

Chapter 1

Profiles of Students and Graduates of STOU: Summary of Interviews

Introduction

Followings are summaries of 46 picked-up intensive interviews which we made in Thailand in November and December, 1989. Those cases are chosen because we made intensive interviews with STOU students and graduates and interview records can provide rich information about typical STOU students and graduates. Each case shows interviewee's social and educational backgrounds, learning activities at STOU, and their evaluation of programs at STOU.

Interview sites were Bangkok, Chiangmai, Songkla, and all the interviews are made with Thai-English interpreters. After the interviews, researchers kept records of summaries of interviews in Japanese. Then we made following summaries translated from those Japanese summary into English. Mr. Yutaka Nakayama translated those texts into English.

1. Classification of STOU Students and Graduates

Before showing the summaries of interview cases, it is informative to overview some typical STOU student and graduate profiles. We can classify three types of STOU students and graduates from their social backgrounds.

First type is found from those who had already completed higher education before they entered STOU. Cases 3, 11, 40, and 44 are typical of those. Case 11 shows that a university professor in medical science began administrative study when he was appointed as a dean in his university. Case 44 also indicates that a lecturer at a medical college studied communication study at STOU to obtain knowledge about editing when she was appointed as an editor of her college newspaper. These two cases show a good evidence that learning at STOU provides practical skills and knowledge highly enough for highly educated people. They also indicates that STOU's convenience to learn give opportunities for those busy people to find time to learn for their new jobs.

Second type of STOU student and graduate profiles is, on the contrary, those who

had not had chance to learn at university when they were young. Cases 1, 2, 5, 20, 24, 31, and 37. Most of those people are in middle or older ages. When they were young, their family are poor or due to other reasons, they lost chance to go to university. Of those, some had waited long for distance higher education institutions like STOU was established to have their second chance to learn at university.

Some of them (Case 1, 2, 5, 37) are public or semi-public employees. In their workplace, degrees from university education give them chances to be promoted or eligibility to take examination for promotion. Thus, it is very clear why they seek for higher education at STOU at their middle age. They are also a typical STOU students who began their study at STOU soon after STOU was established. For others, like Case 20, 24, and 31, learning experiences at and degree from STOU may give them social reputation rather than promotion chances in workplace.

Third type of STOU students and graduates are relatively young people, who finished vocational secondary schools, which give fewer chances to pass severe entrance examination to enter conventional universities. The majority of cases following this section are those third type people. Among those, one sub-type is young public employees, like Cases 13, 17, 18, 26, 27, 28, 34, and 36. For them, as the case for the above mentioned second type public servants, it is very clear what STOU degree will give them. Most of them mentioned that they seek for promotion in the same workplace after finishing STOU, while some others like Case 14, 27 and, 28 plan to change their jobs.

Young people in private sector also expect STOU to give them better life chances. Case 30, 32, and 33 show that those young people seek for running their own business. Those people regard knowledge and skills learned from STOU as tools to obtain business chances.

We include some other interesting cases from our interviews, too. One group of cases are ethnic minority people who study at STOU. Especially in southern Thailand, we made interviews with Thai muslim. Cases 21, 22, and 31 are those. We also include interviews with Chinese Thai people. Those cases may show how STOU contribute to ethnic integrity of Thai society.

Another interesting groups of interview cases are those which show how networks operate to recruit STOU students. Cases 41 and 45 show that a marriage couple learn at STOU together to seek for better family life chance. They encourage and help each other to study at STOU. Cases 24, 32, and 33 provide another type of networking: an employer encourages his employees to learn at STOU based on his own learning experiences. Besides, in many other interviews, we find STOU student clubs and alumni groups provide very clear networks to help their members not only for their learning at STOU but for other things as well. Despite the lack of campuses, those cases indicate that distance education institution can create human networks helping people each other.

2. Summaries of Interviews

[Case 1] A civil servant lives in Bangkok, in charge of agricultural guidance; acquiring a degree for promotion.

About his house: 47 years old, male. He lives in a suburb 20 kilometers away from Bangkok. Combined income in his family is 25,000 bahts. They have: a telephone, a washing machine, a TV, an air conditioner, and a refrigerator. In their living room, there are: souvenir pictures, a couch, a table, a big fish tank for gold fish. Next to the table in the living room, there is the refrigerator away from the kitchen. We must note that the refrigerator was placed in the living room but closer to the kitchen compare to other houses, which signifies the fact that it is becoming a vital good, less for the purpose of display. Also in the living room, there is a picture of his graduation from STOU which may indicate the fact that he is proud of his BA.

About his personal life history: His family consists of himself, his wife, two sons, 20 and 16 years old, and a daughter, 14 years old. He has been working as a civil servant involved in regional developments for 25 years. Presently C5, but soon he will be C6. Each of his wife and his younger sister in law has her own job and earns considerable amount of income. Until he acquired his BA, he has been leading practical agricultural guidances below C4, but from C5 on, he will become an executive in charge of planning and ordering. Without a BA, there is a limit to the promotion and also one must start his/her carrier from C1; if one does have a BA, one can promote quicker, and also one can start his/her carrier from C3. He graduated from his high school in 1965; after working for 3 years, he studied for 2 years at post-secondary-level agricultural school, paid by a governmental office. After completing this, he got promoted to C2. He was born in a poor family. His father graduated from a secondary-level normal school; he has been a teacher in elementary school. His mother has been a peddler, or a street vender, with her 4 years of elementary education. The family was from the northern part. He was the eldest of the 8 siblings. His father had been drinking and spending money on black-market lotteries. His second eldest sibling had died, the third who was his sister had 6 years of elementary education, the 4th went to a senior-level agricultural school, the 6th had 6 years of elementary education, the 7th went to a senior-level normal school, the 8th graduated from a junior high school in Taiwan. Although his parents were poor, they let their children have as much education as they could afford to. None of his siblings has graduated from STOU. His monthly salary is 8,500 bahts, and his family's combined income except his is 25,000 bahts, so it will be 30 to 40 thousands bahts in total. His

wife runs a general shop, his younger sister in law has been running a sewing factory for two years, hiring 8 people. His three children help them. About his studies at STOU: He entered in 1982, quit after the first semester, and tried again in the following year. He graduated in 1985. He could graduate early because he already had a post-secondary-level degree. He took lectures in agriculture-related courses, and acquired a BA. He studied three days a week, five hours a day. He watched the TV programs from STOU once or twice a week, he did not listen to the radio. He attended every tutorial and asked questions; this did help him. His motivations upon entering were: the fact he likes studying, for promotion, to make a good use of his knowledge in his work, and to achieve social prestige. It is not that he was recommended to enter STOU at his work. He knew about the study/student groups, but did not choose to get involved. Studies were not difficult. Half a year after he had graduated, he got promoted to C5 in 1986. This is due to his number of years working rather than the degree from STOU. In order for him to promote to C7, a BA was inevitable. According to him, criteria which are required for promotion are knowledge, his academic career, experience, and ability.

About his life style: What he wants right now is a Toyota's Station Wagon, or Corona. His sons are attending to senior-level business schools, but he is more than happy to pay for their higher education if they wish. He thinks that STOU should educate those Thai who are working abroad as laborers. The reason why he has his graduation picture from STOU is to show it to his guests.

[Case 2] An official of the Port and Harbor Bureau who lives in Bangkok, winning self confidence by his acquisition of a degree.

About the interviewee:

45 years old, male. He lives in Bangkok in his house. His household consists of himself, his wife, his mother, and his son who is 17 years old. His son is majoring in electrical engineering at Kohnkehn University. He himself is working as an officer at the Thai Port and Harbor Bureau. His rank is C6 and his salary is C8. His job is related to photography.

About his background:

29 years ago he finished his first semester of his secondary education, and started

working part-time as a photographer. He wished to continue his education, but he started working because his family was poor, and eventually that job became his full-time job. Currently he is earning 12,000 bahts a month. He does not have any other job, but his wife is also working. His father had roughly 7 years of education; he had been working as a chef, but eventually he became a chief chef in a first-rated hotel. His mother barely had any education but she could read and write; she had been a house wife. His father was a Chinese Thai, his mother was from the eastern part. He himself was also born in the eastern part.

