Sciences

11) ☐ Others (Please indicate the subject): ……

34. Which of the following factors influence your decision making on choosing the field of study?

Please rate the influence level and put X cross over the appropriate number on your right hand side base on your true reasons (1= Least, 5 = Most).

		Influence Level				
		Least				**Most**
1)	I am good at this subject	1	2	3	4	5
2)	Career opportunities	1	2	3	4	5
3)	It is my passion	1	2	3	4	5
4)	It is trendy or a popular choice among young	1	2	3	4	5
5)	Social status	1	2	3	4	5
6)	Family influence	1	2	3	4	5
7)	Teacher influence	1	2	3	4	5
8)	Friends /seniors influence	1	2	3	4	5
9)	Low admission requirement	1	2	3	4	5
10)	Affordable tuition fee or scholarships availability	1	2	3	4	5
11)	Others (Please indicate): ……	1	2	3	4	5

35. Which is more important to you when deciding on what to apply for?

		Level of Importance				
		Least				**Most**
1)	Reputation of a university	1	2	3	4	5
2)	My first choice of field of study	1	2	3	4	5
3)	High chance of acceptance	1	2	3	4	5
4)	Others (Please indicate): ……..……	1	2	3	4	5

36. How confident are you about getting accepted into the university and the course of your first preference?

Please rate your confidence and put **X** cross over the appropriate number.)

Lowest	**Low**	**Moderate**	**High**	**Highest**
1	2	3	4	5

Section 5: Contact information

If you would like to take part in a one-to-one interview session and get a chance to win a £6 book voucher (24 prizes) and a lovely souvenir from the UK, please leave your name and contact details below.

Name …….

Tel …… **Email** ……

Thank you very much for your cooperation ☺

Appendix B: Students Interview Questions

First Phase

Choices after secondary education and educational expectations:

1. Could you please talk about what you are thinking of doing next year, after you have left school?
2. Why do you choose to continue or not continue higher education?
3. What courses do you want to do, and which higher education institutions do you want to apply? Why?
4. What do your parents think about that?
5. When did you start to think about what you want to do after secondary education? And how do you develop this thought?
6. Are you thinking any further than that at the moment, what is your dream job, for example?

Learning experiences:

7. Why did you choose to study at this school?
8. What is your impression of this school?
9. Why did you choose to study this programme (Arts or Science, for example) at this level?
10. Are you satisfied with your performance? Why? What are your strengths / weaknesses?
11. How do you prepare yourself for the university admission?
12. What do you usually do during weekend / after school / during school break?

Attitude of students toward higher education:

13. What does higher education mean to you?

14. Who or what factors influence your thought of higher education?

15. What other cultural or social values are important to you? / Where have you learned that?

Family background:

16. Could you please talk about your family background?

17. How would you describe your childhood? / What was it like growing up in your house or village?

18. What do you think you have inherited from your family? / What cultural values have been passed on to you?

Closure questions:

19. Is there anything else you would like to add to your life story?

20. What are your feelings about this interview and all that we have covered?

Note:

-Participants will be informed in advance about the interview topic—choices after secondary education, learning experiences, family background—but interview questions will not be revealed.

-Key words of each question will be written down into several small cards to remind participants and the researcher about the question.

Second Phase

University – Faculty Choice

1. How have you been? Could you please tell me briefly about your life after finishing secondary school?
2. Also, what have you been doing during the past six-seven months?
3. Comparing your daily routine between the time you were in Year 10, 11 and 12, how much different it was from each year?
4. How about your higher education plan? What is the final decision about your higher education?
5. How do you feel about the result of the exam or university admission? Why do you feel like that?
6. Did the result come out as your expectation? Why?
    - If not, what is your plan now? Please give your reasons.
    - If yes, what do you plan to do next?
7. What do you think your university life will be like?
8. What do you expect from university experience?
9. What worries you the most about being a freshman in this university?
10. What have made you achieved your goal? / What have been your obstacles or difficulties?
11. How did you motivate yourself to study?
12. What you do think about the university admission system?

Family Value and Social Value

13. What did your family think about the result? How did they react?
    - Do you think they are happy with you or proud of you? Why?
    - Do you think they were disappointed with the result? Why?
14. How did they reward you? / How did they comfort or encourage you?
15. How did you reward yourself? / How did you comfort or encourage yourself?
16. How have your family supported you through this time of the year?
17. Who has played the most important role to support you during this time of the year or play more important role on your achievement in your university admission?
18. Talking about your choice of university and faculty, why did you decide to study in this field at this university?
19. Could you suggest the main reasons that you believe influence your subject choice in your studies? Please give your reasons.
    - Additional questions: You have not mentioned this particular reason which other people think is important (e.g., parents' education, parents' occupation, siblings, friends, teachers, gender, ethnic background, career opportunities, social status, or your passion). Do you think this reason is also important to you? Why do you think this reason is/ is not important to you?)
    - How do they influence you? What other reasons do you still have?
    - You have mentioned several reasons that have influenced your subject choice. Which of these reasons you think are the most important? Why do you say so?

20. Could you suggest the main reasons that you believe influence your university choice? Please give your reasons.
    - Additional questions: You have not mentioned this particular reason which other people think is important (e.g. interesting study programmes, parents' education, parents' occupation, siblings, friends, teachers, gender, ethnic background, career opportunities, social status, environment of the university, or location of the university). Do you think this reason is also important to you? Why do you think this reason is/ is not important to you?)
    - How do they influence you? What other reasons do you still have?
    - You have mentioned several reasons that have influenced your choice of university. Which of these reasons you think are the most important? Why do you say so?
21. Have you thought about what you want to do after you graduate? What would your career life be like?
22. Do you think the university that you attend will determine the achievement in your career choice?
23. How would your career life be different if you do not study this course at this university?
24. Talking about your life goal, what is your life goal?
25. Also could you please describe your ideal life style / ideal job (e.g. type of job, rang of your salary, working hours, environment of the work place, hobbies, sports, clubs, activities with friends or family, or your dream holidays?
26. Talking about happiness, how do you describe a happy person?
27. How do you describe a successful person?

28. Talking about your friends, how are your close friends? What were their results? Are they going to the same school as you?
29. What did your friends say about your result?
30. How did you celebrate the graduation with your friends?
31. Have you met your friends after you finished school? What have you and your friends been doing?
32. What did your teachers say about your result?
33. How would you describe your school experience to others?
34. What did you enjoy / not enjoy the most about your school? Please give your reasons.
35. Do you think the school that you attended plays an important role in supporting your higher education achievement? Why?

<u>English Language Ability and other vital skills</u>

36. How important is English language ability to you? Why?
37. What are the advantages of having English language skill? / What would be the disadvantages of lacking English language skill?
38. How do you feel confident in using English language?
39. Since when did you start to learn English language? How did you learn it?
40. What do you think about studying abroad? Have you ever thought about that?
41. What would be other useful or important skills for you in order to live in this society or to be successful? Please indicate your reasons.

Appendix C: Sample of transcription of interview

Transcription of interview I

I Amy, where did you go for the Student Exchange Programme?
S The USA, with the YES Programme.
I Are you a Chiang Mai native?
S That's right.
I Can you speak Northern dialect?
S No, my parents are originally from the Central Region.
I Which provinces?
S My father's hometown was Phetchaburi and my mothers was Nakhon Pathom.
I And they moved to Chiang Mai long time ago?
S Yes, they met here, got married and I was born here.
I Are you the only child?
S Yes.
I Are both of your parents' lecturers?
S My mother is. She works at the Faculty of Social Sciences.
I Did she graduate from Nottingham?
S Yes
I How long did she graduate?
S Long time ago. She did her PhD when I was only 2.
I I see.
S She was there for 4 years and came back.
I Have you ever been there?
S I was there for about a month but can't remember anything about it.
I You can go back again. I'll be there for a few years. Go and have a visit.
S My English is very poor.
I Your mother works at the Faculty of Social sciences and what about your father?
S He is an engineer, working for the Royal Irrigation Department in Lampang Province.
I So he travels back and forth?

S Yes, he comes home at the weekends.

I It is quite convenient for you as your mother drives you to school every day.
Since you are the only child, how are you brought up? Can you recall what it was like when you were younger?

S What do you mean?

I For instance, do you think your parents' parenting principles are strict?

S Yes, in some aspects. My father is not very strict. In fact, I am not very close to him. My mother is the one who does most of the parenting job. She is strict with some things such as studying and discipline. But she gives me freedom to do my own things. I can cook whatever I want to eat and make some for her too

I She lets you do your things since you were younger. Doesn't it sound western style?

S I reckon so.

I And that makes you do well in class. Your GPAs are over 3.5?

S It is not satisfactory enough for her.

I Did she say why?

S Because I don't get straight As.

I Which subjects that you don't get A?

S Before, it was difficult subjects such as Chemistry, Physics, Maths that I could not get A. After I was back from the exchange programme, the teachers collected and kept the scores for me, but I didn't do well enough for Social Science and Thai Language. That why I only got 3.5.

I Which subjects are you good at?

S I don't really know. I like Biology best. I don't like Maths. I am not good at calculation.

I I see that you choose to continue your study in the field of health sciences. Which are…?

S Pharmacy and Argo-Industry.

I Right. What is your first choice?

S Pharmacy

I At Chiang Mai University? Its faculty has good reputation.

S It would be nice to go to other universities, but they do not do direct admission system. I have to wait for the central admission system, but I don't want to.

I One of my cousins has just graduated from the faculty of Pharmacy, CMU. Now he works as a sale representative in Bangkok.

S I don't want to do that. I don't like working in hospitals that much. If I can be a pharmacist, I would like to work in cosmetics, pharmaceutical factories or do research or run my own chemist shop.

I You can go to study in Nottingham. The Boots Company has a factory there. Actually, did your mother choose this for you or did she let you decide by yourself?

S Actually, I can choose whatever I want to study but she advised that if I don't like studying medical sciences, I can try this one. She let me pick what I like. Yet, she said she prefers that I would be a pharmacist.

I Is there a lot of pressure being the only child?

S Not really. My mother always tells me not to worry about her and to save my own skin.

I Because you have to work in the field that you study?

S And I don't have any siblings. So there is nobody to look out for me.

I Your mother is like your friend.

S Yes, that's right.

I Did she complain when you went to the US for a year?

S She complained that being with my father, just the two of them, was a bit annoying.

I Did you speak to her on the phone?

S No. And she did not do SKYPE. So, I only e-mailed her or Facebooked sometimes.

I Your mother is quite High tech… Which city did you go to?

S Michigan. It was very cold. There was nothing much in the city. The house is surrounded by cornfields.

I did you like being there?

S Yes, but I don't want to back there as I missed Thailand so much.

I Do you want to go there for studying if you can?

S In a way, yes because it has more to offer concerning my future. However, I don't really want to go there.

I Do you consider applying for a scholarship?

S I am thinking about applying for the OCSC (Office of the Civil Service Commission) scholarship in September.
I And if you get it?
S I have to take it.
I Have you applied for it yet?
S No, I have to wait until September.
I Does the OCSC allow you to choose the preferable country?
S They give you choices of studying areas and then universities and countries.
I Do you have any particular place in your mind?
S Michigan, as my host family welcome me back there.
I In what field of study?
S Either Pharmacy or Food Science.
I In Michigan?
S Michigan State.
I That sounds good. There are a lot of Thai people there.
S Right.
S I once asked my host family to drive me around the university. Its front gate is near the downtown and a Thai restaurant. I saw a lot of Korean people around as well.
I Do you like Korean culture?
S Yes.
I Do you like watching Korean drama?
S I prefer Korean music.
I Which band do you like?
S Big Bang
I Have you ever been to their concert?
S Never.
I Anyway, don't you want to study in Bangkok?
S Yes, but I have to wait for the central commission.
I In what month does the central admission happen?
S In April and this is my last chance.
Now you can't submit for the central admission without giving up your place offered via quota entrance exam (for students in the northern area).
I Right. You can't do that. Will you be willing to do that?
S I think I would take the place from the Quota exam.
I Does Chulalongkorn University have a Faculty of Pharmacy?

S Yes, you can choose it through central admission system.
I With GPA of 3.50, you should go to Chulalongkorn.
S I am afraid that I might not pass the exam.
I What do your parents say about this?
S My mother said that in Thailand she prefers CMU or Chulalongkorn or Mahidol University.
I Do you have much private tutoring or cram school?
S Yes, I do Biology with Ajarn U and next month I will do intensive problem-solving in Chemistry there too.
I How many hours a day?
S 4-5 hours a day for Entrance Exam problem-solving and 2 hours and a half for a normal course.
I When is the most stressful period for exam preparation?
S The closer the exam dates, the more stressed I get.
I When did you come back from the US?
S Last June.
I Do you still in the same year with your friends?
S No, my class –year friends are now university freshmen. I am with the younger year.
I What is it like to study with the younger year?
S They are nice people. I am closer to them than to people from my year. Actually, you can transfer your grades from the US but the rule for Quota exam states that you have to study in the northern area of Thailand for 3 years. So, I need to do the repetition for a year.
I You have been studying hard lately. Do you go out much?
S No, my mother doesn't let me go. Not to the movie, no.
I What do you do for pastime, since you were a kid?
S Nothing much. I read novels.
I Thai or translated novels?
S Both. I read translated novels such as Harry Potter, Twilight and Thai novels from Jamsai Publishing Company.
I Do you think Thai kids, or your friends like to read more than the older generation?
S No. nobody wants to read studying materials. Special reading assignments are more interesting. For those who like reading novels, they are really into it. But those who don't are not keen on reading at all.

I When did you start reading novels?
S I can't remember. When I was young, I saw my mother's novels in the bookcases. She told me that I could read them if I wanted to. First, I didn't want to touch them, mistaking that they were something serious. She said it wasn't and gave me a translated book named like "A Tin Boy". I started to like reading since then.
I Is your family a nuclear family since you were young?
S There used to be only my mother and father, but when my mother's parents were getting older, they moved in with us.
I Where did they move from?
S Nakorn Pathom.
I What do you do during semester break?
S I go out with my mother. Sometimes she has to read for her research projects, and I stay home reading novels, sometimes on the internet.
I When you go away on holidays, where do you go? Abroad or to the provinces?
S We do that once a year. Mostly, we go to Phetchaburi for the anniversary.
I Do you have any events in the past that is very impressive and always in your mind?
S I don't know.
I Can we say you are as happy as can be?
S It's alright.
I Is there anything that strikes or hurts you very deeply?
S When I was told off by my mother.
I Because she is very strict with your study?
S Yes.
I Apart from that, is there anything else that she complains about?
S My behavior.
I Is she okay with your preference for Korean pop culture?
S She is fine with it, but sometimes she said, "This is too much. Enough. Go and study."
I Do you think your characteristics run from your mother or father side?
S Maybe my mother. I am with her most of the time.
I So you are quite well-disciplined and organized?
S Not really. Sometimes I don't want to be like her.

I With the Student Council at school, which area you are responsible for?
S Public relations.
I What does it do?
S Communicating with teachers, sending out documents or invitation letters to teachers, monks, etc.
I Which club did you join when you were in Matthayom 4?
S Travel Club.
I Do you like traveling?
S No, but my friend joined this club.
I Your close friend is…
S Now studying medical science at Songklanakarin University.
I quite far away.
S She always wants to be a doctor and she did very well in school. She was a straight-A student. When Songklanakarin University offered a scholarship, she passed the interview and got a grant. So, she took it
I Which school you attended before the present one?
S Regina Coeli College.
I Is there much difference between Regina Coeli College and CMU demonstration School?
S very much.
I Which of the two do you prefer?
S The latter. It gives more freedom.
I Do you still get in touch with your old-schooled friends?
S Yes, but once in a while. I haven't seen them much.
I Are your friends from both school different?
S Not much. But when we were younger, we were a bit self-centred. But now we understand things better.
I What about the school values? Are they different?
S I think they are similar.
I What was your positive impression of the Regina Coeli College?
S Not sure. The school is big.
I What was not impressive?
S Very strict rules
I For example?

S Usually, after lunch the music was broadcasted as a signal for students to get into classed but there was one day when the Student Council did not play the music. The students, then, continued playing and no one got ready for the class. A teacher came and told the whole class off and told us to go report our bad behaviours. But, what! We didn't hear the music!!! And this behaviours report. Any minor mistake and you have to do the behaviours report!!!

I Why did you change to CMU Demonstration School?

S Because the old school is too far from home. My mother also works in CMU and our house is close by. It is convenient.

I Had you planed beforehand that you would study here?

S No, my mother arranged everything. She told me when I was in the last year that I had to sit for the entrance exam.

I Did you have to prepare much for the exam?

S I didn't think much about it. I didn't concentrate much on studying.
I went to a cram school, but I wasn't that much into it.

I Did you want to come to this school at the first place?

S I wanted to be with my friends. I was very clingy to my friends then. If I changed school, I would have to be with strangers. But after knowing the results that I didn't pass the exam, I cried. However, I finally received a place in the second round.

I Do you play sports?

S No.
I am not very good at it. Just scrape through.

I Do you play any instruments?

S No.

I But you like listening to music?

S I like listening. I can sing but don't play anything.

I Do you like English language

S Yes, but I'm getting a bit bored of it now. I don't have much chance to use it.

I But spending a year abroad helped improving your English a lot, didn't it?

S My listening and reading skills are better. But for speaking, maybe because I'm quite shy, I didn't improve much in this area. I only spoke to the host family, their relatives and a few close friends.
I What was your host family like?
S They were very kind to me. I was glad I had got a nice host family.
I Do you still get in touch with them?
S yes, they always want to know how I am doing.
I Do you hang out with your friends on the weekend?
S I don't often go out with friends.
I Since when you were younger?
S Yes, because my mother doesn't like me to go out with my friends.
I Where do your friends go?
S To Robinson Shopping Mall or Central, to the movie.
I When I was your age, we went karaoke.
S Right, that's the same. I did it once before I went abroad. It was a kind of a farewell party. And I went to Bangkok with my friends. It was surprising my mother let me go. I stayed with a friend who has a house there and spent 4 days in Bangkok and just before I went abroad, we went karaoke.
I What do you like or are impressed about CMU Demonstration School?
S I like it alright. It allows us a lot of freedom.
I What don't you like about it?
S It is not that I don't like it.
I Do you have too many extra activities?
S It's just right. It's fun but it is a bit of a hard work for the Student Council.
I What about the studying atmosphere? Is it very competitive?
S No. most students are at the same level. Those are exceptional are really good.
I Do you help each other in class?
S Yes
I The studying-friendly atmosphere makes you feel more studious?

S Not really, but in comparison, when I was in school in the US, I felt more urge to study. Maybe because they let me choose what I wanted to do, and I picked IPBIO which had more interesting teaching and studying style than here in Thailand.

I What else is different?

S Many things

I Can you give an example?

S The school doesn't have fences around and there is only one building. When the bell rings, all doors are locked, and nobody can get in and out.

I They are well-disciplined, aren't they? What about friends?

S They are alright. They are helpful and don't stick to one particular group. There isn't much break time either.

I What time is your school over?

S 4.30pm and cram school/private tutoring comes after that. Kids don't do this in the US.

I When you get back home, have a shower and get prepared to bed….

S I have to read as well, or else my mother will complain.

I But you don't feel pressured?

S A little bit, when my mother gives that serious look and tells me off.

I Is your mother usually strict?

S During exam days, yes. She can go at me like "The exam is approaching, why are you not studying?"

I Apart from reminding you, how does your mother support your studying?

S She checked my homework, when I was younger. Now, she drives me to cram schools, find someone to give me lessons in Physics. She tells me to search for information about what is good and what I want to do. She is willing to pay for it.

I Do you have any special lessons apart from cram school/private tutoring?

S When I was younger, my friends had piano or ballet lessons and I wanted to do the same, but my mother did not approve. However, when I at Regina Coeli Collage, they have ballet class. I wanted to wear puffy dress like my friends and my mother let me have the dress. I only wore it once, though. It was embarrassing.

I Do you ask your mother for advice about other things?

S Almost everything.

I Is there any teaching that you always hear from your parents or what is your motto in life?

S My mother says that I should do everything with all my capability. For instance, when I went to the US, she told me to do my best in class even though I did not need the scores for anything now, but I don't know if it will be useful in the future. It is better to try my best.

I Who gives you most of this teaching?

S My mother.

I What about your grandparents?

S I am not very close to them.

I What about Buddhist or traditional teaching that we always hear of?

S I am not very pious.

I For example, Buddhism talks about being content with what you have got. Do you still hear this saying?

S Yes, from several sources. My mother tells me not to pay attention too much to money, as long as you earn enough for living. We spend what we have got, not too superfluously. I don't have to be a rich doctor.

I Who is more kind, your father or mother?

S My father is more likely to let me do what I ask for. For example, I want to go to Korea. When I asked my mother, she said she doesn't want to go. If I want to, I can ask my father and I did. My father only said, "ok, let's go to Korea".

I Concerning your skills or what area you like; it seems you don't get any from either of them? Where is your preference in biology from?

S From nobody. It is a subject which you can learn by heart. I can do it alright and that is why I like it.

I Some psychologists believe that your intelligence has something to do with genetics. What do you think?

S Partly true but it depends mostly on practice. Despite how bright you are, if you are lazy, you will not go far.

I Do you believe in the law of karma?

S Yes. I can see it from my friend who gets a grant to study Medical Science. She prays every night. And she seems to be good at everything. Sometimes I feel a bit envious.

I Have you ever tried pledging for good results when you have exams?

S No, but I do pay respect to the spirit house for some moral reassurance.

I In your opinion, how to be a good child for your parents?

S Not causing them trouble, not being a burden, study, graduate and have a good job. That is enough.

I What about sense of obligation? Do you think it is the same with being a good kid?

S The term "sense of obligation" is rather strong. It means you have to look after them and adore them. But in the present time, we have a lot of other things to worry about. My mother said that I do not have to look after her. I can do your own work and she has money from her pension. I can go visit her when I have time.

I Does your father share the same idea?

S He built a house with an orchard where he can live when he is old. He is wee-prepared.

I How to be good for the society?

S Not causing trouble to anyone. You don't have to be very well-disciplined but at least, you should not create bad impacts on anyone.

I What is the difference between a worthy and unworthy person?

S Those who follow the crowd and do not think for themselves.

I Then a worthy person means someone who has his own ideas and does not cause trouble?

S Yes.

I Can we come back to your study plan? How are you preparing yourself now?
S Apart from cram school/special tutoring, I read and do some problem-solving at home. I try to get myself to study because I can be quite lazy.
I When did you decide to study Pharmacy?
S Actually, I don't know what I like. I only know what I don't like which seemed to be everything. At first my mother mentioned Agro-industry as it requires Biology, not much Physics or Maths. But my Physics teacher thought working in Agro-industry is not very pleasant. If I don't like Medical Science, or physics, I can try Pharmacy as it requires Organic Chemistry and not Physics.
I When did you start thinking about what you like and what you want to study?
S I started thinking about what I want to study when I was in M.5 but I knew since I was younger what I like or dislike.
I Did you have your dream job when you were younger?
S I wanted to be a vet as I like dogs.
I Don't you want to study Veterinary?
S It is difficult. It involves Medical Science.
I Is it difficult or takes longer to finish?
S When you are a doctor, you have to interact with patients and do surgery. Someone told me you can choose your specialized area in further study. But for undergrad level, you have to do everything.
I But you interact with animals, not people if you are a vet?
S I still don't want to as I have to do surgery too.
I What subject does your mother teach?
S Sociology. I do not know much about it.
I Don't you want to be like your mother?
S She told me not to. She doesn't know what her students become after they graduate. She just teaches them.
I In your point of view, which occupation is honourable?
S Doctor. Everybody wants to be a doctor as it is highly praised.
I And after that?
S Maybe businesspeople but in the upper level. For lower position, it is not anything recognizable. But it is hard to get to that point.
I Are you interested in running a business?

S I think I will study that for a master's degree so I can get promoted in work.
I Do you want to have your own company?
S Maybe not. I can work for any company and I can get a pay-raise if I have a master's degree.
I To which level do you plan to study?
S PhD sounds good but now I only think up to master's degree.
I Does your mother want you to do PhD?
S She said it's up to me but she'd rather I do it abroad. She said it is hard to study for PhD and if I do it in Thailand, it will be too easy. So, I should do it somewhere else.
I If you can get a grant and come back to be a university lecturer, do you want to do it?
S Not really.
I But if you get a grant from the OCSC and come back to work in the ministries, do you want to do it?
S That sounds better.
I If you can choose, you don't want to be a lecturer and your mother doesn't support the idea, either?
S yes.
I What is her reason?
S It is tiring and there are political issues in universities. It is difficult for the newcomers.
I What subject is now popular among your friend at school?
S Medical Science and Dentistry, for Science-programmed students and Economics and Business Administration for Art-programmed students.
I Why did you choose to be in Science programme?
S I didn't know what I liked back then. With Science programme, you have broader choices for the future fields of study, so my father told me to go for this one.
I How satisfied are you with your performance now?
S Actually, I am alright with it but it would be good if I can have higher scores, especially in calculation.
I How high do you set your expectation for the entrance exam?
S My first choice is the Faculty of Pharmacy, CMU. I want it. I don't want to be disappointed anymore.
I How confident are you?

S I am not confident at all.
I Why is that?
S When in class, it is alright, but I think there is nothing in my head. When I do some questions, I think I get the correct answers, but I am wrong.
I What is your plan B?
S The direct Admission for Argo-industry, University of Agriculture will be open in November. I will try to apply for it. I also did quota exam, or I can apply for the central admission. ก็
I What is your opinion about the Thai entrance system?
S It is too strict. The exams are too difficult. In some countries, it requires only your GPAs and you can sit for the ACT to see how many scores you get and then you can apply for the faculty you want to study. Also, going to university is not a serious matter. You can survive without doing that.
I Why is it very competitive in Thailand?
S Because we are a developing country.
I Do you think going to university helps you in any way?
S It makes us more professional.
I Do you still hear the Thai proverb "รักดีหามจั่ว รักชั่วหามเสา"
S Yes, sometimes.
I Do you agree with it?
S No, someone tries so hard to do good deeds but gets nothing in return while others cheat and commit evil things and they are getting more and more prosperous.
I Do you understand it as the proverb says, that if you are studious, you will get some easy work while those who are lazy have to sweat and work harder
S I don't associate it with studying. The only thing that matters is going to university. Despite how good you are in class, if you aren't accepted into the university, you are finished.
I Going to university is the criteria?
S Yes.
I Do you think it can really be used as criteria?
S Yes, in Thailand case.
I Does it mean we place a lot of value to university degree?
S Yes, with it you can go broader and further on the career path.
I Do you want to add anything regarding studying?

S I don't think so.

Transcription of interview II

I Is your hometown Hod District, Nichamol?

S Yes, I was born there. Both of my parents live there too.

I Why do you live here?

S I live in a dormitory with my friend.

I Is it far?

S It's in the area of a shopping centre called Kad Suankaew.

I How do you get to school?

S Some days my friend gave me a ride but some days I take a minibus.

I Are they friends at school?

S Yes, we are in the same classroom.

I How many people are there in your dorm?

S Only two people.

I When did you move to Chiang Mai?

S Since I was in grade 10.

I What about before that?

S I lived at home.

I Where did you go to school in grades 7 to 9?

S The name of the school was "Bor Luang". My house was beyond Hod District

but still in the district.

I Why did you move to study here (in Chiang Mai)?

S This is because the school in my district had only kindergarten to grade 9.

I Was there any middle school close by your home?

S There was a school in Hod District but somehow, I didn't feel that good about it. I then decided to study in Chiang Mai as I didn't get to expose to much when I live at home. Not living at home makes me expose to more new things.

I What about your friends when you were young – where do they study?

S For those who are my close friends, they are in the same school as mine.

I For friends who further their study, do they study in Hod or in the city (of Chiang Mai) more?

S They study in the city more but only a few continue their study. Some left school to work. For those who continue their study, they come to Chiang Mai.

I Why didn't they choose to study in Hod?

S I guess it's better to be in Chiang Mai. If they stay home, they might not get to develop themselves. It might be that Hod is such a country town.

I What about the schools in Hod – are they similar in terms of size?

S Yes, they were about the same.

I What about the teaching? Are they different?

S They are not different. It's just the location. One is in the city.

I You said that when you are in Chiang Mai, you have more opportunity. What kind of opportunity you have in mind?

S I thought that it would be easier to continue my study. Mostly, students choose finish grade 9 or grade 12 and then go to work. They don't choose to further their study.

I For your friends who come to study in Chiang Mai, do they work while going to school?

S There are some who work while studying but some only study.

I What about you Nichamon – do you work too?

S No, I don't as I'm underage and the employers won't let me.

I How old are you now?

S 17 years old.

I What about your parents – do they want you to continue your study here in Chiang Mai or at home (in Hod)?

S At first, my parents wanted me to study at home (in Hod) but I didn't want to.The school wasn't what I thought. It was a country school. I didn't get to expose to what others did. I thus would like to live outside my hometown to know what it's like. I want to be exposed to new things.

I Both of your parents support you?

S Yes.

I Once you are here in Chiang Mai, is it like what you expected it to be?

S Some are but some aren't.

I In retrospect, would you make the same decision in studying here in Chiang Mai?

S Yes, I would. However, truthfully, I didn't want to study in this area. I first to study the vocational field. It was that I think like what the country people would think. We didn't think much. We think that it's better to study in this field. Actually, I just followed what my friend did.

I Was there anybody advise you to continue this field? Or to continue your study here?

S Yes, it was my senior friend who graduated and they studied at this school. (The name of the school "Hor Pra" was mentioned.)

I What was her advice?

S She said that I should study here. Teachers are doing a good job and there are a lot to choose from. The tuition and fees are inexpensive.

I How much is it?

S It's around 1,200 – 1,500 baht. (around US$40 – US$50)

I Who paid for it?

S My parents did but I haven't paid yet.

I Have you asked for a student loan?

S I didn't get it when I first applied but I'll reapply.

I Did your teacher tell you why you didn't get the loan?

S I didn't turn in my application in time?

I When did you know that you shouldn't have studied in this field?

S When I first started grade 10 around the first two to three months. I didn't think I would make it. I didn't want to study in this field. I made a big mistake in choosing this academic field. I would rather study the vocational field.

I If you were in the vocational field, what do you want to study?

S It will be something like accounting.

I Is there any institute in Chiang Mai that you have in mind?

S At first, I thought about going to LCC. But my sister told me to go to Chiang Mai Commercial School. My sister also graduated from this school. She wants me to be a teacher.

I Is she your sister by blood?

S No. She's my cousin. She is a teacher. Another sister (cousin) is also a teacher. My brother is also a teacher. That's why she wants me to be a teacher.

I A teacher in Chiang Mai?

S My cousin is teaching in Chiang Rai (another province). Another teaches at a Technical College and the other one is a student-teacher.

I Do you want to be a teacher?

S Not really.

I Have you talked to any teachers or your parents about your desire in studying the vocational field.

S Yes, I had. I first thought that I would resign in grade 10 but it would be a waste of time. My mother told me to study like my neighbour. She studied to be a nurse aid. I want to do that, but the blood scares me.

I What subject that you don't like, or you are not good at?

S I think it is Thai language. I can't catch up with what's going on.

I What's your GPA?

S For the last four semesters, my GPA is 2.75.

I This is quite good.

S I think it's too low.

I Except for Thai language, is there any other subjects that make you think that you should go into vocational field?

S I think I like arts with the concentration on mathematics. Oh no, no. I like it but I'm not good at it. This makes me don't like it. However, I do want to study accounting. I then don't know if I should study accounting or not. When I first started, I wanted to study science field. The science field with the concentration on mathematics. But it was rather difficult. I then shifted to social science.

I It seems like right now you are in between accounting and teaching?

S I'd like to be a teacher too. Now, I want to be a teacher but when I think it over, what would I teach if I become a teacher? The fact is I don't have any skill or anything that I'm keen on. I don't know what I'm good at.

I What about when you were young, did you have any dream job?

S When I was young, I wanted to be a nurse. When I grow up, I no longer want to do that due to my dislike for blood.