About his current occupation:

His employer is a public cooperation for port and harbor administration, called the Foreign Port and Harbor Bureau. He has a job as a photographer as well as a public relations officer. The employment ranks of this public cooperation consist of employees who are not full time in the lowest rank, then office workers who are C1 to C3 level, and above that level, there are officers who are C3 to C6 level. If one has a Bachelor's degree, he/she can start his/her career from an officer, but if one doesn't have a Bachelor's degree, one can promote only as high as an officer. Above officers, there are C7 to C8 level executives, and above them, there are C9 to C10 level higher executives. There are distinct employment levels, which are proportional to one's academic career, but it is not like one can promote automatically just because one got a degree at STOU. Important criteria necessary for promotion are: experience, number of years working, ability, and exams. Exams are given twice a year; written exams in professional knowledge, Thai language, and English, and also an interview (oral exam) by candidate's superior officers. If a position became available, a candidate can apply for the exams as an insider with a permission from one's superior officers. A degree from STOU does not directly guarantee a candidate to pass the exams, but will give necessary knowledge in order to pass, and there are cases where an academic career is required when a candidate apply for the exams.

About activities at STOU:

He entered in 1984, and got a degree in public relations in 1988. He studied one hour every morning, two hours every night, mostly read text books. He watched and listened to all the TV and the radio programs by STOU except those which are not related to his subjects. He attended all tutoring, which provided him with deeper understanding and helped him. He entered STOU because he recognized the importance of an academic career at work, when he could not run for an available position because he did not have a

BA once. He wanted to expand his opportunity. Actually, in order to promote, a good connection with superior officers is necessary, but since he did not have one, instead, he had to get an academic career and an ability to argue by studying at STOU. Sometimes if one does not have a BA, he may not be allowed to attend conferences, or even if he attends, his proposals may not be recognized. Knowledge and an academic career are considered intimately. After he acquired his degree, he became capable of propose his idea, he won people's respect, and he was seen as a competitor. He thinks this is more of an effect of the dignity due to the academic career itself rather than from his knowledge. He actively involved in student clubs, and he had been a committee member as well as a tutor. There weren't much problems upon studying but delays in text book delivery caused major troubles. He knew there were "Cliff Notes" summary kind of materials for exam preparation, but he did not use them. There were plenty of foreign knowledge but on the other hand there were other knowledge which were already accepted in Thailand so he had no problem. By acquiring imported knowledge from foreign countries, he became capable of arguing with his superior officers. The workshops before graduation was very good, because he could learn the skill of problem solving and the way to cooperate, and also he could get to know people with different occupations. The expertise he learned from STOU, particularly video technologies and other things are directly of great use to his job. Among 50 people in his office, a graduate from STOU is only him, and there are 7 others who are currently students at STOU. In most cases they volunteer to apply by him or herself, but he became one example to be followed. There is one who studies who studies at Ramkhamahaeng University, but he/she has exams during week days so superior officers complain. At work, they do not support studying at open-to-public colleges, nor do they give any financial aid.

His view of an academic career:

People used to be able to become superior officers even when they were not college graduates, but eventually as people achieve higher education, academic backgrounds became more important. Still there exists strong prejudice depending on academic careers. The reason why he displays his picture at his graduation at STOU (presenting a diploma by a loyal family member) is because he wanted to tell his son the importance of an academic career, how much he suffered to achieve his academic career and how much he was rewarded. At STOU, there are some problems in the way they teach depending on subjects, but there are some very good programs.

[Case 3] A stewardess who lives in Bangkok, study at STOU for her second BA.

About the interviewee:

40 years old, female. A stewardess at Thai Airline. She lives in Bangkok.

About her residential status:

She lives in her own house. She purchased it 10 years ago for 660,000 bahts. Currently she is paying back approximately 1,500 bahts of her loan every month. She is not married. She is living with the same maid whom she is with for the past 15 years.

About her occupational background, educational background, and her childhood:

In 1967 she graduated from senior-level vocational school which was concentrating in linguistics, and received a diploma. In 1968, she started working as a stewardess in Alitalia Italian Airline, but quit short after. Then she entered the nursing department at Chulalongkorn University, studied for three years, and got a degree. From 1971, she had been working as a nurse in a public hospital for 2 years, more or less. Since 1973 she has been working in her present job. Her father was a drafted soldier during the Second World War; he had been working at a POW camp of occupying Japanese, but when the war got intensified he was killed by Japanese Army, along with his wife, because he was helping British and Dutch POW soldiers secretly. She was born around 1945, but after her parents were killed, by 1949 her grandfather, an architect who lives in Nakhon Ratchasima, looked after her. After that, she spent 3 to 4 years of her childhood with the Dutch people whom her father helped out during the War; she had pre-school education (kindergarten) in Netherlands, and traveled European countries. After that, she came back to Thailand, and she had public education under her Thai grandfather, but also had experiences of short-term exchange programs with host families in Japan and the States through Red Cross activities. It is unknown where her parents are from, but she herself is a Thai with Thai descent. Her father's parents were not wealthy; he left his parents when he was 20 years old, and he was drafted when he was 21.

About her activities at STOU:

She entered in 1985, and got a BA by 1987. Her major was household management, and her grades were excellent. She studied 6 to 10 days a month, and on the day she studies, she studies more than 8 hours a day. She used a lot of TV, radio programs and cassette

tapes of STOU. As for tutoring, she attended only once because she was busy. She entered STOU because she thought the knowledge of human relationships in the studies of household management was necessary for her work as a stewardess. Especially, she had opportunities of understanding other people and other cultures. STOU set her standard upon studying. Not related to her desire to promote, but she was studying from her academic interest. She joined a student club once, but she could not get along too well with other members, so she did not get involved in the activities. Due to her flight schedules, she was not as flexible with her time management, and sometimes she could not take exams because exam schedules had been changed abruptly. It was good that she could get to know various people in the intensive course before graduation, but there weren't many whom she could talk to frankly, and also there were many who had been complaining about STOU. Yet, it was good that she could get to know people who have opinions different from hers. In Thai Airline (Public) the promotion is irrelevant with a degree, and experience is more important criterion.

About her life style:

Due to her flight schedules, her daily life is very irregular. Her hobby is to learn drawing and draw some pictures, and also making some handicraft with them. She reads novels and books about art and religion. She is learning how to play piano and a traditional Thai musical instrument. Because she was a lot of experiences outside her own country, she minds about traditional Thai culture more. She likes to go to her maid's home town and do some agricultural work when she has vacations. She has two foster children, 19 and 17 years old, and she is paying 20,000 bahts for them every month.

About her way of looking at education:

If one has education, one can follow the rules in a society. The part of education is to give knowledge necessary to improve the standard of living. She wants her foster children to get BAs at least. In Thai society, education is the only way to make living. STOU is about the same level as other colleges. The problems are that STOU is expensive and students have to buy all the teaching materials, and that students are living apart from each other. She has her graduation picture displayed in her living room, because she has many royal family members in it.

[Case 4] An Air Force helicopter pilot who enjoys playing tennis; lives in a suburb of Bangkok.

Description of a home of the interviewee:

He is an Air Force helicopter pilot. His house is located 25 kilometers away from Bangkok, in eastern suburbs. There is a fancy styled gate.