I This shows that you have a mind to help others, to look after them and to give them services.

S When I was young, I did like to be with my aunt. She lived with the elders.

I What about your parents – what do they want you to be?

S Both of my parents said I can be whatever I want to be. But for my sister, she tends to force me to be a teacher.

I Is this sister your aunt's daughter?

S She's my uncle's daughter. We are close and she always tells me that I have to be a teacher. I don't know if I can study to be a teacher. If you ask me whether I like it, I don't. However, I do want to be one.

I Did you sister tell you what she wanted you to be a teacher?

S It's like it's beneficial to be a government officer. I don't have to look for other jobs. It's more stable than others. Being a teacher is more secure.

I Do you have any cousins or relatives living in Chiang Mai?

S No, I don't.

I If you don't continue your study and decide to work, where do you plan to work?

S I think I would go to work in Bangkok. I have a sister there. She's married and is in Bangkok with her husband.

I Is it the one who's a teacher?

S No, it's not.

I Are you a local girl?

S I'm a hill-tribe. My tribe is Lua.

I What do your parents say about your plan to work in Bangkok?

S They don't want me to go. They want me to be in Chiang Mai. I plan to get a loan, but my parents said why I wanted to do that. This is because I still have to pay my debt. My sister told me to get a loan. I truly don't want to go far. I'd like to work in Chiang Mai and study here. I would like to finish grade 12 and continue my bachelor degree at Rajabhat University.

I Do your parents rather want you to work?

S It's not that they want me to work. They want me to study. But my sister wants to study too. I thus think that I should finish first and then my sister can study. I can restart my study later.

I If you want to study but your parents won't let you get a loan, what will you do?

S I think about working and studying at the same time. My mom might help me partially.

I What grade are you in now?

S Grade 9 and about to get to grade 10.

I Where is your younger sister?

S At home.

I Your sister doesn't want to study in Chiang Mai?

S When she finishes grade 9, she will come to Chiang Mai. This will cost a lot of money.

I What's the age difference between you and your sister?

S Around three years.

I Who are you close to most in your family?

S I'm close to my father.

I Whose characteristics are you like?

S If you talk about characteristics, I'm not like anyone in my family. For example, I am pretty picky when it comes to eating. However, nobody is picky. It is that what they can eat, I can't. I get allergy quite easily and I can't eat many things. I don't talk much. When I was young, I always had a fight with my younger sister. It happened every evening.

I Who started the fight?

S Both of us did. In the evenings, I had a responsibility to clean the house, but nobody wanted to do it.

I Is your father strict?

S No, he's not. He's kind but he can be strict when he drinks.

I What about your mom?

S Mother is a strict person. That's why I don't like to be with her.

I Who has the authority in the house?

S I think it's my father.

I Is there any house rules?

S No, there isn't. There's no rules.

I How do you think you are raised? To be self-dependent or not?

S I think I was raised to be self-dependent. Whatever I can't do, my mother would teach me. My family has an orchard and rice field. Whatever I can't do, they would let me try like rice growing. If I didn't do it well, they let me redo it.

I How old were you when you first helped your parents grow rice?

S When I was in grades 4 and 5. But I don't get to do it now. When I go home, I go into the orchard but don't do much.

I Do your parents want you to do what they do? (Gardening and growing rice)

S No, they'd rather me study. They don't want me to suffer like they do.

I Do your parents have your tribe's way of bringing you up which is unique or contains its special identity?

S I don't think there's any.

I What about other traditions or customs which still exist?

S Yes, there are a lot.

I What are the important traditions of your home?

S For my home, there are ghost party customs. There are around three times a year.

I Have these traditions been passed from one generation to the next or have they gradually vanished?

S It looks like it's been passed from one to another. We can't seem to forget them. If we forget them, there are bad things happen.

I At present your parents still keep these traditions, do you think your generation will continue to keep them?

S I think we should.

I When you were young, what did you do for fun?

S I played with my younger sister. I played "Mark Keb" (A game played by children with five pieces of stones.

I What about the environment in your village? Were there a lot of children?

S We lived next to each other. There were quite a lot of children but for my age group, the majority of them were boys.

I Did you play mostly in the house or outside?

S It was outside like being in the water or in the orchard.

I Since you were young, how did your parents help you in your study other than paying for your tuition and fees?

S When I was young, it was my mother who helped in schoolwork. This is because my mother was more educated than my father. My mom finished her grade 6 while my father only finished grade 4. Thus, my mother taught me.

I Did your mother set the rules that you had to finish your schoolwork before you could go out to play with friends?

S Mostly both of them told me that I had to finish my work before going out to play. If I didn't finish it, they would let me play. However, most of the time, I played first and did my homework later.

I What about your sister? Does she have the same preference and interest in her study?

S Not similar at all. But I don't know what she likes to study. I don't talk about study with my sister. She doesn't talk about her study with family members. She talks about other things when she's home.

I Are you and your sister alike in terms of characteristics?

S No, we are not. My younger sister only enjoys playing. She doesn't obey what I tell her. This is because she was spoiled when she was young. At present, she doesn't obey anybody.

I When you were young, what time of the day that all your family members were together?

S It would be every evening of weekdays when we had dinner together.

I After dinner, did you have any other activities that you did together?

S Mostly we watched television. My sister and I did our schoolwork while my dad watched TV.

I What do you enjoy doing in your free time?

S I like listening to music and watching TV.

I When is the harvesting time?

S Around November.

I School is still in session then. Do you have to help harvesting?

S Mostly I don't know how to harvest, grow rice. These require a lot of energy.

I When do your parents need help the most?

S The harvesting time. My parents have to work for others and others work for them too. They take turn help each other.

I Do you teachers allow you to leave school to help your parents?

S Yes, they do. Mostly, I help on weekends.

I When is the free time that your parents can be with you after the harvesting period?

S Usually they don't have free time. It's like after the harvesting period, they have to do other things. Therefore, we hardly have time to be together.

I What do you do when there's a school break?

S I go home when school is not in session, but I sometimes go to tutorial school.

I Is this tutorial for secondary school or high school?

S It's for the high school. When I was in the secondary school, I worked in the orchard. I was hired to pick tomatoes, cabbage, and peppers.

I Have you parents ever said anything about when they will retire?

S No, they haven't. I've seen them work all the time. No retirement.

I Then, have they ever talked about their plan?

S No, they haven't. They thought that they would just continue growing vegetables and rice until they can no longer do it.

I When you were young, did you have any experiences that you were impressed with and it's significant in your life?

S I don't think I have any.

I Is there a difference between the secondary school and the present high school that you study now?

S Yes, there is. The social is different. It's like when I'm home, I can do anything I like. But when I'm here, I have to care what others will think about what I do. Will they reprimand me?

I Give me examples.

S Like if I'm not the bright student, will they think of me as their friends?

I Is it a pressure?

S Sometimes, it is.

I What is the most pressure?

S It's the study.

I What do your parents say about your grades?

S Mostly they don't ask about what grades I get. However, they said that it's okay if my grades are low. They encourage me to do better next time. I was once very sad about my grade when I was in grade 7. The first semester I was the first in the class but the second semester I was the fourth or fifth. I cried because of my disappointment. My mom comforted me and told me to do better in the following semester.

I What did you teachers say about your grades?

S They told me to improve my study so that I could get into other school easier.

I Do you have any impressions about your former school?

S There wasn't much to be impressed.

I You told me that the social between home and here (Hor Pra School) was different. Which one you like more?

S I like the social at my home better. Whatever I have at home makes me feel good. We can do anything we want without considering of others. However, when I'm here, I have to think about others at all time. If I do something wrong, will they reprimand me?

I What about friends- are they different?

S Yes, it's quite different. I can talk about anything to friends that I have at home. But I can't do that with friends here. I mostly talk to friends at home.

I The old friends that you had in your former school are Lua?

S Yes, we are Lua.

I What about the close friends that you have here, are they old friends or new friends from here?

S They are old friends. We live next to one another and we studied since kindergarten. We are very close, and we are here together too. Our names are alike, and we use the same last names. This makes us very close.

I Is there any difference between the teachers in the former school and the present one here?

S Yes, there is. Majority of the teachers at the former school were alumni and they returned to teach the same tribe (Lua). It was easier to consult them, and we speak the same language. For the teachers here, I don't ask for their advice as I don't feel at ease with them.

I What do you do after school?

S I sometimes listen to music or do homework.

I What about Saturday and Sunday?

S Just stay at the dorm and don't do much.

I You don't go to tutorial school.

S I did think about attending but I decided not to.

I What is your impression about the present school?

S I like the activities. I enjoy activities more than study.

I Other than friends that make you feel uneasy, is there anything else?

S The teachers are too strict which make me feel pressured and more intense.

I What are the teachers mostly strict about? The Study? Or the discipline?

S It's about the study. Some time there is too much homework. The exams are difficult, and they are not relevant to what I study.

I Do you have any motto or any teaching that your parents teach you since you were young?

S They told me not to follow others. I should be independent and don't have to follow others. I should be myself.

I Do you have anybody that you admire?

S I love one artist who's a singer, a foreign singer called Avil. I like that she's beautiful and dresses well.

I What do you think is the most important to you?

S I think it's my parents. I then do my best to make them proud. Like I don't like to study to be a teacher, my sister wants me to. If I were to become a teacher, I would give my salary to them so that my parents don't have to work.

I What are the things that good children have to do?

S Be good and don't make them disappointed. Pay attention to study and don't miss classes.

I How do you assess whether one person is a valuable person or a good person for the society?

S When I have friends, I don't look at whether they are good looking or not.

However, I'll look at their characteristics and their habits. I'll see if they'll persuade me to go out. I'll look at their good sides. If they lead me to do bad things, I won't go with them. If they lead me to good things, I'll join them.

I What about your Lua friends?

S They are good. They are better than when I was in grade 9. Then, after school we went out. We no longer do that. After school, I go back to my dorm and study and watch TV.

I What do teenagers in your community do for fun?

S Mostly we went to Bor Kaew. It is a beautiful place with a nice scenery. It has pine trees and green grass. We went there to sit. Some drank alcohol. I only went for fun but didn't drink.

I Is there any friends around here invite you to the discotheque?

S Yes, there were some. They asked me to go to a pub when I was in grade 10.

I Were you allowed to go in as a minor?

S We all might look older than our age. This made us get in. Some put on a heavy makeup which made them look older. Some time they didn't check.

I What would you do if they check?

S I just don't go in. I go somewhere else.

I What do you believe in more – talent or nurture?

S I believe in talents more. Talented people are better off.

I What kind of talent do you have?

S I once joined the school band. I might have talent for music. However, I no longer did that. The school that I attended at home had a small band. But here the band is bigger which makes me afraid to join. I'm shy to play with others. When I was young and small, they let me be the queen. Then I chose to play a melodeon. After that, it was Marbella. But I don't dare to play here.

I Where do you think you get your preference for music from?

S I don't think it's from anybody. I just like it by myself. I just want to know how to play, how to play the drum. When they have a music club, I want to try the drum. They said that it's not appropriate for a girl. They wanted me to play the base which I didn't like. I then quit. I now can't remember the cords.

I Is it your teacher's advice or something else which makes you like music?

S I saw other people play it and I thought it was cool. I then wanted to try, and it was fun.

I When you were young, you had a dream job of being a nurse. What about now?

S I don't like blood and I don't want to be a nurse anymore.

I What kind of jobs do you think are honoured in the society?

S For my community, being a teacher is an honour in itself.

I Is there any jobs that you don't want to do, to be or not trendy?

S The jobs that are related to science. It's like they are crazy or something.

I For your friends, what is a popular job or trendy one?

S Most want to be an airhostess or a tour guide.

I Is there any jobs that your friends think outdated and don't want to do?

S For the friends who live with me, they said that it's teachers that they don't want to be. It's a tough job and they asked me if I wanted to be teachers. Being a teacher, one has to teach children. What would we do if students do not obey us? Just like us nowadays. We hardly pay attention to the teachers. I can be anything except being a teacher.

I In your opinion, how far you want to further your study?

S I first thought having a bachelor's degree is fine. But I think that being a bachelor's degree graduate, I won't be able to find a job. I thus want to further my study to graduate level like master's degree or Ph.D. degree.

I Have you made up your mind yet if you want to continue next semester or you want to rest?

S I think I would rest first. I'll work and let my younger sister study for one semester. I work and I'll resume my study.

I If you go to work in Bangkok, what kind of job will you do?

S My sister told me that it's the export jewellery business. It's a plant.

I Do you have any idea how much will you get paid?

S For my sister, her income is quite good. She gets around over 10,000 baht a month. She has worked there for several years and that's why she got a high salary. She told me that it's better for me to work in Bangkok than in Chiang Mai. After a few years of working, my salary will be increased.

There'll be bonus as well as transportation money and transportation pick up.

I If you were to work with your sister in Bangkok, would you put your study on hold for a year or would you work and study at the same time?

S I first thought that I would skip a year and return to work and study at the same time. My sister told me to study at Ramkamhaeng University (an open university) so I can work. However, my mother doesn't like

such idea. She wants me to stay in Chiang Mai.

I Right now, you are indecisive!

S Yes, I do want to study. I want to continue in vocational area after I finish my grade 12.

I Before making a decision, who do you think you can ask for advice?

S I think I'll consult my parents first. My father told me to go home and talk. It's not convenient to talk about this on the phone. It's better to talk about this at home.

I How often do you get to go home?

S I go during the holidays. When there's a festival like the lent, I go home.

I What do you think about the entrance examination to study at the university?

S I think it's too complicated with many steps.

I Can the teachers give you advice?

S Yes, mostly the counselling teachers give the advice.

Appendix D: Story of students

The student 01: *Arts Programme, GPA.3.50 and above, Business and Management, Oversea (UK).*

The student 01 came originally from Chiang Mai but during her primary school years moved to Phayao, a small province in the northern region of Thailand, with her family. Her father is a district chief officer, and her mother is a businesswoman. She has one older brother who, like their mother, already graduated from Chiang Mai University in Accounting. The student 01 was an exchange student in Czech Republic for one year during her upper-secondary school via AFS programme.

At the beginning of her secondary school year, she chose to study in the Science-Maths Programme because of her mother's encouragement. Her mother thought that studying Science-Maths would give her more choices of field of study later on, and her mother wanted her to be a doctor. However, she did not like studying science and maths; therefore, after she came back from Czech Republic, she changed her study to the Arts-Maths programme.

Currently she is a freshman at the Faculty of Architecture and Planning at Thammasart University, the second oldest university in Thailand. Even though her mother and her brother both graduated from Chiang Mai University, and her father would like her to study in Chiang Mai, she chose not to apply to Chiang Mai University. She aimed only for either Chulalongkorn University or Thammasart University. Despite getting bored of living in Chiang Mai, she dreamed of studying at a prestigious university in Bangkok like her seniors, and she thought that would be of benefit to her by broadening her social connections. Nevertheless, in

February 2014, she will become a freshman again but at LSC London in Business Studies.

The student 02: *Arts Programme, GPA.3.00-3.49, Communication Arts, Prestige University in BKK.*

The student 02 is from Chiang Mai Province, she stays with her parents and sister. Her father has his own business related to cotton. Her mother also has her own business related to jewellery. Her sister has graduated from Faculty of Political Science, Chulalongkorn University and she is now working as an employee at Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Before the student 02 started secondary education level at School A, she used to study at a private Catholic school. The student 02 needed to be moved to A school because her sister was studying at this school. It was not convenient for her parents to pick up children at different schools and she also wanted to study at school A as well.

The student 02 chooses to study English French program while her mother prefers her to study English-Math program. However, she thinks that she is not good at science and math. She wants to study French because it is important to know the third language at present. She also has a chance to be an exchange student going to France which is considered as a great life opportunity for her.

The student 02 is planning to study at Faculty of Communication Arts, Chulalongkorn University because of her own interest and her sister's suggestion. Also, she was given information about this faculty by her sister's friend who studies at this faculty, so she gains more information about how to study and the future career. After having talked with her sister's friend, she thinks that she has chosen the suitable choice for herself. Her parents generally let her make her own decision and that

makes her quite self-confident. Furthermore, she also had an experience living abroad. She is therefore quite determined on her decision although her father wants her to study Faculty of Law. For university admission examination, she has chosen 4 choices: Faculty of Communication Arts, Chulalongkorn University, Faculty of Law, Chulalongkorn University, Faculty of Law, Thammasat University and Faculty of Liberal Arts (French Major), Thammasat University respectively.

She has chosen only Chulalongkorn and Thammasat Universities because her father has suggested her to do so. Her father is also aware of her future career, she can know more people and have social connection and that might help his daughter to get a good job position. She would be definitely more mature from learning to live independently.

The student 02 finally is able to pass the university entrance examination to study at Faculty of Communication Arts, Chulalongkorn University. Everyone in her family is very happy. However, she has not decided what she really wants to focus on her future career at this moment. She prefers to study all the preliminary subjects according to curriculum first and she would decide which field that she wants to be specialized in particular. She thinks that it might be public relations but that is not the exact plan for now.

The student 02 did not have a lot of time to be prepared for university entrance examination because she just came back from one-year student exchange program and then she passed to study at year 12. That makes her quite worried and sometimes stressful. She did not do well in the direct admission university entrance exam because she was too nervous, and she was failed for this examination. However, later

she tried her best to do a concentration on studying hard and doing many exercises to prepare for Admission Examination.

The student 02 believes that her success mainly comes from her parents because they have supported her for educational matters i.e., encourage her to take tutorial classes, allow her to participate high school student exchange program, respect her decision on choosing faculty that she wants to study. In addition, all of her family members also give her some useful information about how to success in university especially she has received good comments from her sister. Her teachers and friends also very important for providing good information on university entrance examination. Everyone needs to encourage one another to study hard and follow up with updated news on entrance examinations. Her friends and herself do not compete to one another but on the other hand, everyone would help and support together. Anyway, her school prefers students to take Chiang Mai University Quota Examination than wait to take Admissions Examination System.

The student 02 thinks that Thai educational system is acceptable. However, in her opinion, Admission Examination System is still quite complicated. For example, the examination system lets students who are in main language programs (French, Chinese, Japanese, German, etc.) to compete one another without considering about the differences of each language. She claims that French is a more difficult language, and this might be the disadvantaged points to compete with other students. In addition, students living in Bangkok generally would be able to receive better education comparing to students living to rural areas because there are good teachers to teach them, and the urban students have easy access to educational materials and tutorial classes.

The student 03: *Arts Programme, GPA.3.00-3.49, Law, Prestige university in BKK.*

The student 03 is originally from Phayao, one of the northern provinces of Thailand. After finishing primary school, she moved to study in Chiang Mai. At the beginning, her parents did not want her to study far from home. Nevertheless, the student 03 insisted to come because she believed that studying in Chiang Mai would provide her a better educational opportunity. She also said that her parents are reasonable. They let her make a decision in choosing a place to study in Chiang Mai. Her family is quite concerned about education. She claimed that her father planned to send her to study abroad for a master's degree.

During her study in secondary school in Chiang Mai, at first, she taught that she would like to be a dentist, pharmacist, or a doctor; therefore she chose to study in Science-Maths Programme. However, after a year passed, she found herself interested in social science discipline, particularly, in political science and law. Her ideal career is judge, lawyer and diplomat. She said that her parents also supported her decision. She further claimed that her father used to encourage her to study law because he thought that working in legal discipline is more stable than doing business like him. Therefore, she said that she would choose Thammasat University, which the Faculty of Law of Thammasat University is the oldest law school of Thailand.

Currently, she has achieved her goal by being a freshman in Thammasat Law School. She said that she really enjoys her life in the university since she got a lot of good friends and supports from her seniors. After graduation, she would like to pursue her career goal to become a judge.

The student 04: *Arts Programme, GPA.3.5 and above, Political Science, Prestige University in BKK.*

The student 04 is from Lampang Province. She is the single child. Her father comes from Phuket Province while her mother is from Phayao Province. Her family has moved to Lampang since she was not born yet. Her parents decided to divorce when she was 10 years old. At present, she lives with her mother and her aunt in Lampang. Her father has his own chicken, duck, and fish farm. Her mother is a housewife, and she has some land to let some people rent for growing rice. Her aunt is working at Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand. The student 04 has some musical talent because her grandfather plays violin. She therefore has her grandfather as an idol. She has learned how to play violin and sing since she was young.

The student 04 studied at a primary school in Lampang. After that, she has moved to A School since the 7th Grade because her aunt wanted her to study at this school. Her aunt mentioned that she really wanted to study at this school when she was young, but she did not have a chance to do so. She then wishes her niece to be able to study here. Her aunt told her that A School has a good outstanding academic performance, and many students are able to pass university entrance examination to study at Chiang Mai University. The student 04 decided to choose English – French Program because she likes studying languages and does not like science and math subjects. Her mother and her aunt used to force her to study Science – Math Program because there are more opportunities to choose for future career. Her mother wanted her to be a doctor. They even used to quarrel together. She has tried to explain that she did not really like and was good at science and math subjects. Moreover, she also did not want to be a doctor and she insisted to choose English – French Program. She firstly stayed at

a dormitory with a friend. Her mother was quite worried, and she often visited her and called her every day because she was afraid that the student 04 would not be able to stay independently. At home, her mother and her aunt do not have any specific rules and regulations. However, she needs to sleep before 9:00 pm and she is allowed to use computer for a period of time. If she has any problems and anything that she is worried about, she can consult with her mother for almost everything.

The student 04 has chosen Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University as the first choice because the university is located close to her cousin's house in Bangkok so she can stay here if she passes the university examination to study at Chulalongkorn University. Furthermore, she wants to study in Bangkok because she wants to change a new environment and she wants to get a competitive experience to practice her enthusiasm. In addition, she wants to excel in language because it is very fit for her ability. The student 04 thinks that the reputation of university actually is not the most important thing. Anyone can study at any universities. It actually depends on each person's diligence and capability. However, studying at famous universities would be able to gain better future careers at good companies because some companies pay attention to the institutes that each applicant has graduated. In the future, she wants to graduate master's degree and start working for a period to gain work experience before continue studying Doctoral Degree if needed. Another choice for her is finding some possible scholarships to study abroad.

The student 05: *Science Programme, GPA.3.50 and above, Medical Science, CMU****.***

The student 05 is from Lampang province, the third largest town in the northern Thailand. She has one elder brother. Her parents have their own business (A car dealer). Her brother studies at Faculty of Business Administration, Payap University, a private university in Chiang Mai. When she was young, she lived with her grandmother who taught her that being a girl, one has to be very smart. Her family let her have independence and she can choose whatever she has a desire for. However, as she is a good student, her family expects her to be a medical doctor. Her mother would like her to be a dentist as being a woman, she does not want her to have a tough life being a medical doctor. The student 05 transferred to School A for secondary education level. During her studied in Chiang Mai, she lived with her relatives.

The student 05 chose to study in science stream as she did not like Thai language, social science and language. The subjects that she liked most were mathematics and science. She did not make good grade in English. The student 05 was tutored both from teachers in her school and tutorial school throughout her secondary school years. Since she loved mathematics, she preferred to study economics. She took the direct examination at Faculty of Accounting at Chulalongkorn University. She passed the written exam but did not go for the interview as she was a standby and was not sure if she could pass the interview exam. During this time, there was an opening for the quota examination of Chiang Mai University. She applied to take the exam and chose Faculty of Medicine as her first choice and Faculty of Dentistry as her second choice. She also thought that if she chose other faculties other than these two, she would rather go to study in Bangkok. After finishing her quota examination, the student 05 thought that she might be selected to study

at Faculty of Dentistry. However, the result of the exam showed that she got into Faculty of Medicine and this was not what she had anticipated. She chose Chiang Mai as all her family members agreed and the university is close to home. However, while waiting for confirmation from Clearing House system, she went to take a test at Thammasart University, Faculty of Economics and she passed the exam. She did not go for the interview as she did not have any of her friends with her. In addition, she submitted her score of GAT PAT to Chulalongkorn University, Faculty of Accounting and she was accepted but did not go for the interview as then she already made up her mind that she wanted to be at Chiang Mai University. This is because her male relatives' study to be medical doctors and if she chose this faculty, she would be the first female doctor in the family. She wants her family to be proud of her and majority of students who pass the examination to Faculty of Medicine usually do not give up their right. They all decide to study in this faculty. For her exam preparation, she was not very worried as she has been tutored all along both at the tutorial school and her own school as well as read by herself at home.

For Thai education system, the student 05 thinks that the best system is the one with the direct examination from each institute. This is because the exam questions are related to the Faculty the students choose to study. The examinations for GAT PAT are quite difficult. The PAT examination is not that difficult as the subjects tested are what she learns at school. However, the GAT exam was the exam which students need to apply their knowledge and it requires complex and complicated steps. These are not taught in school. In order to pass the GAT exam, one must be tutored. In the future, the student 05 has not decided what special field of medicine she will concentrate on. Her goal is to graduate with a secure job, good salary which she can support her family. She

would like them to live comfortably. The factors contributing to her success are various like her parents who support her study, society and school environment as well as teachers, friends. Though the student 05 does not live with her parents but with her relative, she manages to have a strong determination in her study. This is because she wants to be successful by getting into the university as she dreams and wants her parents to be proud of her.

The student 06: *Science Programme, GPA.3.50 and above, Medical Science, CMU.*

He is from Tak Province. His father opens his own medical clinic. His mother is a government official working as a doctor at a hospital in Mae Sot. He has two sisters. The oldest one has graduated from Faculty of Medicine; CMU and she is now working at Suan Dok Hospital. Another sister is now studying at the third year at Faculty of Medicine, CMU. Before the student 06 moved to study at School A, he had attended a famous school in Tak Province. After he has finished primary school, his father took him to study at school A because both of his sisters used to study at this school. His father told him that this school has a great academic educational system, and this should help him to have an excellent education for his future.

The student 06 has had outstanding grades so far. He studies and plays just as other teenagers. He generally reads only one day before the exam. This is because he does not like reading. He cannot read for a long time. However, he fixes this problem by trying to understand the content in the classroom. He also takes some extra tutorial classes outside. He thinks that he is a person who has a good memory and a fast learner.

He personally like to study physics, but he is not good at English because he is afraid of speaking out. During his studied at school A he stayed at a dormitory. His parents prefer him to take care of himself. There are some rules at his home for example, he needs to take shower before 8:00pm, go to bed early and wake up early, and this makes him very self-discipline. He chooses to study science-math program because he likes physics. However, his father does not agree about this plan. Anyway, he recently wants to be a doctor because his grandmother passed away. This point makes him believe that his parents would definitely get old and sick some days so he would like to take good care of his parents.

He chose to study Faculty of Medicine at Chiang Mai University, and he gave reason not to study in Bangkok because it is too crowded. He wants to focus on Sports Medicine because he wants to work in a famous football team abroad (Manchester United). Furthermore, his father specialises in obstetrics. His mother works particular in ophthalmology. His oldest sister excels in anaesthesiology, so he wants to specialise in something different. However, he sometimes also wants to study about heart in particular as he believes that more and more people are now having heart disease. He wants to be able to do many things which are helpful for people.

The student 06's family believe that university reputation is not the main point. One can study at any medical schools in any universities. Khon Kaen University recently had a direct path exam for Faculty of Medicine, so he decided to attend this exam. He thought that the exam was quite difficult, and he finally did not pass it. Then, there was Chiang Mai University Quota Exam, he chose Faculty of Medicine as the 1st choice as and Faculty of Dentistry as the 2nd choice. Fortunately, he was able to pass to study at Faculty of Medicine. It was actually beyond his

expectation and this made everyone in family proud of his success. In the future, he wants to be a government official working at a hospital either at Tak or Chiang Mai Province.

For university entrance exam preparation, he has been prepared for it since the first day of studying year 12. Trying to make the most on understand each class during the day so he would have some relaxing time when going back home e.g., playing computer games. He just read more a little bit at night and does not push some stress on himself. He reads books every day and attends some tutorial classes at a cram school with his friends. His father also helps him on making some brief notes on biology for him to read. He believes that the main successful point for him comes from himself. He needs to be diligent, patient and responsible although he stays at a dormitory. He has set his obvious goal and he goes for it. This has made his parents very proud of him. In addition, his family members, i.e., father, mother and his sisters also help him in some issues. His father helps him on some subjects. His mother sometimes calls him and pushes him to study hard and read books every day. His sisters have suggested him how to properly well-prepare himself for examination and which subjects that he needs to focus on. Moreover, teachers at schools also have important roles. Teachers have organized some tutorial classes for students and introduce some prospective universities for students to choose properly. Finally, he thinks that his friends are also important because everyone has encouraged others to read books and study hard.

The student 06 is very satisfied with Quota Examination system because the examination is not complicated. However, he believes that GAT and PAT are the confusing points. He does not understand why it is needed to take GAT and PAT for many times. Furthermore, there are still some problems for Admission Examination especially for O-Net scores. Many

O-Net examinations have some problems, and this make students need to re-take the exam which is considered very time-consuming.

The student 07: *Science Programme, GPA.3.50 and above, Medical Science, Prestige University in BKK.*

The student 07 is a male student who studies at A School. He comes from Lampang Province and lives with his parents and his two siblings. His father is an engineer working at Mae Moh Electric Power Plant. His mother has her own business by opening a ceramics factory. His older brother is now a senior at Faculty of Engineering, Chiang Mai University. The student 07 has moved to Chiang Mai since he studied at the 7th Grade. He stays at a dormitory. He decided to study at A School because his father is the school alumni network in Bangkok so he believed that studying at this school should be good as well. At first, his mother did not want him to move because it is very far from home, but she eventually allowed him to go. The student 07 has always received good grades with GPA 4.00 since the 1st Grade until present. The student 07 is also a representative of National Chemistry Olympiad and he has received the golden prize.

The student 07's family is quite strict and teaches him to be self-discipline. For example, when he was young, there are some rules in the house that he could use computer only 2 hours per day and he could not access to some websites. His mother often read some books for him and let him watch Disney cartoon. She also teaches him to draw some pictures and listen to some English songs. His father lets the student 07 see some documentaries and allows him to make his own decision under the student 07's father advices. The student 07 is close to everyone in

the family. His family members are Christian, so he is taught to put himself in someone else's shoes.

According to the first interview, his father wants the student 07 to study Faculty of Medicine while his mother wants him to study Faculty of Architecture because the student 07 is good at drawing and have good thoughts on designing. However, the student 07 personally wants to study science especially biology because he wants to be a scientist. He also wants to use all the knowledge that he has studied to do some experiments and teach other people as an instructor in the future. The student 07 is now planning to participate to take Thai Government Scholarship Examination. His first choice is Faculty of Science and the second choice is Faculty of Medicine, Mahidol University. He wants to study until Doctoral Degree and then work as a university instructor.

For the second interview, M.105 has chosen to study at Faculty of Medicine, Mahidol University via Academic Olympiad Program and he needs to compete with other students who have joined academic Olympiad as well. He previously took Japanese Government Scholarship examination, but he did not pass the examination. Then, he has passed Chulalongkorn University Direct Entrance Examination to Faculty of Science, but he eventually disclaimed this choice. After that, he attended Thai Government Scholarship Examination and chose to study Biopolymer. However, after having discussed with his parents and also received some comments from his parents' friend working in biotechnology field, the student 07 decided to choose to be a doctor because this occupation looked very trustworthy and has a good image in Thailand. He thinks that he would start from studying Faculty of Medicine firstly. Then, he would see what field that he wants to be specialized for continuing on Master and Doctoral Degrees. After that, he wants to be an instructor and researcher.

The student 08: *Arts Programme, GPA.3.5 and above, Political Science, Prestige University in BKK.*

The student 08 seems to have high self-confidence. She considered herself as non-religious, which is rare in Thai society. Like her older sister, she has been to Canada for a year during her upper-secondary school via the Rotary Exchange Programme, and this overseas living and studying experiences may have given her more self-confidence and a different perspective from other Thai youth at same age.

Her dream is to go back to either Canada or the US for undergraduate study. However, her mother does not agree with her; her mother would like her to study in Thailand for her undergraduate degree. She claimed that one of the reasons why her mother does not want her to study for an undergraduate degree abroad is because she is afraid that the student 08 would become too westernised or move too far away from her roots in Thai culture. Therefore, she has decided to aim for an elite university in Thailand for her undergraduate study.