About the interview:

His only son who is living with him is a junior at a college, and studying public relations. His daughter is 27 years old and graduated from Chulalongkorn's department of nursing. His second daughter studied fine arts in senior-level professional school, and after studying for 4 years in Italy, she is working in a publishing company. He himself has been working in his current job for the past 30 years until now. He is a civil servant, but classified with a special occupation called "technical." Until 1955 he studied in high school, after learning for the following two years in the Air Force Training Center, he started working at the Air Force. From 1967 to 1979, he had been working as an instructor at the Air Force Training Center, after that he has been an agricultural pilot working under the Ministry of Agriculture. Currently he is getting paid 19,000 bahts every month, and has a business trip every other month. His father was a high school graduate, and was a journalist of a major newspaper. His mother was a junior-high graduate, and she was a housewife. His parents were from the western part. He studied 2, 3 hours a day, and longer before exams. He did not use other teaching materials, but he did attend tutoring every time. He used the study center at his work. He decided to study at STOU because he wanted to study journalism even after he became a pilot, because his father was a journalist. He was busy so he was not involved in student groups. Text book deliveries were often delayed. He knew there were summaries for exam preparation but he did not use them. He thinks text books are well written. Tutorial was very good, and it was absolute necessity. A degree at STOU is equivalent to other colleges' BAs as a minimum standard; for promotion, experience at work is more important. Stuffs he learned will be useful for his daily life, and also to make publications for public relations at work. He is also recommending STOU to his colleagues. At work, out of 200 there are 3 junior-high graduates, and 1 or 2 who are currently students. Other colleges are rated higher than STOU because they have entrance exams. Still, since STOU is a national university, it is rated higher than private colleges.

About his professional life:

He belongs to the Agricultural Aviation Division of the Agricultural Ministry. Out of 200

people, 150 are the technical men. The technical men are categorized as public employees, and different from public officers with ranks and salaries. The technical men get paid more. Out of 150 technical men, there are 50 helicopter pilots. One is a chief and he is included among other general pilots. Besides pilots, there are occupations in charge of technologies and communications. In regional areas, pilots fly 2 hours a day, and work on forest control, pesticide spraying, disaster rescuing, and others. In Bangkok, pilots do not necessarily fly every day.

[Case 5] An official working at the mint, who likes playing bridge (a card game) and lives near STOU headquarter.

About the background of the interviewee:

43 years old, male. He lives in his own house which he had built back in 1977, about five minutes drive from STOU. He works at a printing factory (of the Mint Bureau) of the Bank of Bangkok. The government does invest, but this factory runs its own capital management, independent from the government, with approximately 950 employees. He is working as a foreman, but actually his job is to manage the number of printed paper moneys in a closed room; this is an isolated, stressful job. In the factory, occupations are split to 7 levels. The highest level is filled with three highest directors, then 10 vice directors, the third level with 10 of chiefs of departments, then 50 of chiefs of divisions, 150 foremen, 580 ordinary workers, and 150 laborers at the lowest level. To take exams to promote to a foreman from a worker, an academic career is not required, but to promote to a chief of a division, they do require it. He studied at STOU to acquire the degree required. He joined the Bank of Bangkok as a sales person, right after he finished his high school. For his promotion he studied for two years in evening classes at junior college, and got a certificate of higher education subject. There are 7 in his household; he, his wife who is 38, his wife's younger sister who is 30, his daughter who is 26, his two sons, 18 and 16, and a maid. Only his daughter is a child of his first wife, and his sons are of his current wife. His wife is a full time employee at a private firm, and she is earning 3,500 bahts every month. His own income is 16,500 bahts per month. His father had a Master's degree in law, and died 28 years ago after working as a supreme court justice. His mother was a junior high graduate, and she was a house wife. His father was from the western part, his mother was from the eastern part, and he was from the central part of Thailand.

About his activities at STOU:

Entered in 1983, graduated in 1986. He got a BA in law. Basically, he was a very serious, and excellent student. He studied 3 hours a day, and he read a lot of book if he had time. He did not miss any TV programs of STOU, and although he did not listen to the radio programs, he did listen to pretty many cassette tapes. He never missed tutoring. He entered STOU because it was established in his neighborhood just when he had been thinking he wants to study. Also he had an exterior motivation for his promotion. He knew about the student groups, but he could not join them because he did not have time. A problem upon studying was that exams were difficult. For exam preparations, he attended every tutorial, studied with his friends, and read books on law one after another, which he had a lot at home because of his father's job. Teaching materials of STOU were excellent, but in tutorials there were some who were not really good at lectures among those who were invited from outside of their faculty. Yet, it was good that he had experiences of talking to them personally after classes. The TV programs were boring sometimes when the lecturers had some attitude problem or did not pronounce Thai too well. He had no problems with exams because he could take them near his house. Knowledge itself which he learned at STOU is not helping his current work, but the degree is fulfilling the requirement for exams for promotions. He is currently a vice president of the village committee; upon doing this job, the fact that he graduated from college is eventually winning respects from people around him, and also his knowledge in law is helping him. He absolutely recommends his friends to study at STOU. At least 200 out of 950 people at his work are studying at STOU. He is highly praising STOU for his feeling of attachment and desire. 27 STOU graduates at his factory are also working diligently. His daughter finished a business school and she is working. His first son is studying in an engineering-related college. His second son is studying at a well-known high school and he intends to become a doctor, and he is also hoping that his son will make it. Basically, he thinks his children need degrees.

[Case 6] Interviewing those students (males and females) who are waiting for graduation.

Interviewing males:

All four of them are from southern part of Thailand. Three are police officers (border patrols). Except the one who is 50 years old, they live in a rented house. Other police officers are 36 and 29 years old. The last one is an old civil servant, 35 years old. They

have none up to 3 children. The three border patrols are either of high school graduates or lower police school graduates. They are getting paid 2,700 to 11,700 bahts every month. Academic careers of their parents are either unavailable or grade school graduates, and occupations are farmers or merchants, and they are from the southern part. They entered STOU between 1982 and 1986. All of them are in law school. They study 1-4 hours everyday, and did not use too much of the TV programs. They don't have their own space (desks) to study, and they hardly go to tutorial. They entered STOU because a BA is required for promotion. In that sense, STOU is very useful. They want to take exams to promote to higher police officers. None of them got involved with student clubs. Their complaint is that they have too many text books. Studying materials are not difficult. They think degrees from STOU will be highly valued. Roughly speaking, probably it will be rated as high as Ramkhamahaeng University. Students can study at STOU even when they live in regional areas, and also they learn good study habits or how to study by themselves. They do not have too many holidays. All of them have TVs and radio-cassette tape recorders, and two of them have VCRs. They have 10 to 40 tapes (video or cassette), of which most of them are Thai pop music. Two of them wish to continue their studies, but one of them had enough. What they learned from STOU was the attitude of being independent, and the attitude toward life in general. In that sense, they consider STOU is better than other colleges. All of them wish their children to go to usual colleges, as far as their children's academic careers are concerned. The civil servant used to be a gardener, and had two years of education after he had graduated from his high school. He is earning 4,950 bahts every month. His father went to school up to the 4th grade, and his mother never had any education. Both of his parents are workers at a rubber plantation. They are from Yala in the southern part of Thailand. He entered in 1984, to the department of law. He studied 2 to 3 hours every day, using cassette tapes. He doesn't have his own place to study. He did not have a chance to attend tutoring because he had no time. His motivation to enter STOU was because he wanted to have a BA, and at the same time he wanted to have more of good connections. After his graduation, he wishes to run for a regional parliamentary member. He actively involved in student clubs. The benefits were the good connections and special seminars. Teaching materials are rather easy. He thinks STOU's academic reputation is about as high as Ramkhamahaeng College. His favorite pastime is gardening. He has a TV, but no VTR. He likes to listen to Thai pop music. He would like to study even after he graduates. He wants his child to have at least a college degree, but he is indifferent whether his child gets it at STOU or other usual college.

Interviewing females:

All four of them are female. The first is 32 years old, lives in Yala, with both of her parents and her two younger sisters. Her job is being an inspector at a chemical factory, private firm with 25 employees. For her promotion, Chinese is required, but STOU does not help. 7 years ago, she got a degree in education. Her income is 3,500 bahts. Both of her parents had elementary education only. Her father is a day construction worker, and her mother is a house wife. Both of her parents are from main land China. She entered STOU 5 years ago. She wishes to get a BA in law. Her grades are about average, and she studies one hour everyday. She watches the TV programs but does not listen to the radio. She did not attend tutoring because it was far away. She entered STOU because knowing laws helps her daily life. She does not know about student clubs. For exams, she bought and used the summaries from a student group. There is no other STOU student at her work. She just relaxes herself on her holidays. She has a lot of stuffs. She wants at least a BA for her child, but she is indifferent about the name of a college her child goes to.