A father of the student 08 is a police officer and her mother is a human resource officer in the private sector. Like other Thai students from middle class families, the student 08 has participated in some extracurricular activities such as piano and taekwondo classes. The student 08 asserted that her mother plays an important role in her education and has the most power in the family. She has been told by her mother that the reputation of the university you graduate from is a key to getting a good job. Her passion is to become a diplomat or work in a consulate or in the United Nations. Currently, the student 08 is studying in the Faculty of Political Science, Department of Government at Chulalongkorn University, the oldest and most highly reputed university in Thailand.

The student 09: *Science Programme, GPA.3.50 and above, Pharmacy, CMU.*

The student 09 was born in Chiang Mai Province. She lives with her parents and her sister. Her father graduated master's degree from the USA, and he used to be a government officer working in Bangkok. Now, he has already retired and opened a mini mart in Chiang Mai. Her mother graduated from Faculty of Economics, Chiang Mai University. At present, she has opened a shop selling furniture because her parents have a furniture factory. Her sister is now studying at Faculty of Humanities, Chiang Mai University. Before the student 09 had moved to study at A School, she used to study at a Catholic private girl's school. There are many strict rules at this school. She said that she was a neat and polite student so many teachers at the school liked her. The student 09 has chosen to study Science – Math Program. She actually did not really know what she wanted to do for an occupation when she was at the 10th Grade. She just thought that she liked chemistry and her grades were eligible to study at this program. Then, she was able to join a one-year high school exchange program when she was at the 11th Grade. She really had a great time and learned many things during the year. After that, she decided to repeat the 11th Grade for another year when she returned back to A School because she was afraid that she would not understand well in each subject's content. That is the reason why she would graduate one year later than her friends. At home, her parents have brought her to learn how to make decision independently. She seldom consults with her parents because they are always working. Her parents and the student 09 would have a chance to spend time together during school break. She once used to feel hurt and upset that her parents did not have time to pay attention or recommend anything for her future studies like other parents did. The student 09 just

sometimes wanted her parents to talk, discuss and give her some advices on some possible faculties that she might choose to study. However, her parents have always supported her to attend any tutorial courses since she was young, but they let her decide by herself on the faculty that she wants to study in university level. She therefore mostly talks and asks her friends who are now studying at the first year of university.

The student 09 decided to study at Faculty of Pharmacy because she likes chemistry, but she has not made a decision on the preferred university yet. She is interested in studying at Chulalongkorn University, Mahidol University and Chiang Mai University. She believes that the reputation of university does have some important roles on getting a good future career. Nevertheless, her parents do not want to go to study in Bangkok because they are afraid that she cannot live on her own without someone takes care of her closely. Her father used to advise her to study cosmetic science. Her father does not want her to be a government officer because being as women might not be successful for this career. Her mother wants her to be a doctor because many relatives of her mother side are doctors. Anyway, they finally let her choose on what she really wants to study.

When the student 09 was young, her father often taught her to read a lot of books. He usually bought her some fable books, and he would read with her if he had free time. The student 09 has a tutor as her idol at a tutorial school because she is professional, good looking and kind. The tutor always taught her not to exploit other people but if others took advantage of her, do not blame them.

The student 10: *Science Programme, GPA.3.50 and above, Pharmacy, CMU.*

The student 10 is a Chiang Mai native but her parents are originally from Central Region. Her mother is a lecturer at Chiang Mai University and her father is an engineer, working for the royal irrigation department in another province. The student 10 is an only child; she said that her mother does most of the parenting job. In addition to that, she mentioned that she is not very closed to her father. Unlike her father, her mother is quite strict with her studying and discipline. Even though her GPA is over 3.5 which is very outstanding, she said her mother still not satisfy because she does not get straight As. Like many Thai students, she spent 4-5 hours a day at cram school for Entrance Exam problem-solving course and about 2 hours and a half for a normal course. School of Pharmacy, Chiang Mai University was her first choice. However, she said that it would be nice to go to other universities but she did not want to wait for the central admission system in April, she preferred taking the Quota exam for CMU in January. In fact, she did not know what she wanted to study but she knew what she did not like which was medical science and Physics. At first her mother mentioned Agro-industry as it requires Biology, not much Physics or Math. But her teacher suggested her that working in Agro-industry might not be very pleasant for her. She thought that Pharmacy might be a better choice. In the future the student 10 would like to work in cosmetics, pharmaceutical factories or do research or run her own chemist shop.

During her upper-secondary school year the student 10 also had one year experience living and studying in the USA via YES Programme.

The student 11: *Science Programme, GPA.3.00-3.49, Law, CMU.*

The student 11 is a native of Chiang Mai Province. She lives with her parents and has a sister. Her father is a policeman, and her mother owns a shopping plaza. Her younger sister is a year 6 student in a public school where the student 11 joined before she went to study in lower-secondary level at School A. The student 11's choice of school was mainly influenced by her mother who believed that, at School A, the student 11 could continue her upper-secondary level without having to sit for another entrance examination. The school is also well-known for its academic and social areas. The student 11 chose the science-math programme which seemed to provide more options when choosing a faculty in university level. (She wanted to study law or engineering). After a while, the student 11 realised that chemistry, physics and biology were not her strong points. Her aim was, consequently, directed towards the faculty of law.

The student 11's family was conservative in some aspects such as dressing and dating. However, she was granted a lot of freedom in other aspects. This is why she is confident and courageous to do what she wants and has become skilful in various areas e.g., sports (horse riding), crafts and music (piano). As for the latter, she has been learning piano since she was very young and wants to get a qualification for piano instructor. She hopes to be a part-time piano teacher while practicing law as a profession.

For her university study, she intended to study law at Thammasat University. To achieve the goal, she studied very hard and was very confident for the upcoming exams. She travelled to Bangkok and had high hope to pass the direct admission exams set by the Faculty of Law, Thammasat University. While waiting for the exam results, she sat in the Northern Quota Entrance Exam for the Faculty of Law, Chiang Mai

University (CMU). Despite her lack of preparation, she passed this exam but failed the one for Thammasat University which she hoped for. She was undoubtedly disappointed but decided in the end to go to CMU which is situated in her hometown. Now, she intends to study hard in order to achieve a first- or second-class honours degree, which will be advantageous for her future career.

Regarding preparation for her exams, the amount of time, energy and devotion that the student 11 gave over to the direct admission exam for Thammasat University is obviously much more than the entrance exam for CMU. However, the result was different from what she hoped. She concluded that the Thammasat exams which tested students with matters of law fence out students from provincial areas as for them - unlike their counterparts in Bangkok, it is difficult to get additional coaching in law subjects.

Factors contributing to the student 11's success include a) her supporting parents who were encouraging and willing to drive her to all her extra tuition classes; b) her uncle who is a solicitor and her inspiration to study law; c) her two relatives who also study law; d) teachers from her old school who encouraged and helped with preparation for exams; and e) her supporting friends. With physical and moral support from these people, the student 11 can now study the subjects of her interest.

The student 12: *Arts Programme, GPA.3.50 and above, Archaeology, Oversea (India).*

The student 12 is a single child and Chiang Mai is his hometown. He lives with his parents. When he was young, he lived with his grandparents because his parents worked in Hat Yai. His grandfather

worked as a university instructor. Before the student 12 studied at A secondary school, he had studied at a public primary school at another province until he was at 6th Grade. The student 12 told that he decided to move to study at A school because his mother was an school alumni and she said that this was a good school and located close to the house. The student 12 decided to study English – French program although he has already received good grades including science subjects. However, he does not like science and does not want to be a doctor. His parents also used to study English – French program so that was also a part of reasons making him choose to study this program.

According to the first interview, the student 12 would like to study history major because he loves traveling and reading historical books. Whenever he has a chance to travel abroad, he would prefer to visit historical sites of that country. He wants to study at Silpakorn University because it is a famous university for studying history. However, his first aim for tertiary studies is studying abroad. He thinks India is also another interesting educational destination. Anyway, the student 12 still believes that his English competence is not that good yet. So, he is planning to improve his English skills and would study abroad for master's degree. The student 12 does not want to take Chiang Mai University Quota Examination because he wants somewhere else. Furthermore, the History Major under Faculty of Humanities, Chiang Mai University does not have a well reputation, so he thinks that it is better to study at other universities which are well-known in this field. For future career, the student 12 would like to be an instructor as his grandfather but need to see if there are any available job positions or not. If he cannot find the way to be an instructor, he might open his own business, but he does not know what kind of business that he wants to do at this moment. The student 12 also wants to study until Doctoral

Degree and graduate abroad because this should help him gain more opportunities on working and he can also learn how to live independently in other countries. The student 12 family tends to give him freedom and respect on any decision that his has made on his own and always support and give some good advices to him.

At the second interview, the student 12 has decided to study in India. He has already disclaimed his seat for the direct entry examination of Faculty of Humanities, Chiang Mai University and the Admission University Entrance Examination at Faculty of Sociology and Anthropology, Thammasat University. He would firstly start from staying at a Thai temple in India to adjust his daily lifestyle in a new place and environment. He would also study some fundamental subjects and help some chores at the temple. He is planning to study at Delhi University, and he has not chosen a faculty yet. He thinks he might study archaeology. He believes that he would definitely gain a lot of new life experience in India and this should make him independently grow stronger.

The student 13: *Science Programme, GPA.3.00-3.49, Engineering, CMU.*

The student 13 was born in Bangkok. After that, he moved to live in Lampang Province with his parents and sister when he was at a primary school. His father graduated from Faculty of Engineering majoring in computer science, Chulalongkorn University. He is now working for his own business as a computer engineer. His mother graduated from Faculty of Economics, Chulalongkorn University as well. She is now working as a business consultant for some companies and she also has her own business about rubber plantation and a resort. His sister used

to study at Faculty of Communication Arts, Chulalongkorn for 3 years but she resigned to study there because she got a scholarship to study in France. Now, she is working in France.

When the student 13 graduated the 6th Grade in Lampang, he attended an entrance examination at a famous public secondary school in Bangkok and also at A school. He passed the examination at both schools. However, his aunt advised him to study at A school because he had to be very competitive studying at the secondary school in Bangkok and it might not be good for himself. His aunt did not want him to be too stressful on studying. The student 13 then decided to come to study at A school in Chiang Mai and stayed at a dormitory. His mother came to live with him at the first 2 years because she was quite worried about him. Anyway, his mother finally has let him stay alone since the third year (9th Grade). The student 13 has chosen to study Science – Math Program because he wants to be an engineer. He said that his father taught him to use computer and played some brain exercising games since he studied in kindergarten. This has made him really interested in computer engineering. Nevertheless, when he grows up, he feels that it is quite boring for sitting in front of computer always. He then has changed his interest to electrical engineering which he believes that it is more proper for himself. Now, he has aimed to study at Department of Electrical Engineering, Faculty of Engineering, King Mongkut's Institute of Technology Ladkrabang because it is the university which has a good reputation in this area. He told that his mother actually wanted him to study in medical science because he could take good care of his parents if they got sick. So, he thinks that if he really has to study in medical science, he wants to be a military doctor because his aunt is a military doctor.

The student 13 told that his parents had brought him up by letting him make his own decision and they respected on any matters that he had done. If there are any matters that he really cannot make decision on his own, he would definitely consult his parents. His parents have never forced him to do something but on the other hand, practiced him to find some solutions to solve problems with some limitation. For example, when he was young, his mother asked him not to stay up late during weekdays, but she allowed him to sleep late in weekends. His father always teaches him not to insult other people. If he does not want someone to look down himself, he should behave himself well firstly.

In the future, after he graduates tertiary level, he wants to work at Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand because he has known someone working in this organization. He wants to continue studying until master's degree because in his opinion, it is needed for his future career. However, he thinks that it is not necessary to study until Doctoral Degree.

The student 14: *Science Programme, GPA.3.50 and above, Engineering, Oversea (Yunnan, China).*

The student 14 is a male student studying at B School. He comes from Suphanburi Province staying with his parents and his brother. His parents moved to Chiang Mai when he studied at the second year of kindergarten. He firstly studied at a kindergarten near his house until he finished kindergarten level. Then, he has moved to 3 schools until he finally studies at B school with his brother since the upper-secondary level because this school is located close to a cadet cram school so that he does not take too much time on traveling. At that period the student 14 was interested in being as an air force man. He has consulted his

father about his studies, and he is advised to study science-math program because it is good to have some knowledge on science and math subjects. The student 14 always receives good grades. He has received GPA 3.60 for the last 4 semesters. His father has taught him to play some brain training games i.e., chess, crossword, or puzzles.

Nowadays, the student 14's father has his own business on livestock and longan orchards. His mother is a housewife and helps his father do the business. His older brother is now studying cadet at Samut Prakarn Province. The student 14's parents let him make his independent decisions on his studies. At the first interview, the student 14 had already participated the cadet examination but he did not pass the examination. His father suggested that this might not be his suitable ways for his future career. Then, he has changed his mind to attend university entrance examination instead. He has aimed to choose Faculty of Engineering as his first choice of Chiang Mai University Quota Examination. He has also chosen Faculty of Science (Physics Major) as his second choice because he likes physics, and his teacher advises this choice as well. He thinks that it is better to take the examination to pass in any faculties and he can change majoring subjects later if he really does not want to continue studying. The student 14 always consults his parents whenever he comes up with any questions or problems and calls his brother sometimes. In the future, he wants to have his own business and he should look again whether his knowledge is enough for doing own business. If not, he should study more at the higher level like Master or Doctoral Degree and he wants to study abroad.

At the second interview, the student 14 has passed his examination to study at his second choice at Faculty of Science (Physics Major), Chiang Mai University. However, the student 14 decided to choose to study in

Taiwan. The curriculum would study half day and work for another half day. It takes 4 years to finish bachelor's degree and he needs to study Chinese at the first 4 months. After that, he would receive some scholarships without paying any tuition fees. He has discussed with his parents and they allow him to take this grant. However, he comes to find out later that this is a fraud project, and he cannot find a proper faculty to study at tertiary level. The student 14 finally decided to study Chinese in Kunming, China.

The student 15: *Arts Programme, GPA.2.00-2.49, Agricultural Technology, Other public university.*

The student 15 is not original from Chiang Mai. His father is from Rayong Province while his mother was born in Lamphun Province. He has moved to live in Chiang Mai since he studied at the third year of kindergarten. His brother graduated from Faculty of Engineering, King Mongkut's Institute of Technology Ladkrabang. His father is a policeman. His mother has her own business about making candles and clothes. When his family lived in Rayong Province, his parents work at durian and rambutan orchards. Then, he moved to Lamphun Province to study until the second year of kindergarten and after that moved to Chiang Mai eventually. The student 15 seldom stays with his parents. His aunt and his grandmother take care of him because his parents need to work hard. He tried to take an entrance examination to a famous private primary school in Chiang Mai, but he did not pass the examination. Moreover, his family did not have much money at that period because they had just moved to Chiang Mai, so all the things had not settled down properly yet. His father then advised him to study at another private primary school instead and he could take an entrance examination again when he graduated the 6th Grade. After having

graduated the sixth Grade, his brother recommended him to study at A school and his parents also supported this idea. The student 15's parents have brought him up by letting him make decisions on his own although they have set some rules. He would be punished if he breaks the rules. The student 15 once was hit by his parents because he skipped a class. This has made him afraid of skipping classes from that event.

According to the first interview, the student 15 plans to study at Faculty of Architecture because he likes drawing since he was young. He likes to design something as well. So, he talks and discusses with his guidance teacher and the teacher has told him to choose 2 faculties: Faculty of Fine Arts and Faculty of Architecture. After he has searched for more information, he believes that he prefers to study at Faculty of Architecture, but he does not specify on the university. Any universities that he passes an entrance examination would be fine for him because he thinks that the university reputation is not the most important thing for him. However, as the student 15 studies Arts Program, in his opinion, this might be the disadvantage point for him because it is needed to take some science subjects if he wants to study at this faculty. He therefore needs to attend more tuition classes at a cram school.