The second one is 34 years old, and lives in Bangkok. She is a C3 level civil servant (office work). Her promotion depends on the number of years she has been working, and her academic career. There are not many STOU students at her work. She graduated from high school 15 years ago. She is earning 3,000 bahts every month. Her father was a junior high graduate, and her mother was a grade school graduate. Her father was an assistant manager of Singer Sewing Machine. She entered 5 years ago and took management courses. Her grades are about average, she does not watch the TV nor listen to the radio. Once in a while she attends tutoring.

The third one is not married. She works at a public bank. The followings are important for her promotion; education, the number of years working, skill, and personal relationships or connections. There are many STOU students at her work. She got a MBA 19 years ago. Her annual income is 20,000 bahts. Her father was a high school graduate, but her mother's educational background is unavailable. She is from outside Bangkok. Her mother was born in main land China. She entered STOU 5 years ago. She is taking management classes. She is doing somewhat okay. She studies around 35 hours per week. Sometimes she watches the TV programs, but she hardly listens to the radio and tutoring. That was because she had a private tutor at her work. She entered STOU to gain knowledge needed for her work. It does not help her promotion. She did not know about student clubs. For exams, she used the summaries and cassette tapes. Her favorite pastime is traveling. If she is going to have a boy, she wants him to study as far as Ph.D, but if a girl, she wants her to go into beauty-salon related business. She is totally indifferent to which colleges her children go to.

The fourth one is 33 years old, and lives in her house in Bangkok. She is the third one out of 8 siblings. She is working in a transportation-related office (a private firm in Bangkok, about 10 employees). Out of 10, 2 are STOU students. 10 years ago, she graduated from a business college. Afterward she studied at an English school for two years. Her monthly income is 6,800 bahts. Both of her parents are from mainland China; her father was a college graduate accountant, but her mother hardly had any education. She entered STOU 4 years ago. She is taking management courses. She is doing somewhat good. She studies only a bit before exams. STOU is good because she can study by herself. For exams, she used cassette tapes. Her favorite pastimes are shopping and swimming. With the exception of VTR and a car, she has many things. She expects her child to get a BA, but indifferent to which college he or she goes to.

[Case 7] Interviewing prospective nursing school graduates.

Out of four, one is a male, 25 years old, other three are females, two 26 year old ones, and one 24 years old. All of them are civil servants working as nurses. Females are staying in dorms of their hospitals, and a male is living with his parents. All of them are going to nursing school for two years after they graduated high school. All their mothers are grade school graduates. About their occupations, one is a farmer, two are military oriented, and one is a carpenter of facilities. Parents are from where they are now. One entered STOU in 1985, the other one in 1986, and two in 1987. They are taking nursing courses. They are getting degrees in nursing. One studies 3 hours per day, the rest of them study 6 hours per day. One of them did not watch the TV sessions at all, two watched from time to time, and the last one watched very frequently. Three of them attended every tutoring, but one did not attend at all. The reason for not attending was because his/her house was too far away. The purpose of studying at STOU is to become a registered nurse (higher than a technical nurse) while working. The academic career which they acquire from STOU does not necessarily guarantee any promotion. None of them joined student clubs, and one of them did not even know such clubs existed. At work, 6 to 30 people are studying at STOU. They work about 40 hours per week, and they do have night shifts. During holidays, they enjoy their hobby, study, and help their house works. They have 30 to 80 cassette tapes, most of which are Thai pop musics. Three of them have their own TVs, and all of them have radios and audio cassette players. All of them have VTRs at home, and have their own desks. They also have motor cycles. About their children's education, all of them want education higher than college level.

Not open-to-public colleges, but they want their children to go to usual colleges. The reason not to prefer STOU would be the age. All females wish to continue working after they get married. All of them wish to get Master's degrees. Three of them want aid of some kind from their hospitals.

[Case 8] A female high school teacher, waiting for her graduation.

About the background of the interviewee:

Female, 30 years old. She is from southern part of Thailand. Her family consists of her husband and herself. She is a high school business teacher. Before becoming a teacher, she used to work at a regional governmental office. After graduating from her high school, she studied for two years at a technical college and received a diploma. Her current annual income is 3,900 bahts. She is classified as C3. Her father went to school up to the 4th grade, and started fishing. Her mother had no education, and she had been a housewife. Her family is from the southern part. She entered in 1986, and took household management courses. She is expecting to receive a degree next year. Her grades are about average. She studies 5 hours per week. She listens to the radio programs of STOU. Mostly she is studying by herself. She entered STOU to get a degree and to expand her knowledge. After she graduates, she expects higher prestige and promotion. It is not that she was suggested by the school she is working at. For the purpose of socializing, she joined student clubs. Teaching materials are not too difficult. She is very happy with the work shop program, which she is taking right now, because she can have a better understanding of colleges. Household management courses help her work. She is working at a big school, and about 60 % of the 160 faculty members are studying at STOU. 5 days a week, she has 14 hours of classes to teach. She wakes up at 6 in a morning, and reports to her work at 7. Her school is close by, and she has brunch at 10. At 4:30, school is over and she goes home. She has a quick meal at 5, and from 6 to 7 she has dinner. After dinner she studies and does other stuffs, and goes to sleep at 9. In her holidays, she enjoys some sewing and readings (about psychology-related books). She has a TV, a radio, a motor cycle, and a truck. She expects her child to get a Bachelor's degree. She wishes her child to be in a police or the Army if a boy, and to become a nurse or a teacher if a girl. She wishes to send her child to a traditional college, if possible.

[Case 9] A young police officer who lives in Bangkok, waiting for his graduation.

About the background of the interviewee:

Male, 27 years old, and he is a police officer. He lives in Bangkok. Together with 10 other people, he lives at his aunt's house. Currently he has two stars (2 to 3 years after he had graduated from a police academy). He graduated from high school 9 years ago, and learned at a police academy (college level) for four years. A police academy is highly selective. His income is 5,200 bahts. His father was a high school graduate, and he has been a construction worker. His mother finished up to the 6th grade or around that level. His family was from Bangkok. He entered in 1989 to the department of law. He is expecting to receive a degree next year. His grades are around B. He studies 6 hours per week, before he goes to sleep. He does not watch nor listen to the TV and the radio programs. He went to tutoring right before exams to ask some things which he did not understand. He entered STOU because he could study while working, and his expertise in law will help his job. He is not considering about changing his job. For promotion, the number of years working and his achievement are more important than his academic career. There are 5 to 6 STOU students in his office. Since he studies with his colleagues, he did not join student clubs. He did not use the summaries. Teaching materials are not difficult. The work shop he is taking now helps him in making friends and learning accordance. What he has learned at STOU helps himself, his family, as well as a society in general. He works 6 hours a day. His work shifts are complicated. In holidays he watches video tapes of war stories. He has a lot of things. If his child is a boy, he wants him to be a police officer, if a girl, he wants her to get a degree in law and become a judge or a justice. He prefers Thammasat University. The reason is because the school is very strong in law, and it's better for him/her to go to school everyday and make friends when he/she is young. The mentality to value traditional colleges is strong in the society but not so much within himself.

[Case 10] A young male working as a tour guide, lives in Chiangmai, waiting for his graduation.