For the second interview, the student 15 passed the Admission Entrance Examination at Faculty of Agricultural Technology, Mongkut's Institute of Technology Ladkrabang. He decided to study at this faculty for one academic year and he aims to take another entrance examination next year for Faculty of Architecture at the same institute. He wants to graduate bachelor's degree in Architecture Program and then continue master's degree abroad. He has not finalized about his exact future career yet because there are several things that he would like to be for his future occupation.

The student 16: *Science Programme, GPA.3.50 and above, Business Administration, CMU.*

The student 16 is originally from Chiang Mai living with her parents. Her father is a police officer while her mother owns a dress-making business. She has one older sister who graduated with a degree in Communication Arts from Rajabhat University and now works as a stewardess for Nok Air Airline. The student 16 was at one private catholic school during her primary level, then her mother wanted her to move to school A for secondary education level to study at the same school as her sister. Her mother thought that it was a good school. However, for the student 16 herself, she preferred her former school as it is a girl school where she can do whatever she wants. The student 16 chose to study in science programme as there are more choices for her when choosing faculty at the university level than being in the arts programme. She also has a desire to study in the faculty which is related to science. When she was young, she had a lung problem. Her mother then took her to learn how to swim and she became the provincial athlete. She quit when she was in year 6 as the rather devoted herself on study. For her future education, her mother would like her to be a dentist as she once told her mother that she wanted to be a veterinarian, but she was scare of corpse and might not be able to help animals. Her mother then thought that dentist is a good choice and the student 16 likes dentistry a bit too. For father, he would like her to be a police officer as it is a secure job with constant salary and a lot of people love having the rank of the police. However, for the student 16 herself, she would like to study veterinary since she had a dog when she was young. When her dog was ill, she took it to the vet, but her dog was not better. She gave her dog some fish oil vitamin and it was better. This made her want to help animals. She felt happy when her dog was cured. She is still hesitant in what she

wants to study and because she has her mother who usually makes a decision for her. It is thus difficult to make her own decision. The student 16 was raised in the family who treat her like a friend as she could talk about anything. Her mother was quite strict and spunk her when she did something wrong. However, when she grew up, her mother spoke to her. When her mother is upset with her, the mother does not say much. Her mother is quite strict on her study as she would see that the student 16 study every day for two hours a day. On the contrary, for father he is more interested in taking her out going places or mainly going shopping. For her study, it is the mother who usually gives her advice. When she has to take the quota examination to Chiang Mai University, the student 16 chose veterinary as her first favourable choice. Her second choice was Medical Technology and then the last one was Faculty of Science of Mae Fah Luang University. When the result of the exam was posted, she was chosen to study at Mae Fah Luang University which made her very sad and cry. Her mother comforted her that it is okay as she could retake the examination the following year. She gave up her seat at such university as she did not want to go far away from home. Her mother also felt the same. Thus, her father asked to take the examination to be a police officer, but she passed. However, her mother did not want her to be a police officer as she does not see that fit for a woman to be a policewoman. If she were to be a police officer, she had to be away from home for quite a long time. She also would have to study hard and would not be able to return home for six months. Her mother then talked to father and he agreed to let the student 16 choose whatever she wants to do. Thus, she chose to retake the admission examination. For this second examination, she chose Faculty of Business Administration of Chiang Mai University as her first choice. The second choice was Faculty of Economics, Chiang Mai University and the third

choice was Faculty of Science (chemistry) of Chiang Mai University. Her last choice was School of Cosmetic Science, Mae Fah Luang University. The reason that she chose Faculty of Business Administration because she wants to study accounting to be an auditor. This changed from the plan she had at first. The result of the examination was that she passed the exam to be a student at Faculty of Business Administration, Chiang Mai University. She decided to study at this university. When she is a sophomore, she plans to take accounting and if there is a chance, she wants to continue her postgraduate study. For her career, she wants to be an auditor as she likes it and wants to have a job related to what she studies.

For her first exam preparation which was the quota examination, she chose Faculty of Veterinary which only read science subjects like physics, chemistry and biology. She studied every day, went for tutoring, did a lot of exercises and reread a lot. She sometimes did study with her friends. For her admission examination, she chose Faculty of Business Administration as her first choice which made her only focus on English and mathematics as she was required to take only these two subjects. However, she did go for special tutorial and read every day with a lot of exercises to test her understanding. She was quite stressed, and her mother pressured her to read at all times by telling her that if she did not study, she might not pass the exam and might not have a university to go to. Her mother is the key factor which made her successful the most. She is very close to her mother and it is her mother who took her to those tutorial places. At first when she told her mother that she wanted to be a veterinarian, her mother took the student 16 to talk to her friend who was an instructor at veterinarian school. At night, her mother was always with her when she had to study.

The student 17: *Science Programme, GPA.3.00-3.49, Law, CMU.*

The student 17 is a native of Chiang Rai Province. His parents are wholesale merchants of farm produces. His older brother who failed to finish his degree from Phayao University helps out with the family business. He finished primary level from a public school in Chiang Rai. A guidance teacher from that school advised him to sit in an entrance exam for School A in Chiang Mai which is well-known for its high standard of education.

When the student 17 started the first year at his new school, he stayed on his own at a student flat close by. He was nervous and felt uncomfortable being with his classmates who were mostly from better-off families and who spoke in Central Thai language. However, after a while he got used to his new surroundings. When he was in year 9th, his parents separated, and his mother remarried. With this new marriage, he now has a younger stepsister.

Despite his initial intention to study art-language programme, the student 17 chose science-math which was preferred by his teachers, brother and mother. According to them, this programme would offer wider choices when taking university entrance exam. His parents have brought him up to be independent and a physical punishment can be done when he does something seriously wrong. His brother, who made a bad mistake once, always gives him advice on life and living.

Regarding his university study, he decided to take the Northern Quota Entrance Exam for Chiang Mai University. He chose CMU where he was familiar with because he was reluctant to adjust to new environment and wanted to be close to his mother. The Faculty of Engineering was his first choice, followed by the Faculty of Law. As a matter of fact, he preferred the latter as he was interested in law and wanted to be a

deputy governor. He had known one who looked very sober and authoritative and was impressed with such characteristics. Furthermore, he reckoned that the faculty of law gave more career choices compared to the faculty of political sciences. Nevertheless, engineering was put as his first choice as he believed it does not take long to finish the degree and finding jobs should be easier.

The researcher tried to reach the student 17 for the 2nd interview but he was not available as he is now working part-time in a convenient store. However, from the telephone conversation, he passed his entrance exam for the Faculty of Law, CMU.

The student 18: *Science Programme, GPA.3.50 and above, Physics, CMU.*

The student 18 has Hmong ethic group. She lives with her parents and 6 siblings: 3 brothers and 3 sisters. She is the fifth child in the family. Her parents are farmers growing vegetables and radish. Her oldest sister graduated lower-secondary school and now has a small photo shop business working with her husband. Her second sister graduated vocational certificate and now working at Tak Province. Her third brother is now studying vocational certificate about agriculture because he wants to help family business. Her fourth brother is now studying at Chiang Rai Rajabhat University, Faculty of Education majoring in English. Her youngest brother is now studying at an elementary school close to the house. The student 18 has moved to B School since upper-secondary school by having got some advices from her teacher at her previous school. The teacher has told her to come to stay with a family who is looking for a babysitter and the student 18 would be paid for tuition fees. This family has their own business about real estate and also a small

shop. The husband is a lawyer. The student 18 firstly planned to attend an entrance examination at a famous public school but there were limited places. She thinks that the chance would be very little, so she has decided to study at B School. The student 18 has chosen to study Science – Math Programme because she believes that there are more choices of faculties that you can choose to continue studying than Arts Programs.

The student 18 has been brought up to be independent and take care of both herself and family members. She would be punished if she has done something wrong or has broken rules. Anyway, her parents give her freedom on making own decision. They also want her to study as high as possible so that she can have a secured job. If the student 18 has any problems, she generally would consult her second sister because she is quite close to this sister. Her parents always support her educational matters. She thinks that she is quite lucky to get a good education comparing to her neighbouring people who are Hmong ethnic group as herself. The student 18 would like to study at school of Education majoring in science, Chiang Mai University. She likes science and she wants to be a good teacher. She also loves to share some knowledge to other people. She was inspired by her childhood teachers.

The student 18 parents let her make her own decision on which field that she wants to continue studying. They would love if she can be a government officer because it is a secured job and family can have some beneficial welfare. Anyway, if asking what the student 18 really wants to be, she wants to be a farmer as her parents. She thinks that it is a job that no needs to be someone's employee and no competition. However, her father tells her do not continue studying if she wants to be a farmer. So, she finally chooses to study at a university. If she cannot pass a university entrance examination at Chiang Mai University,

she would choose Chiang Mai Rajabhat University as her second choice. The student 18 does not think that the university reputation is the most important thing. On the contrary, it depends on each person on how well he or she can gain from studying. She still aims to study at school of Education. If an opportunity opens more for her, she also wants to study master's degree so that she can earn more knowledge to be able to teach young generation in the future.

The student 19: *Science Programme, GPA.2.5-2.99, Social Science, CMU.*

The student 19 is a native of Chiang Mai Province. He lives with his paternal grandparents and his aunt's family ever since his parents separated. After the separation, his father went to work in Bangkok and then passed away. His mother runs a dog breeding farm. His grandfather is a day trader, and his aunt runs an online store. The student 19 went to a municipal school before continuing his secondary level at School A. His grandmother persuaded him to do the entrance exam for this school of which students are well-known for their academic performance. He agreed to give it a try because he wanted to be among good students.

Mr 191 chose to do science-math programme to please his grandfather who would like him to be a doctor. He was told that he had always done well in class and was convinced that he could study medicine and look after his grandparents when they get older. However, he changed his mind after being in School A for a while as he realised that there are a lot of students who are much better than him. He was reluctant to tell his grandfather for fear that he would be very disappointed. When he was younger, Mr 191 often had a row with his grandfather because of the age difference. Once, he felt very hurt when his grandfather forbade

him to play football although he was a really good player. He was upset but understood that his grandfather wanted him to focus on his study. He is really close to his aunt who gives him advice about everything. His aunt always tells him to focus on his study and obey his grandfather who, when it comes to the school matters, can spoil him and give him rewards for getting good GPAs.

During the interview, Mr 191 aimed to go the Faculty of Architecture, Chiang Mai University as he was inspired by his mother's sister who is an architect. He does not like chemistry but enjoys designing and is rather artistic. He likes to be independent so this area of study should suit him well. He had thought about going to Silpakorn University in Bangkok but wanted to be close to his grandfather. When his grandfather was told about his choice of faculty, he got upset but after having a word with his aunt, he came to terms with it but requested that the student 19 do his study in Chiang Mai.

The student 20: *Arts Programme, GPA.2.00-2.49, Law, Open University.*

The student 20 originally comes from Lamphun, a small neighbouring city of Chiang Mai. His parents are doing agricultural business in Lamphun. He moved to study in Chiang Mai since primary level, year 3. During his stay in Chiang Mai, he lived with his mother and older brother. After finishing primary school, he was encouraged by his parents to move to school A, which is one of the most competitive schools in the northern region. When he was in upper-secondary level, he firstly chose to study in Science-Math Programme due to his mother's advice. He further claimed that his mother also promised to buy him a motorcycle

if he chose to study in this programme. Nevertheless, he finally changed his mind and decided to be in Art-Math Programme.

Apart from his study life, he loves to play football. He said he started to play and seriously learn this sport since he was a little kid, with strong support from his father. Currently, he is a member and play as a centre for Chiang Mai Football Club. He said that by seriously playing football, he could use his football talent to get an opportunity to study in university since most of universities usually provide the admission for sports talents.

When asking about his study plan after secondary school, at the beginning he chose political science as his priority choice, followed by law. The universities that he would like to get in are Chiang Mai University and Thammasat University. Although School of Political Science and School of Law of Thammsat Univeristy are quite well-known, the student 20 said he prefers to study at Chiang Mai University since it closes to his home, family, girlfriend and friends.

However, when the result of the Northern Quota Entrance Examination came out, he was admitted to study at Maejo University, the oldest agricultural institution in Thailand, located in Chiang Mai province. As a result, he decided to study law at Ramkhamhaeng University, which is one of the two open universities in Thailand located in Bangkok. The reason that he chose this path is because he was afraid of cruel activities for freshmen at Maejo University. Furthermore, he also said that his mother also encouraged him to attend Payap University, a private institution in Chiang Mai (Payap university is the first private college in Thailand outside of greater Bangkok), but he denied it due to its high tuition fees.

The student 21: *Faculty of Science, CMU.*

The student 21 is a female student studying at B School. She lives with her mother and one younger sister in Chiang Mai Province. Her mother is a dressmaker, and her sister is 2 years old. Her father died when the student 21 was in the first grade. When taking the exam to study secondary level at School B, she moved to live in a dormitory with her cousin as the dorm was close to school and she did not have to travel far to go to school. The student 21 studied science programme and was an outstanding student always being the top in her class with average grade point of four terms of 3.82. The student 21 applied for the student loan to help lessen her mother's responsibilities as she did not want her mother to work hard. She plans to continue her loan application until she finishes her undergraduate study. As she excels in her study, she got a scholarship for an outstanding academic performance. The reason she attended School B because her mother graduated secondary education from this school. Her mother also did not want her to go to school which was far from home. From the first interview, the student 21 wanted to study in Faculty of Medical Technology, Chiang Mai University. This is because she once attended the activities provided by the Faculty and this allowed her to picture what she would face and what her future career would be like. She then liked it and thought it suited her most. In addition, she has one older friend who is her inspiration studying in this faculty. For her mother, she rather sees her daughter study in vocational field as both her father and mother graduated from vocational field. However, her mother let her choose her own study and there was no control. Her mother always supports her and reminds her to prepare for the examination. She always asks if she (the student 21) is ready for the exam. There is only thing which her mother forbids her to do – she cannot choose to study in other provinces other than Chiang

Mai. Her mother does not want her to be far from home. This is the reason why she chose to study at Chiang Mai University. She mainly got her information about how and where to apply at counselling centre at her school and then she searched for more information from internet. Some information was from friends or word of mouth or from her mom as she got hers from her friends. The student 21 aims to get her Ph.D. What she has in mind at present is when she finishes her undergraduate degree, she will work for a while. Then, she will apply for a scholarship to study in graduate degrees (master's degree and Ph.D.) abroad. She thinks that when she graduates with higher degree from abroad, she might have the chance of being employed more than others. For her future career, the student 21 would like to be a government officer and if she is more experienced in her work, she would like to have her own clinic.

From the second interview, the student 21 decided to study in Faculty of Science with the concentration on Department of Mathematics and Statistics which was her second choice for the admission examination. Her first choice was Faculty of Economics. The reasons given were that for the quota examination, she chose Faculty of Medical Technology, but she did not get selected because the score for such Faculty was very high. In addition, her counsellor teacher informed her that if she chose to study in health science, her work would be just in that field and she could not go any further to other fields. She then chose Faculty of Economics as her first choice, but she failed. She is studying mathematics and statistics as she does not want to waste time and she wants to graduate as soon as possible so that she can get a job and take care of her mother and sister.

The student 22: *Arts Programme, GPA.3.50 and above, History, CMU.*

Mr 267 is from Chiang Rai living with his parents and he is the only child in the family. His parents sent him to study in Chiang Mai since he was in grade 4. This was because the town that they reside is in a rural area and a new district and the education is not that advanced. He came to Chiang Mai living with his aunt. When he was in grade 4, his father had an accident which he had to stop working to get better. The family thus had a financial problem to support him. The student 22 was then asked to return to Chiang Rai and when he started secondary level, both his parents move to live in Chiang Mai. His father works as a messenger and his mother is a housewife. The reason that the student 22 chose to study in School B is that the school size is small which allows him to do activities and know more people. The more he participates in activities, the more people he knows and there is less competition. He thus chose this school without consulting anyone. Another reason is that his parents let him have his freedom and choice. The student 22 studied arts-mathematics. He is a good student and is the third in his class. His GPA for 4 semesters is 3.60. At first, the student 22 would like to study arts stream with Chinese language as he likes language. However, when he compared the language program of this School B with others, he thought that School B does not stand out much. He, then, chose to study arts stream with mathematics instead. For the first interview, the first study choice that he had in mind was Faculty of Arts with the concentration on Humanities, Chulalongkorn University. However, he assessed himself and did not think that he would be success at such University. He himself would know his ability and how good he could be. He then decided to take the quota examination of Chiang Mai University. His first choice was Faculty of Humanities with the major of history, while the second choice was Faculty of Education with the major of Social Science. This is

because he likes history, reading, watching documentary which his father often let him watch it on tv. He thus thinks history is what he likes best. For the future career, he has a few that he ponders upon. However, at the moment, it is being a teacher though he does not really like being one. He realizes that as he is the third sex which makes it difficult for him to find a job. If he is a teacher, it is likely to have a career path especially to be a tutor. Then, he could further his study for Master and Ph.D. degrees. Eventually, he could be a teacher. Whatever information he got about study mostly came from internet and he also tried to keep up with all the news.

From the second interview, the student 22 had decided to choose Faculty of Humanities with history as a major, Chiang Mai University. It was the quota examination, and this was what he had planned. Before taking the quota examination, he applied to a few universities. He took a direct examination of Khon Kaen and Mae Fah Luang Universities, but he did not pass the exam. He also took an examination of Mahidol University which used the exam paper of National Institute of Education Testing, but he could not use the compatible score for application. The student 22 aims that when he is a sophomore, he would like to study his second undergraduate degree at Chulalongkorn University, Suan Dok Campus, Faculty of Humanities with the major of English. He thought that having two degrees gives him more opportunity in getting a job than others having only one degree.

The student 23: *Science Programme, GPA.3.50 and above, Fisheries Technology and Aquatic Resources, Other public university.*

The student 23 is a native of Chiang Mai. Her parents divorced when she was in the first grade. When she was young, she lived with her mother

but when growing up, she moved to live with her father, older sister and her aunt. She was mostly raised by her aunt and this is because she is not that close to her father. The student 23 is the youngest among the three children. Her elder brother with the same mother but different father is the oldest and already has a family. Her elder sister is a senior at Faculty of Education with a major of French at Chiang Mai University. Her father is a businessman buying secondhand things while her mother does different works for wages. The student 23 is closest to her sister as well as her mother. She always consults her mom whenever she needs to. Her family wanted her to study in a city school when she was in secondary level, so she came to take an examination at one of the state school which close to her house and all her family members wanted her to do so too. However, she did not pass the exam which was why she applied to be at School B. She studied science stream and had been a good student with the average grade point of four semesters of 3.61. Because of this, she got a scholarship when she was in grade 9 and had a student loan from the government. By doing this, she would help lessen her family financial problems. For the first interview, as her parents let her choose whatever she wanted to study, the student 23 chose to study her favourite major which is Faculty of Dentistry. Her sister took her to see a dentist at this faculty, she liked it and wanted to be one and she also thought that being a dentist is a good career with security and she can make it her own business too. She wanted to study in this field at Naresuan University. It was this time that she read a novel which had a setting revealing the university site. This made her want to be a student there. Her sister told her that the campus is quite far away from the city and there’s nothing much to have fun. For the student 23 herself, this did not matter as she is not the one who seeks entertainment. She thus aims to study at the Faculty of Dentistry at

Naresuan University. The student 23 would like to work with the government agency and finish her Ph.D. degree and become a professor or a dentist.

From the second interview of the student 23 She has decided to study at Faculty of Fisheries Technology and Aquatic Resources, Mae Jo University for the direct examination. At first, she submitted the GAT, PAT, and grades to Naresuan University by choosing Faculty of Dentistry and another major was Biology as she aimed. However, she did not get accepted because her scores were lower than they needed. She then took the quota examination for Chiang Mai University by choosing Faculty of Dentistry and Faculty of Science with the major of biology like what she chose at Naresuan University. She failed and thus submitted her grade to the direct system of Mae Jo University for this major. The reason that she chose this faculty because it only required the grade. A few of her friends chose this faculty too. She also had her older friend whose sister studies in this major and she said it was fun. She had to go to a field trip, had a real practice and this made her interested in the field. In the future, she thought about working at her friend's farm or she might further her study. She might be a teacher or have her own fishery.

The student 24: *Arts Programme, GPA.2.50-2.99, IT Business, Rajamangala University of Technology.*

The student 24 is originally from Hod District. He moved to Chiang Mai City since his primary school and had stayed in the school dormitory. He is the youngest of all 3 siblings. The reason why his parents sent him away to the city was that his hometown was in the remote area and the education was substandard. The student 24 was in a public school until

he finished his lower-secondary level. He joined School B as he could not pass the entrance exam to the provincial state school and could not afford to go to another public school.

The student 24's parents own a farming business i.e., chilli and tomato farms, of which he thinks is a hard work. Sharing the same viewpoints, his parents wish their children have an easier life. Influenced by his father and other relatives who took part in local politics, the student 24 wants to be a district chief officer. He reckons that politicians are honoured and advantageous. For such reason, the Faculty of Political Sciences, Chiang Mai University is his first choice. His second choice is the Faculty of Education (Early Childhood Education) as his father would like him to be a teacher. According to his father, teachers are government officers, and it is a permanent and secure career. Also, it is easier to find work as a teacher while the chance is much slimmer for a district chief officer. The student 24 does not expect to get a place in CMU as he believes there are a lot of better students. Reputation of educational institutes, for him, is not a major factor that affects his choice of where to study. If he does not pass the entrance exam for CMU, the student 24 will sit for Rajamangala University of Technology Lanna Northern Campus (IT Business). His other choices include Mae Fah Luang University (Faculty of Law), Chiang Rai Province and Assumption University, Bangkok. The latter was mentioned because of its impressive and numerous gymnasiums and football fields. The student 24 is a very keen on football and dreams of being a professional footballer.

Regarding his life in a boarding school, he found it boring and oppressive. For 9 years, he had to do after-school tutoring from 5-9pm (with an-hour supper break) in weekdays and was not allowed to go out on the weekend unless accompanied by a parent. Even though the

school took students out for swimming or playing football, he felt as if he had been prisoned. After moving to School B, the student 24 does not hang out with his classmates. He spends time with older kids from other classes. With them, he skips classes, plays computer games and his GPAs have been dropped.

The student 25: *Arts Programme, GPA.3.00-3.49, Chinese Language, Chiang Mai Rajabhat University.*

The student 25 was born in Chiang Mai. She has a Haw Chinese background and lives with her parents, two brothers, and two sisters. She is the youngest daughter. Her parents are famers growing strawberries, persimmon, and some vegetables at Samoeng District area. Her oldest brother was a tour guide after he graduated. However, he did not earn much, so he decided to come back to help his parents. Her second brother has just finished master's degree from France. Her sister is now studying at Ramkhamhaeng University. The student 25 has moved to B School since the 10th Grade. She previously studied at a secondary school close to her house and she intentionally did not want to change school. However, her mother suggested her to do so in order to have a better educational opportunity. She has chosen to study English Chinese program because she likes languages. Moreover, her parents do agricultural trades between Chiang Mai and Bangkok and also sending some products abroad especially to China. So, it is better to excel in Chinese so that she can help her family communicate with Chinese people since more and more Chinese people are now coming to do business in Thailand. At present, she stays at a dormitory with her second brother who has just come back from France. The student 25 is very close to brother and she always consults him in educational matters. The student 25's parents have brought their children to take

care of one another and let them make their own decision especially for educational issues in particular. Her parents do not force her to study in any specific field but just want their children to study as high level as possible for better future career opportunity. The parents want every child to have a secured job position which can earn a lot of money more than their present occupation. Anyway, her oldest brother has told her to make the most of studying when she has a chance to do it because there are many children who have not received good education like she has. The student 25 always receives good grades but she is somewhat not satisfied about the grades. She claims that she should do better than this if she can well manage time schedule.

As for the student 25's decision for tertiary education, she would like to study language, so she has chosen to study Faculty of Humanities majoring in Chinese. She has been studying Chinese for several years and she does not want to leave it because Chinese is now one of very important world languages. She can also use Chinese as a tool to top up her family business in the future. As for university choice, she wants to study at Payap University because the university provides a dual degree program. She can study the first year at Payap University and then continue study the second until the fourth year in China. She finally would receive bachelor's degree from both universities. Anyway, her parents have told her that the tuition fees are quite expensive, but her brothers and sister have mentioned to help her on these expenses. In the future, the student 25 wants to be a government official or a university instructor and also help her family business to export products abroad.

The student 26: *Arts Programme, GPA.3.00-3.49, Arts and Architecture, Rajamangala University of Technology.*

The student 26 is the oldest sister with the other 2 sisters from the same parents and she has another sister from the other father. The student 26 was born in Saraburi Province and she has moved to Chiang Mai since she studied at the second Grade. Her mother is working as a dormitory maid while her father is a security guard. The student 26 studies English-Math programme. She has got good grades so far at B School and she has joined an educational loan program.

According to the questionnaire and after having conducted the first interview, the student 26 would like to study at Chiang Mai University and she wants to study at Collage of Arts, Media and Technology majoring in animation because she thinks that it is quite interesting after having heard some stories of her senior class who are now studying at this collage. However, the student 26 used to dream to be a policeman when she was young. In her opinion, being a female policeman looks very smart, but she has changed her mind later because she is not that healthy.

Her parents are quite strict. The student 26 needs to arrive at home on time. The student 26 generally goes back home a little bit late because she is a petanque school athlete. If she goes home very late at night without advanced notice, she would be punished by her father.

The student 26 mentions that B School is a good one and different from other schools. Other people might think that this school has a lot of stubborn students, but she thinks that there are only a small number.

When asking about what are the most important for her life, the student 26 answers that her parents and her studies are very necessary. She wants to study as high as she can because she believes that it is the key

to get an excellent career. The student 26 wants to study until Doctoral Degree so that other people would not insult her family because no one in family has graduated tertiary level. The student 26 thinks that the reputation of institutes is not that crucial because it depends on each person's diligence. The same as future career opportunity, it should depend on each person's performance and efficiency. Her parents do not expect which faculty and university that she would study. However, her father still wants her to study at Chiang Mai University because it is one of famous universities in Thailand. She said everyone in the family should be proud of her if she can make this come true "because I am just only the child of labourer". Her father wants her to study accounting because the owner of dormitory wants someone to help on accounting matters. Anyway, the student 26 does not really like math and she does not like working in accounting, either. When asking about what she thinks about Thailand university entrance examination system, she tells that it is fair enough. The ones who have been studying hard should be able to make the most on examination and they should also accept the outcome rewards.

According to the second interview, the student 26 decided to study at Rajamangala University of Technology Lanna, Faculty of Arts and Architecture, majoring in communication design. The student 26 also participated Chiang Mai University Quota Examination choosing Collage of Arts, Media and Technology but she did not pass the examination.

The student 27: *Arts Programme, GPA.3.00-3.49, Home Economics-Textiles and Clothing, Chiang Mai Rajabhat University.*

The student 27 is a native of Hang Dong District, Chiang Mai Province. He lives with his parents and a younger sister. His father is a post officer, and his mother works in a private hospital. Before continuing his study at School B, the student 27 sought advice from his parents regarding his choices of education. His father backed the vocational stream with which he can easily find jobs when graduating whereas his mother encouraged him to choose what he liked best. So, after he failed the entrance exam for the provincial state school, he chose to do social sciences-art programme at School B which is in Chiang Mai city area and close to his father's workplace.

The student 27's relationship with his parents is very close and intimate. He can be open with them and talk about anything. He is also encouraged to stand on his own feet. He works part-time at a restaurant after school to relieve his parents' financial burden. The student 27 likes arts, crafts and designs. He put Faculty of Fine Arts, Chiang Mai University as his first choice, followed by Faculty of Education. He was not very sure with his first choice as it might not lead to promising career paths whereas he could find jobs more easily with his second choice. However, after speaking to his parents, they advised that he should stick to what he liked. In their opinion, he might find it harder to continue studying in the area that he does not really like and would end up go back to square one. The student 27 decided that he would choose to do what he likes and see what the future will bring. He hopes to continue his study until he gets a PHD. He wants to be a fashion designer and has his own business.

At the2nd interview, the student 27 chose Faculty of Home Economics - Textiles and Clothing, Chiang Mai Rajabhat University. The student 27

had considered doing his study in Taiwan where tuition fees are lower, but his mother was against the idea for fear that he would be swindled and could not come back home. He plans to do a lot of part-time jobs as he believes that work experiences will be advantageous for his future career. He wants to work for other people to gain experiences and connection before starting his own business.

The student 28: *Science Programme, GPA.3.00-3.49, Engineering, Rajamangala University of Technology.*

Mr 274 has a Burmese nationality and Tai ethnic group. He is the single child in family, and he had come to Thailand with his parents since he was 7 years old. They firstly lived in Chiang Rai and then moved to Chonburi before finally came to live in Chiang Mai. His parents work as employees. Mr 274 is considered to be a student with good grades at School B. He studies Science-Math program and always received outstanding grades. His GPA has always ranked top 5 of the classroom so far. He has given reasons that it might be because his family is poor, and he needs to be well-behaved. He has chosen to study B School because of low school tuition fees comparing to other schools.

During the first data collection from questionnaires, Mr 274 mentioned that he would like to study Faculty of Engineering, Chiang Mai University as the first choice and Rajamangala University of Technology Lanna as the second choice. However, when doing the first interview, he decided to study mechanical engineering at Rajamangala University of Technology Lanna as his first choice because the lower tuition fees (Chiang Mai University charges approximately 17,000 Baht per semester for Thai students and charges 20,000 Baht more for foreign students while Rajamangala University of Technology Lanna charges around

7,000 Baht per semester). Apart from money matter, he states that he wants to study at Rajamangala University of Technology Lanna because they emphasize on working in real situations than studying in classroom. His father suggests that studying mechanical engineering is a good choice. At least he should be able to open his own small shop if he cannot get a job in a factory. When he was very young, he really wanted to play car toys, his father did not have money, so he carved a wood to be like a car for him. This is an inspiration for him to create his own car. Since the student 28 studied in 4th Grade, he has done many part-time jobs to earn some money, e.g., working at a car wash. However, when he studies at year 11 – 12, he has asked his parents to stop working part-time jobs, so he is able to focus on university entrance examination. He mostly would consult about his studies from his teachers, his friends at school and search information from internet because his parents cannot give some advices for him on this matter. Anyway, his parents always support him for educational matters. He said he wants to study until Doctoral Degree and goes to study abroad in Japan. His dream future career is working at a car producing factory. He still has some anxiety when thinking about finding some job positions in the future because of his nationality

According to the second interview with Mr 274, he decided to study civil engineering, Rajamangala University of Technology Lanna because his father is now working in construction area. This might be very helpful for his future career.

The student 29: *Science Programme, GPA.3.00-3.49, DN.*

The student 29 was born in Chiang Rai Province. He has one stepbrother from his step farther. His natural parents have divorced since he was 2 years old. His father opens a small shop selling frozen shake in Suratthani Province and his mother is working at Chiang Mai Province. When he was young, he stayed with his aunt in Chiang Rai and studied there until he finished primary level at the 6th Grade. After that, his father asked the student 29 to move to stay with him and study at a main secondary public school of Suratthani Province. The student 29 likes to do many activities at school and he is always a school representative to participate in academic competitions. After having finished the 9th Grade, he decided to come to live with his mother in Chiang Mai because he wants to improve his performance in many aspects. He firstly thought of continue studying at Suratthani Technical College because he wanted to be an electronic technician and he could work and study at the same time. However, the college is located quite far from his house and it takes a lot of traveling time. His father did not allow this idea and wanted him to study Science–Math Program at the same school. So, after he moved to Chiang Mai, he chose the study Science–Math Program because he wanted to be an engineer.

The student 29 told that his aunt taught him to be self-discipline and follow the house rules e.g., he needed to come back home before 6:00 pm and then ate dinner, took shower, did homework, watched television but no later than 8:00 pm. He needed to go to bed after 8:00 pm. This has made him be an orderly person and he does not like someone to order him to do something. However, his stepbrother tries to remind him that although he could study excellent and have the best educational performance but if he does not learn how to properly socialize with other people, it could make his life difficult eventually. It is better to balance

his studying and personal life. In addition, he feels indifferent about his parents' divorce because he believes that everyone has his or her own personal decision. His natural parents want him to graduate bachelor's degree and applying for a government official position because it is a secured job. On the other hand, he prefers to work as an engineer.