About the background of the interviewee:

31 years old, male. He is a tour conductor lives in Chiangmai. He is good at English. With 4 other people, he lives at his aunt's house. First he used to be working as a room service in a hotel, then he was working as a field overseer in Saudi Arabia, and after that he has been working in a current job. It is a private firm with roughly 50 employees. He

is the only STOU student at work. He graduated from his high school in 1977, entered civil engineering courses, but since he could not afford it, he quit after 2 years. His family was poor, and he had grown up in his relatives' families one after another. His father was about junior high graduate level, he had two years of training in the Navy, and became a weather forecast official. Her mother finished up to the second grade, and sells meats in a market. He is from north-eastern part. He is the 4th of the 6 siblings. He entered STOU in 1985. He is expecting to receive a degree next year from the department of law. His grades are level. He studies from time to time when he is not busy with his work. Since he does not have enough time, he does not use a TV and other things. He chose to enter STOU because it was more convenient than Ramkhamahaeng University. He likes reading, so he can comprehend as long as he reads text books. As the society demands higher education, he wanted to have higher education when considered his future. He wishes to start his own law firm or law-oriented firm. He did not get involved in student clubs, but he asked his friend who is a lawyer to help him out. He did not know about the summaries. STOU has good exams and teaching materials. In the current work shop, he felt very close to STOU. His favorite pastimes are meeting his friends, going out camping, shooting pool, and enjoying jazz music. He has everything. In Thai society, academic careers are very important. About his child, if a boy, he wants him to get a Master's degree, and if a girl, a Bachelor's degree. Girls have difficulty in getting married if they have high level of education. Still, he prefers traditional colleges. Good students prefers traditional colleges, and besides, responsibility of an individual is too much and troublesome. In general, people think that anyone can graduate from STOU, but going though by himself now he understands how difficult it is.

[Case 11] A surgeon who lives in Bangkok, waiting for his graduation; learning law at STOU for college administration.

About the background of the interviewee:

He is a Mahidol Medical School graduate and currently working at the same school as an orthopedic surgeon. He is currently studying law to get involved in the college administration. His wife is 50 years old, and his son is 14 years old. In 1963, after graduating from college, he took two years of graduate school courses. From 1963 until 1972, he was sent to West Germany. He has been working in the current position since then. Currently he is an assistant professor at Medical Department of Mahidol Medical School. His annual income is 18,000 bahts. He also gets paid for consulting. His father

had degrees in humanities and linguistics, and his mother had a degree in education. He himself is 52 years old. He speaks English fluently. His family is from Bangkok. He entered STOU in 1986. He is getting excellent grades. he studies only 2 hours per week. He hardly watches TV programs, etc.. He does not have enough time. He entered STOU to have administrative skills. he wishes to enjoy his current job more. He did not get involved in student clubs. The problem with STOU is the difficulties exist with communicating with instructors. He did not study particularly for exams preparations. Text books were easy for him, but he thinks they are probably difficult for other students in general. He thinks STOU is better than Ramkhamahaeng University. The problem with exams is in the format which demands one correct answer. If they make their exams more difficult, they will have higher reputation in the society. At his work, roughly 2 % attend STOU. He wakes up before 6, and by 6:30 he arrives at his office. He drives to his work. Comes back home at five, have dinner, and goes to sleep at 12 midnight. He enjoys swimming in his holidays. He has a lot of things. He appreciates classic and pop musics. His allowance is 1,500 bahts per week. He spends his money on going out with his people. Graduates are motivated more in usual colleges. At STOU, the goal is becoming BAs themselves. He wants his child to get a Bachelor's degree, but he will let his child do whatever. he does not think his child should necessarily be a medical doctor.

[Case 12] A rich woman who is a president of the Student Club in Nonthaburi District.

About the background of the interviewee:

42 years old, female. Lives in a fashionable mansion in Bangkok. Her family consists of herself, her husband, her son who is 22, her daughter who is 11, 8 maids, and one gardener. Her great grandfather came from main land China, and played an important role as a tax collector, and got a title from the king. Her grandfather was a high school graduate, but together with an European, he had succeeded in business. Her father had been working in a management of one foreign financed bank, and after that he still is the owner of one rubber-related company even now when he is 62 years old. After graduating from one business college in 1961 and getting a higher certificate, she had been having training at Thai Airline for one year, but did not work at the airline; in 1962 she got married to a man who was arranged by her parents. Her husband is running a biscuit company now. Two years later, they had a son, and in 1966, her husband made a factory in Jakarta with the joined capital from Nisshin Seifun (Flour Mill) Company, and lived in Jakarta for 2 years. Her husband continued being the owner of this company, and he has over 20 factories all over Asia. She had been a branch manager of an

international financial company between 1968 and 1970. In 1972 she started a new investment company with her friend, and became a management director. In 1974, she quit her job once and left to New Castle College in the U.K. and studies business management. After coming back to Thailand, she established a new investment company and became the owner. Her current monthly salary is 40,000 bahts, and together with others, her monthly income (counting only hers, excluding her husband's) adds up to 100,000 bahts. Her father graduated from colleges in Thailand and in main land China. Her mother had graduated from an educational college; she had been a teacher. Her father was born in Bangkok, and her mother was born in main land China. She herself was born in Bangkok.

[Case 13] A border patrol trying to take promotion exams, who is a STOU graduate lives in Songkla.

About the background of the interviewee:

30 years old, male. He is a Buddhist Thai of Thai decent, working at border patrol. He lives outside Songkla. Living with him are both of his parents, his wife, his daughter who is 3 years old, and his son who is 2 months old. His wife graduated from an educational college, and she is working as a grade school teacher now, with her monthly income of 4,000 bahts, and she is also studying household management at STOU. His rank as a civil servant is C2, and he is a sergeant. Actually, his job is to teach in a grade school near the border. To let border patrols work as grade school teacher had been a policy of Thai government for the last 20 years. He himself has been teaching Thai language and general subjects since 5 years ago. In the school where he is teaching, there are 7 teachers, all of whom are sent from the boarder patrol. To become a teacher from a border patrol, they require an academic career, equivalent to high school graduate level, and to pass written exams for general subjects and Thai language. It is not like a lot of border patrols wish to become teachers, but if they become teachers, they will have more time to study. After passing the exam, prospects take two months of training at an educational college, and sent to schools in border region afterward. Becoming a teacher is not a promotion, and the position still belongs to the same rank (as a civil servant) with the same salary. To promote among border patrol, a Bachelor's degree is very important. This is because getting the degree is required when one wants to take the competitive exam for promotion which is given once a year. The exams for promotion consist of physical exercise exam and written exams of Thai language, law, and police-related subjects. Less than 10 % of the candidates pass the exams. He himself tried out after he

had graduated from STOU, but could not pass, and studying at STOU Corner (study center) thinking he will try again next year. His monthly salary is 3,000 bahts, and added to that is his allowance of 2,000 bahts. Both of his parents finished up to the 4th grade in elementary school. His father has about 32,000m² of land and he is working as a rice crop making farmer, his mother is working as an agricultural assistant and a housewife. Both of his parents and himself are from southern Thailand. His family was so poor that they could not afford to send him to college. One who is living with him right now is his wife's parents, and they are running a rubber plantation using a couple of employees. He is an example who achieved to move upward in a society from comparatively low social class via STOU.

About his activities at STOU:

He entered in 1982, in 1987 he graduated from the department of law and got a degree. Back then, he used to study for two hours every night from 10 to 12 midnight. He used the TV and cassette tapes, but he did not listen too much to the radio programs. He studied in his room with cassette tapes and text books. He attended the tutorial very often. He entered STOU because he wanted to promote by getting a degree, and also because he thinks education is important in life. STOU is good because time is flexible, and text books are easy to understand. He did not even know such things like student clubs and their summaries existed. The workshop before graduation was very good because he could learn how to corporate. Things about law he learned at STOU is actually helping him in his job, gave him a required certificate for promotion exams, and also gave him necessary knowledge for exams. That is why he still comes around to STOU Corner, borrows cassette tapes, and study about law for one hour a day. He is going to do his best until he passes. Also, STOU gave him self confidence and made him responsible in researching and solving the problem by himself. He is recommending his friends to go to STOU for three advantages; knowledge, good occasion for possible promotion, and the fact that it is possible to continue working and at the same time they study. If he passes the promotion exam, his rank (as a civil servant) will move up even though he might have a same kind of job. After getting a BA, his colleagues, his superior officers, and his relatives started looking at him differently, and he could achieve a high social prestige. This is not only the effect of his academic career, but also because he had changed himself by having more self confidence and becoming more responsible. He wants his children to get at least BAs. It depends on the ability of his children, but if he can financially afford to, he wants them to go to traditional colleges.