The student 29 has chosen Mechanical Engineering, Faculty of Engineering at King Mongkut's Institute of Technology Ladkrabang because it is one of best reputation institutes for studying engineering. However, the student 29 actually wants to be a programmer but he does not have any background knowledge about this field so it must be quite difficult for him. That is why he decided to study mechanical engineering. He likes to practice more than study in a classroom. He does not like reading books, but he prefers to do it right away. Moreover, the student 29 has also applied to attend Naresuan University Direct Entry Entrance Examination to study biomedical engineering because it is a new major and there are not many people who are studying at present. In the future, he wants to continue studying until Doctoral Degree and then find a job. If he finally cannot find a job, he might do his own business.

The student 30: *Arts Programme, GPA.3.50 and above, English language, Chiang Mai Rajabhat University.*

After finished lower-secondary education, the student 30 moved to study in Chiang Mai city and lived with her aunt. Her hometown was in Hod, a district in the southern part of Chiang Mai Province. Her ethnicity is Lua. Her parents work for national park in Hod. She said that she made the decision herself for coming to study in the city. She believed that this would make her get used to with life and social surrounding in the city

that she would surely face when she attends university after finishing the high school. Her parents supported her decision since the majority of students in her hometown, who continue studying usually move to the city to attend secondary schools.

Although her parents do not have high education, they are really concerned about her study. They always encouraged her to do homework and be a good student. More importantly, they both expect her to attend university. Therefore, she always got good grades in school. During her study in secondary school, she chose to study in Arts programme. She said that at first, she chose to study in Science-Maths Programme due to her teacher's advice, but she finally changed her mind because of her friend's advice, and she found herself more interested in language rather than science and maths. Therefore, she decided to attend the Arts-Chinese Programme. Regarding her school life, she was quite excited when she first came to school since she did not know anyone and felt that she was different from others. For example, she worried that she would speak Thai-Northern language in Lua dialect. Despite her anxiety, she did a very good job by always getting good results in the school.

In the Northern Quota Entrance Examination, she chose Chiang Mai University, faculty of Education, majoring in Thai, which is quite competitive as her priority choice, and Rajabhat Chiang Mai University, faculty of Education, majoring in English, as the latter. However, she failed to attend Chiang Mai University. Hence, she is currently a freshman at Rajabhat Chiang Mai University. Although she was disappointed, this could make her family so proud of her since it could help her achieve her career goal to be a teacher in the near future. However, during her study in the university, she found that majoring in

English is quite difficult for her, so that she plans that she might request for moving her major to Chinese in the next semester.

Moreover, since she is not from the family with high-income, she had to take a lone to fund her study. Right now, she also works part time job as a cashier in the department store. Furthermore, she said that if she had a chance, she would like to work abroad since she thought that it could help her make more money and increase the family income. She also claimed that if it is possible, she would like to study master's degree in order to get a good job and pride.

The student 31: *Arts Programme, GPA.2.50-2.99, Home Economics, Chiang Mai Rajabhat University.*

The student 31 grew up in a Lua community in Hod District, a remote rural area in Chiang Mai province. Both of her parents are famers. Her ethnicity is Lua.

After she finished lower-secondary education she moved to Chiang Mai to study. Due to the fact that her previous school was located in her home district she has only kindergarten to lower-secondary level. Despite this, she has asserted that coming to the city would give her more opportunities in pursuing higher education and exploring new things.

However, she mentioned that truthfully, she did not want to attain an academic education; she was interested in vocational education. By following what her friend did, she decided to continue her upper-secondary level at B school. "…truthfully, I didn't want to study in academic stream. At first, I wanted to study in the vocational field. It was that I think like what the country people would think. We didn't think much. We think that it's better to study in academic field. Actually,

I just followed what my friend did." While she was studying in B school she lived in a dormitory with her friend from the same district.

Besides being interested in accounting, she also would like to be a teacher that is because three of her relatives are teachers, and they told her that being a government officer is beneficial. It is more secure than other occupations. Regarding her concern about her family's financial situation, she also had an idea of taking a break from study and going to work in the jewellery industry in Bangkok. By doing this, her younger sister could have full support in her secondary education.

Currently Mean is studying in the Faculty of Science and Technology, Department of Home Economy at Chiang Mai Ratjabhat University. However, she is going to withdraw from her course in this semester.

Notes: Lua were the first group of hill tribe minorities who migrated to Chiang Mai. In Thailand, the term 'hill tribe' refers to the ethnic minority groups living in the mountains. Each hill tribe has its own language, customs, way of dressing and beliefs. Most of hill tribes in Thailand migrated from Tibet, China, Myanmar, or Laos over the past 200 years.

In Thailand, farmers have the lowest income, lower than 120,000 Baht or 2,372 GBP yearly, and the lowest rate of obtaining college degrees, only around 1 %. This compare with the middle class whose average yearly income is almost three times more, while the percentage of the middle class obtaining a college degree is around 53 %. (In terms of income, the middle class refers to professional, technical, and administrative workers plus clerical, sales, and service workers. For college graduation rates, the term middle class can be defined as legislators, senior officials, managers, professionals, technicians, and clerks.) (National Statistical Office, 2005)

The student 32: *Science Programme, GPA.3.00-3.49, Work.*

The student 32 is a Tai ethnic group. She lives with her parents and brother. Originally, they lived in Myanmar but there were a conflict and clash. It was very difficult to earn for a living there. Her father then decided to move to Thailand when the student 32 was only 2 years old. They firstly came to Chiang Mai working in an orchard in Fang District. After that, moving to Bangkok for around a year and eventually returned back to Chiang Mai. At present, her father works in construction field. Her mother used to be a housekeeper at Department Store, but she has to quit the job after having her son. The student 32's brother is still only 6 months old. So, now her father needs to be responsible to earn money for the whole family. All of family members have not got Thai nationality yet. When the student 32 firstly moved here, she had not got a Thai name yet. Her teacher at a primary school then helped her to name in Thai and also processed all documents to be able to accept her to study at the school. After having finished the elementary school, the student 32 took an entrance examination to the girl's main secondary school of the city because her acquaintance studied here but she did not pass the examination. She finally chose to study at B School. The student 32 studies Science – Math Programme because many of her friends has chosen to study this programme and she also believes that there are more ways for herself to study in higher level than Arts Programs although she does not really know what she wants to be at present. When she finished the 7th Grade, her father used to recommend her to study vocational field. Her father told her that there are many job positions available once she finished vocational certificate or if she wished to continue doing a college diploma, she could work and study at the same time. However, the student 32 did not want to choose as

suggested since there were some of her friends who studied this field but did not graduate finally because bad friends led to bad behaviour.

At this moment, the student 32 is quite worried about her tertiary studies opportunity because her family has some financial problems. Her mother wants her to help her father after graduating secondary education while her father prefers the student 32 to continue studying because both of the student 32's parents do not have a high education. If the student 32 graduates bachelor's degree, she might be able to get a secured job to help family. The student 32 still hesitates whether she should help her father do some work to support her family or continue studying. She is quite sad to see her father work very hard for family. She wants to use the government student loan, but she is not eligible because she does not have Thai nationality. Anyway, if she finally can study at a university, she wants to study Nursing, Chiang Mai University because she wants to be a government officer. It is a very secured job, and her parents are also able to gain some of medical welfare. Her second choice is study at school of Nursing, Chiang Mai Rajabhat University. However, if she cannot pass the entrance examination, she would quit and start finding some jobs to work to help her family.

Appendix E: Research Information Sheet

The University of Nottingham, UK

Research Information Sheet

Higher Education Opportunities and Career Choices of Thai Youth

You are invited to participate in a research study of Higher Education Opportunities and Career Choices of Thai Youth. The purpose of this study is to examine the pattern of decision-making and the impact of cultural capital on Thai students' choices of education and career after graduation from secondary education.

You should only participate if you want to; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way. Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important for you to read the following information carefully.

PROCEDURES FOR THE STUDY

A parental consent form (if you are under 18 years of age, the signed consent of a parent or guardian will be required), participant consent form, and a questionnaire about higher education and career choices will be administered to you first.

It may take you about 15 minutes to complete the questionnaire. Within this questionnaire, you also will be asked to report your demographic information. Then you will need to leave your brief contact information if you are interested in being an interview participant.

Some students will then be invited to participate in an in-depth interview. During the interview, you will be encouraged to share with me your life experience, your thought and value of education, and your study choice. Each interview will last approximately one hour and will be audio-recorded. Therefore, in signing the attached consent form, you agree to give permission for me to audiotape and analyse the interviews for research purposes only.

Each participant will be interviewed 3 times: 1) a one-to-one interview during July-August 2012, 2) a phone interview during October 2012, and 3) a one-to-one interview during January-March 2013. Also, participants will choose the interview place, although the place should be an easily accessible public place within a safe environment.

Transcripts, using anonymous quotation, will be sent back to you to re-check the content and sign your approval. Also, when the researcher transcribes the interviews, the researcher will alter specific details that could make a participant or any third party identifiable. However, the researcher will ensure that the altered details will not change the meaning of participants' words in any way.

RISKS OF TAKING PART IN THE STUDY

There are no foreseeable risks or harms in participating in this study. Your responses to the questionnaire or interview will not have any impact on you or your academic grades in anyway.

CONFIDENTIALITY

The information you provide will be kept confidential and used in this project only. Your identification will not be disclosed inside or outside the project. Any excerpts from the data will be presented with pseudonyms, letters of the alphabet, or numbers representing you as subjects. All information collected through questionnaires and interviews will only be accessed and viewed by the researcher, and her supervisors if requested, and will remain strictly confidential. The data will be kept securely. At the end of the project, all the data will be destroyed.

CONTACTS FOR QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS

If you have any queries about the project, please feel free to contact me either by email or phone call. The researcher's contact information is listed as follows:

Researcher: Chanoknart Wongburanavart

Tel: +66 81 8837905; +44 74141 85385

Email: ttxcw27@nottingham.ac.uk

If you would like to talk to supervisors of the researcher about this project, please contact:

Supervisor1: Professor John Holford

Email: John.Holford@nottingham.ac.uk

Supervisor2: Dr. Sarah Speight

Email: Sarah.Speight@nottingham.ac.uk

If you want to make any complaints on ethical grounds of this project, please contact:

Department: School of Education Research Ethics Coordinator

Email: educationresearchethics@nottingham.ac.uk

COVER LETTER TO HEADTEACHERS

The University of Nottingham

School of Education

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Wollaton Road
Nottingham
NG8 1BB
Tel: +44(0)741418 5385
+66 (0)818837905
Email:ttxcw27@nottingham.ac.uk

Date

Title

Dear (name of headteacher)

My name is Chanoknart Wongburanavart, a lecturer in the School of Education, Chiang Mai University. Currently I am doing a PhD at the School of Education, University of Nottingham, UK. As part of my PhD dissertation, I am conducting a research study to explore the impact of cultural capital on Thai students' choices of education and career after graduation from secondary education.

I am hoping to collect data from year 12 students at your school. Therefore, I am writing this letter to request your permission to carry out research in your school during the first and second terms of 2012. This will include a questionnaire for up to 150 pupils (about 15 minutes to complete) and interviewing up to 12 pupils (for about an hour each). Exactly how I do this is a matter for discussion and agreement with you, but what I would suggest is as follows. During the first term I should like to use one period of a Guidance class to introduce myself, talk about my research, distribute parental and participation consent forms, and distribute questionnaires for participants to fill out at home. I shall leave a mailbox in each class for pupils to return their consent forms and questionnaires within a week. After that some pupils (up to 12 pupils) will be invited to participate in a one-to-one interview at a time to suit their convenience. The interviews will need to be conducted in three parts: 1) a one-to-one interview during July-August 2012, 2) a phone interview during October 2012, and 3) a one-to-one interview during January-March 2013.

With this letter I also enclose a Research Information Sheet, a Sample of Cover Letter from School to Parents, a Parents' Consent Form, a Participant Consent Form, and a sample of the questionnaires and interview questions. If you have any questions concerning the research study, or if you would like me to visit you to explain this study further, please call me on +66 (0) 81 883 7905, +44 (0) 741 418 5385 or email me at ttxcw27@nottingham.ac.uk. Alternatively, you are invited to contact my supervisors:

1) Professor John Holford (John.Holford@nottingham.ac.uk),

2) Dr. Sarah Speight (Sarah.Speight@nottingham.ac.uk).

I should greatly appreciate your permission to do this research and I look forward to hearing your response.

Yours sincerely,

Chanoknart Wongburanavart

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Project title: Higher Education Opportunities and Career Choices of Thai Youth

Researcher's name: Chanoknart Wongburanavart

Supervisor's name: Professor John Holford & Dr. Sarah Speight

- I have read the Participant Information Sheet and the nature and purpose of the research project has been explained to me. I understand and agree to take part.

- I understand the purpose of the research project and my involvement in it.

- I understand that I may withdraw from the research project at any stage and that this will not affect my status now or in the future.

- I understand that while information gained during the study may be published, I will not be identified, and my personal results will remain confidential.

- I understand that my personal data given in a questionnaire will remain confidential and will only be accessed and viewed by the researcher, supervisors, and examiners if requested. However personal information on participants, that could identify them, will remain anonymous at all times.

- I understand that I will be audio-taped during the interview.

- I understand that interview data will be securely stored in forms of hard and electronic copies of transcripts. All information collected during interviews will only be accessed and viewed by the researcher, supervisors, and examiners if requested, and remain strictly confidential.

- I understand that I may contact the researcher or supervisor if I require further information about the research, and that I may contact the Research Ethics Coordinator of the School of Education, University of Nottingham, if I wish to make a complaint relating to my involvement in the research.

Please indicate your will by X in the appropriate box.

1) Are you willing to participate in a survey? ☐ Yes ☐ No

2) Are you willing to participate in an in-depth interview? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Signed …… (research participant)

Print name …… **Date** ……

Contact details

Researcher: *Chanoknart Wongburanavart*

(+66 81 8837905; +44 74141 85385; ttxcw27@nottingham.ac.uk)

Supervisor: *Professor John Holford (John.Holford@nottingham.ac.uk)*

Dr. Sarah Speight (Sarah.Speight@nottingham.ac.uk)

School of Education Research Ethics Coordinator:

educationresearchethics@nottingham.ac.uk

PARENTAL CONSENT FORM

Project title: Higher Education Opportunities and Career Choices of Thai Youth

Researcher's name: Chanoknart Wongburanavart

Supervisor's name: Professor John Holford & Dr. Sarah Speight

- I have read the Participant Information Sheet and the nature and purpose of the research project has been explained to me. I understand and give consent for my child's participation.

- I understand the purpose of the research project and my child's involvement in it.

- I understand that my child may withdraw from the research project at any stage and that this will not affect my child's status now or in the future.

- I understand that while information gained during the study may be published, my child will not be identified, and personal results will remain confidential.

- I understand that all personal data given in a questionnaire will remain confidential and will only be accessed and viewed by the researcher, supervisors, and examiners if requested. However personal information on participants, that could identify them, will remain anonymous at all times.

- I understand that my child will be audio-taped during the interview.

- I understand that interview data will be securely stored in forms of hard and electronic copies of transcripts. All information collected during interviews will only be accessed and viewed by the researcher, supervisors, and examiners if requested, and remain strictly confidential.

- I understand that I may contact the researcher or supervisor if I require further information about the research, and that I may contact the Research Ethics Coordinator of the School of Education, University of Nottingham, if I wish to make a complaint relating to my involvement in the research.

Signed …… (research participant)

Print name …… **Date** ……

Contact details

Researcher: *Chanoknart Wongburanavart*

(+66 81 8837905; +44 74141 85385; ttxcw27@nottingham.ac.uk)

Supervisor: *Professor John Holford (John.Holford@nottingham.ac.uk)*

Dr. Sarah Speight (Sarah.Speight@nottingham.ac.uk)

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