[Case 14] A graduate who is thinking about leaving a governmental office in Songkla for regional industry promotion.

About the background of the interviewee:

He is a male, lives with his parents in a housing for civil servants in Hajai. His father is a civil servant. Neither of his two elder sisters, 29 and 27 years old, could not get into usual colleges after graduating from high school, so they got BAs in political science at Ramkhamahaeng University. His eldest sister is helping housekeeping at her cousin's house in Norway. His second eldest sister is working as an accountant in a company in Bangkok. He is working at a governmental office for promotion of regional industry, and his rank is C3. After graduating from junior high, he studied household management for five years, and received a diploma in 1984. He did not apply to any usual college, and entered STOU. He has been working as a civil servant in a present position since 1985. His current monthly salary is 3,757 bahts + he is also earning roughly 4,000 bahts instructing how to make local traditional handicrafts etc.. His father is a police officer with one star. His mother is running a beauty salon, hiring one employee. His father finished a police academy after graduating from junior high. His mother had 7 years of education. His father is from outside Songkla. His mother was born in Bangkok. He was born in Hajai.

About his activities at STOU:

He entered in 1984, got a BA in household management in 1986. He studied thrice a week, about 45 minutes per day. Since he was busy, he hardly attended tutoring. He entered STOU to get higher pay by getting a degree, and also because he wanted to have some knowledge of dietetics. After graduating from a business college, he could not find a job so he entered STOU where he could look for jobs and have job interviews while studying. Since Ramkhamahaeng University did not have household management department, he had no choice except STOU. He did not get involved with student clubs because he had only a few information about their activities. In 1988 he got promoted to C3, but his academic career took almost no part in this. If it is social science, it will be to his advantage for his promotion, but household management does not have much to do with it. There are cases which one's academic career directly helps one's promotion, and there are other cases which it doesn't. Depending on the field of studies of a degree, the extent of the effect might differ. Maybe at his current office, household management might not help him, but if he switches his job to something related to dietetics, it would be

an advantage for his promotion. He wishes to get a master's degree or higher. After finishing STOU, his parents did admit that he is no longer a child, and also his friends started recognizing him as a man with self control and enthusiasm. He wants his child to get a Bachelor's Degree at least. He wishes to give suggestions to his children of what kind of job his child might be suited to, and what kind of things his child needs to study for that. He is indifferent which of a traditional or an open-to-public college his child goes to. He is also consulting with his friends who need some advise about STOU. He is suggesting them that STOU is good because they can study while working, using various media. At the work where he is working as a coordinator, out of 35 there are 2 STOU graduates and 2 students at STOU. His favorite pastime is to watch TV 3 hours every day. He has one color TV. He bought a refrigerator 10 years ago. He does not have a washing machine nor an air conditioner, but he has a VTR. He does not have a car. He wishes to have his own house. His monthly allowance is 1,500 bahts. He thinks STOU should provide more subjects and offer more practical classes. He wants them to have a place where students can study even after they graduate.

[Case 15] A Chinese Thai graduate who works at small-and-medium financial company in Songkla.

About the background of the interviewee:

36 years old, male. He is a chief clerk in charge of accounting at small-and-medium financial-oriented firm. He lives in his own house in Songkla. His family consists of himself, his wife who is working as an assistant accountant at a bank, two sons, 3 years old and one year old. Right now he is working at a company which lends money to Chinese Thai merchants and fishermen, but before he used to work at the bank his wife is working, and that is where he became an assistant accountant from an office worker. Later, in 1982 he switched to his current job. Right now he has six men in his division. The total number of employees is 12. In his division, there are 6 accountants, assistant managers, and managers on top of them. Because it is a small company, there is no clear division in terms of ranks, and they rarely have promotion. There is one more STOU graduate beside him in his office. He graduated from a high school in Songkla in 1971. His current monthly income is 8,000 bahts and his wife's is 5,000 bahts. His father came from main land China, but his academic career is not very clear. His father is running a small food/grocery store with about 2 employees. His mother was born in Songkla and she is a Thai of Thai descent. Her academic career is about the level of elementary education. He was born in Songkla. He has 8 siblings. The eldest brother is

fixing type writers. He is the second eldest. The third is a brother, 35 years old, a junior high graduate level, fixing type writers like the eldest brother. 4th eldest is a brother, a junior high graduate and working as an office worker. 5th is 33 years old, a junior high graduate, fixing type writers. 6th is a brother, 32 years old, he graduated from a high school level vocational school, has a diploma, and is working at Sanyo Electric. The 8th is 29, got a Bachelor's degree in Ramkhamahaeng University, and he is running a small school for computers with his friend.

About his activities at STOU:

Entered in 1982, and he got a Bachelor's degree in business administration in 1987. He used to study for 3 hours everyday. He did not attend much of tutoring because he could study enough by himself. He entered STOU because the tuition was relatively inexpensive, and he could study while working. His family's economic situation was not as good when he graduated from high school, and he had to forget about going to college. In order to prevent himself from being sent to offices in other places at his first bank, he switched to his current company. After getting a Bachelor's degree, he did not get promoted, but his salary increased by 10 % instead. He is suggesting his friends to go to STOU, because they can graduate as long as they study by themselves, putting some effort to it. Because it is a small company, various criteria like a policy of his company, a number of years working, his ability and his knowledge. Yet, after 2 years since getting the Bachelor's degree, his superior officers and his colleagues started trusting him more, increased his authority in decision making, and he got higher reputation in working out with others and also in his expertise. he wants his child to get at least a BA or higher academic career.

[Case 16] An STOU graduate working at a grade school in Songkla.

About the background of the interviewee:

30 years old, female. A grade school teacher. She is not married; she is living with her parents. Her parents, her younger brother who is 33, and her younger sister who is 25 are living together. She has 5 siblings and she is the eldest. Her eldest brother is 28, he has a BA and currently he is a faculty of an educational college. The third eldest is her younger sister, 27 years old, got a BA in Ramkhamahaeng University law school, and became a certified lawyer. The 4th got a BA in an educational college. The 5th got a diploma from Public Health Care College (about the level of 2 years of education after

graduating from high school). The last is a brother, 21 years old, received a diploma for 2 years of education after graduating from high school at a business college; currently he is working as a banker, and being an STOU student at the same time. This is because the interviewee strongly recommended him to. The interviewee is teaching social studies in a grade school in Songkla. After graduating from her high school, she received her diploma after 2 years of studying at an educational college, and became a STOU student when she was teaching in a grade school in a remote region. Her current monthly salary is 5,200 bahts (C4) + her side business (helping out instructing at a music school run by her father) is 2,000 bahts. Her father got a BA at Songkla College of Education. Her mother had about 4 years of elementary education. Both of them are from non-agricultural region of Songkla prefecture. Beside teaching music at Songkla College of Education, her father is personally running a music school with about 20 students. Her grandfather on her father's side is running a small coconut plantation. Her father got his current job because he likes studying; he was eager to teach children, and he was emphasizing the importance of academic careers.

About her activities at STOU:

Entered in 1980, and she was the first class to graduate since the school was established. She got a Bachelor's degree in two year courses. She took classes in education, mostly social studies. She studied 7 hours a week, one hour every early morning. She watched the TV program often, but listened to the radio program only from time to time. She studied by herself using cassette tapes and text books. She could not attend tutoring as much because she was busy and she was living far away from the school. She entered STOU for promotion and rise in her rank. The tuition of STOU was inexpensive, and it was easy for her to work out the time. Not only she wanted a higher academic career, but she wanted to have some knowledge for teaching. Through studying, her way of thinking about children was improved. She did not get involved in the student clubs. The workshops before graduation was good because she could get in touch with her teachers and other students. First her rank was C2, but after getting a Bachelor's degree, she was promoted to C3, and later to C4. Thanks to STOU that she could promote that quickly. This is a typical example of the system of promotion among civil servants affiliated with education, clearly correlated to academic careers. It is not like what she teaches or the grade of the class she teaches did change after getting the degree. She recommended STOU to her younger brother, because he can work while studying, and getting a Bachelor's degree means a lot. What has changed after getting the degree was that her parents and her colleagues highly praised her effort. If she is to get married and have children in future, she wants them to have post-undergraduate education at least as

high as Master's level. It does not matter for her whether her children go to traditional colleges or open-to-public colleges.

[Case 17] A Chinese Thai woman who is working at a governmental office for regional industry promotion.

About the background of the interviewee:

28 years old, female. She is a civil servant working at a governmental office for regional industry promotion, ranked C3. She lives in Hajai. Lives together with her parents, her younger sister, her younger sister's husband and children. Her father is running a rubber plantation of about 80,000m², hiring 5 to 6 employees. They do not have any maid. All of she, her brothers, and her sisters were born in Thailand. The eldest is a brother who is 47 years old, his academic career is unknown; when he was 15, he moved to main land China, and now he is working as an architect. The second is her sister, 44 years old, and her academic career is not clear but she did finished as high as junior high, got married to an interior designer, and being a house wife in Hong Kong. The third is her brother, 40 years old, a junior high graduate, and is running a rubber plantation of about 48,000m² in Songkla. The fourth is her sister, 38 years old, a junior high graduate, and she is working as a hair designer. The fifth is her sister, 35 years old, living together with the interviewee, a junior high graduate, and her husband is running a boutique for teenagers. The 6th is her sister, 33 years old, a junior high, her husband is a whole sale dealer and he is also running a hotel. The seventh is the interviewee. The 8th is a brother, 26 years old, learned at a technical school for 5 years after graduating from junior high, received a diploma, and has established a small firm in Bangkok. The interviewee learned accounting in a five year business college after graduating from junior high, and started working in 1983, as she graduated, as an accountant in a small travel agent of 6 people. She entered STOU in 1984, and after graduating from STOU in 1987, she got a job as a civil servant. Her currently salary is 3,750 bahts, plus she receives various allowances, and her total income adds up to 5,000+ bahts. Her father was born in main land China, and her mother is a Chinese Thai born in Songkla. Her father can barely read and write, but her mother can not read and write as much. Now her father is running a rubber plantation, but before he was not as well off as he is now.

About her activities at STOU:

Entered in 1984, and graduated in 1987. She got a BA in business administration. She studied about 9 hours a week, a little more than one hour every night. She hardly used a TV and a radio, but used text books and cassette tapes. She could go to tutoring only for a few times, but from time to time she asked for tutors privately and studied in a group. She entered STOU because she wanted to change to a good job by getting a BA. She knew about student clubs but did not get involved because she was busy. In terms of payment, getting a new job as a civil servant did not make much difference, but she wanted to be a civil servant because she could have a more stable employment that way. She thought it would be difficult with just a diploma from a business school. After graduating from STOU she became more confident, so she thought of becoming a civil servant. There are 2 STOU students at the governmental office, and 2 graduates including herself. She is strongly recommending her colleagues to enter STOU in order to study and get a better job by studying, while working. After graduating, her parents were very proud of her, and her friends were very happy too. She wants her children to get Bachelor's degrees at least. If they can make it, she would like to send them to traditional colleges.

[Case 18] A young male STOU student who works at a fisheries experiment station in Songkla.

About the location of the interviewee:

Songkla Fisheries Experiment Station. An organization financed by JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency, an organization for jointed enterprises). Looks great from outside; there is a monument of the investment from Japanese government as you enter the main entrance. Out of 190 who are working, 50 including 30 researchers are civil servants; there are 70 general workers, and 70 temporary employees.

About the background of the interviewee:

26 years old, male. He is a assistant researcher, ranked C2. He collects samples and material data, analyzes them, and reports the result. He is the only one doing this job in his research institute. He was born in Songkla. His household consists of his parents, his elder brother and his wife, their 2 children, and himself. Lately he lives in a dorm at his work by himself, but often goes home too. He has been working for 2 years. His father and his junior high graduate brother is running a rubber plantation, with its area of 48,000m², with the other man. His mother is a housewife, his parents are grade school

graduates. His family monthly income is 2,000 bahts (this belongs to lower middle class level).

About his activities at STOU:

He entered in 1987, at the same time when he got his job. He just finished 2 year course in agriculture in 1989. He got a BA. He studied 2 hours a day, since he did not have a TV at home, he did not watch their TV programs, but he did listen to the radio often. He studied at his work during after-lunch breaks, and at home, past 9 at night. He attended every tutoring to listen to the important part emphasized by teachers. He decided to enter STOU because he saw their advertisement, and also because he could earn enough money to continue studying through his work. Currently his monthly income is 3,400 bahts, and out of these, 3,000 bahts he can use as he likes. He did not get involved in student clubs because he missed the registration day. Problems upon studying was that there are some subjects (economics, to be more specific) which he had difficulties in understanding. He wishes if they could have more tutoring. For exams, he read text books very well, solved practice problems enough, and listened to the radio and the cassette tapes over and over. He has nothing to say against the text books. Some of the radio programs were difficult. Practical training courses were good because he could get involved in group works and could talk together about how they want to live. About the effectiveness of the classes at STOU, there is something he is unhappy about. That is, what he is studying and his work does not correspond too much, and what he is studying did not help him in his promotion nor increase in his salary. Soon he will be promoted to C3, but at his current work he can not be promoted to C4, so he wishes to change to the Bureau of Fisheries in the Ministry of Agriculture. If he can work there, he can go to work from home, he can get promoted, and he think he can make a good used of what he had studied. Yet, his colleagues and his superior officers started looking at him more friendly, and started asking him about STOU. He is suggesting his friends and colleagues to go to STOU. As an impression the interviewer got, STOU is playing a very active role in terms of expanding opportunity for educations to low- social class people, and there is no doubt that degrees for them are stepping boards for social mobility.

[Case 19] A Chinese Thai woman who is helping her parents in their pharmacy.

About the background of the interviewee:

34 years old, female. She is a Chinese Thai. She can not read nor write Chinese. She

lives in her house with her husband, newly married one and a half years ago. Her husband is 38 years old, also a Chinese Thai, and working on making advertisement boards hiring 5 to 6 temporary employees. She is helping in a pharmacy run by her parents. Both of her parents are Chinese Thai born in a countryside in Songkla prefecture. Her grandfather on her father's side immigrated to Malaysia from main land China, got married to her Chinese Malaysian grandmother, and then immigrated to southern Thailand. Her father hardly had any education, however, he could read and write Chinese, yet, he can only speak Thai; same with her mother. Her grandparents on her mother's side came directly to Thailand from main land China. Her father was running a Chinese pharmacy of herb medicines, but started working as a rubber plantation worker in southern Thailand for 10 years, and started a food merchant after he came back to Hajai. Her mother was a housewife. Her mother was born in Thai-Malaysian border region. She graduated from high school in 1975 and helped her eldest brother's pharmacy. She had 8 siblings. The first is her brother, 48 years old, had 4 years of elementary education, and he is running a pharmacy. The second is her brother, 45 years old, had 6 years of elementary education, and he is running a pharmacy in a different area of Songkla prefecture. The third is her sister, 42 years old, a junior high graduate, a housewife, and her husband is working in a public firm as an electric engineer. The 4th is her sister, a junior high graduate, and she is taking part with the administration of a pharmacy the interviewee is helping. The 5th is her brother, 36 years old, he had about 7 years of education, and recently started running a rubber plantation of its area about 560,000m². This is considerably big, and this is the wealth of her whole family. The 6th is herself, and she has a degree from STOU. The 7th is her brother, 32 years old, a high school graduate, and is running another pharmacy. The 8th is her sister, 29 years old, got a degree in business administration from Ramkhamahaeng University, and being a housewife; her husband is a banker. Out of her married siblings, all of them got married to Chinese Thai people. Except her eldest brother whose marriage was arranged, other siblings had love marriages. As the ages of siblings get younger, they have higher education. The youngest sister is coming into the modern sector. It is because of her father's first job that of all her siblings, 5 of them are involved in running pharmacies. Her income is 3,000 bahts, combined with her husband's would be 15,000 bahts.

About her activities at STOU:

Entered in 1982, and got a Bachelor's degree in 1987. She took courses in business administration. She studied about 1 to one and a half hour a day. She did not use a TV, a radio, nor cassette tapes, but mostly using her text books. She attended tutorial from time

to time, only for her subjects. This is because she was busy with the pharmacy and did not have time. The reason she entered STOU was because she wanted to get a Bachelor's degree and have knowledge using her free time. For her current job her knowledge in business would be helpful, and at the time when she entered she was thinking of starting her own pharmacy. In future, she would like to use what she had studied for the administration of her husband's company. It was not that her family suggested her to, but she decided by herself to enter STOU. Rather than a degree as an academic career, knowledge is more important. By getting a degree, she could get more self confidence, and her diploma is valuable in indicating her achievement to herself rather than to others. In general, Thai society tends to look at academic careers. For Chinese Thai, it is necessary to make some adjustment between educations for general studies and educations necessary for business. She does not intend to emphasize education for general studies, and pursue only education for businesses, but the Thai society is demanding higher and higher education, so even among Chinese Thai merchants they are feeling it is necessary to have high academic careers. For her children she wishes them to run their own businesses, so she wants them to learn business administration in colleges. She got involved in student groups because she wanted to have friends and studying in groups was necessary. 6 to 8 weeks before exams, 20 some people got together and study in a group, mostly statistics, almost everyday for about an hour. They had been paying about 200 bahts per student to private tutors. Nothing much had changed after graduation, but eventually her knowledge is starting to help her. In future she would like to help her husband's business and expand it. She wants her children to have at least Bachelor's degrees, and Master's degrees or higher if possible. She does not care too much about the kind of colleges they go to.

[Case 20] A secretary of Songkla District Student Club, an insurance canvasser.

About the background of the interviewee:

46 years old, male. When he was in the school, he was a secretary of the Student Club in Songkla. His family consists of himself, his wife who is 38 years old, his eldest son who is 12, his second son, 10, and his daughter who is 8. His children are in junior high and grade school. He is a retailer, mostly fruits, and also sweets, cakes, vegetables, and coffee. Also for his side business, he is working as a chief of an insurance company, selling insurances. His monthly income is a little more than 20,000 bahts. Profit from his shop is about 18,000 bahts, and another 5,000 bahts from his side business. Since he graduated from high school in 1966, he had been working at Esso Petroleum Company,

and later until 1971, he had been a station master as a civil servant. From 1971, he started his own business until today. His parents were growing rice in a rice field of about 160,000m². His parents never went to school. Out of 7 children of his parents, he is the eldest son, second one is a male, his academic career was P4 (4th year in elementary), 3rd is a female, M3, the 4th is a female, P4, the 5th is a male, M6, the 6th is a male, M6, and the 7th is a female, M6. The 2nd and the 5th ones (his younger brothers) are running a rubber plantation in Nakhon Srithammarat. The 6th one, his younger brother, is a teacher. His wife is from central Thailand, and her academic career is P7 (7 years of elementary education).

About his activities at STOU:

Entered in 1982, graduated in 1987. He got a BA in law. His grades are about average. He studied like 3 hours a day. He tried pretty hard. After working, he studied intensively from 8 to 11 using his text books. Instead of not using a TV and a radio, he attended almost all of tutoring. His reason for attending is that he can ask his teachers the stuffs which he does not understand. In practice, he did ask questions very often. He entered STOU because he felt college education is benefiting to himself as much as to the society. He wanted to study before he became too old and wanted to help his own business and also the society. His wife was saying, "how do you expect yourself to make it?" but somehow he did. Now, after graduating, he is attending one year training program hosted by Law Cooperation. If he finishes this, he can become a lawyer. He did not have any problem upon studying. For exams, he went over the text books over and over. He did not feel it was that difficult, but it took him 5 years. He was a secretary of the student group; not only with their studies, but he was also involved in volunteer social service activities. Practical training courses were really good because he could get to know teachers and other students; it was so good that he felt 5 days were not enough. He thinks that a degree from STOU is worth more than those from Ramkhamahaeng University or Thammasat University. It was not like the degree was directly related to his business, but he could use the expertise in law which he learned to his business as an insurance canvasser. He did benefit to certain extent in running his shop, and more than that, he could show a good example to his children. Also, his friends and colleagues trusted him more. He recommended many of his friends to enter STOU, and most of them did enter STOU. In future, he wishes to become a lawyer if he can pass the state examinations. He wishes to continue his business and also his side business. He wants his children to finish college at least, but after that he wants them to do whatever they want to do. He prefers traditional colleges. The reason is because if people go to open-to-public colleges when they are still young, they would not be able to control themselves

enough and end up playing or partying around. If his children want to go to Bangkok, he would tell them to go ahead, and he does not care too much even if they say they wish to get married to Muslim. As the impression of the interviewer, he is the kind of man who lives decent, and humble life.

[Case 21] A Muslim Thai STOU graduate in Songkla, a police officer.

About the background of the interviewee:

41 years old, male. A police officer who has been working for the 17 years. He lives in a dorm next to the police station; 3 bedrooms with one dining room with a kitchen. His family consists of himself, his wife who is 30, his eldest son, 7, his daughter, 4, and his second son, 1 and a half years old. He used to work at the Public Health Bureau for two years as a civil servant, and he was also in the Army for a couple of years. He got his current job since then. When he was 14 years old, he graduated from a governmental grade school in 4 years, and he was not doing anything for a while but when he was 18, he started working in a painting factory in Songkla. Later, he attended to an educational program for adults while working. In one year, he took programs for grade 5 and 6, and got a junior high graduate equivalency in one and a half year. By this time he had already become a police officer, and in 1980, he entered an evening session of a general high school. After getting a high school equivalency, he entered STOU in 1982. His father is running a rubber plantation. He had no education, but when he was 15 years old, he studied for one year in Malaysia, and he can read and write Thai, a Pakistani language, and Malay, and he could also speak a Hindu language. His mother has been a house wife; she could speak Thai, and speak Malay but could not write Malay. His grandfather on his father's side is from Pakistan, and immigrated to Pattani and he was trading clothes. S Village, this is where he is from, is in Songkla Prefecture near Malaysian boarder, and the main local industry is rubber plantations. Thai Muslim and Malaysian Muslim are living together, and many speak Thai while considerable number of them can speak Malay.

About his activities at STOU:

Entered in 1982, took four year course in law and graduated in 1988. He studied 7 to 8 hours a week. He watched the TV programs well, but did not listen to the radio; he did listen to cassette tapes. He studied in his own room, and since there was no study center in Yala Prefecture where he used to work at that time, he did not attend tutoring. He

entered STOU because it was the only college which he could study while working, he needed knowledge in law for his work as a police officer, and a Bachelor's degree was required for promotion exams. Last year he got a BA, and now he is preparing for the promotion exams which will be given in June, next year. By getting a BA, he became more self confident, and he could start discussing with his colleagues and superior officers without hesitation. He was a general member of a student club, but only showed up a couple of times. There were many Muslim in a student club in Yala, but moving to Hajai, perhaps because there are many of Chinese Thai population, there were many Chinese Thai students in a student club. A difficulty upon studying was that there was no study center close by. The text books of STOU was very good, and particularly text books of laws are well written. About tutorial, a time of given to instructors is limited short, they tend to skip necessary part and go ahead, so he wishes if he could have more opportunities of having tutorial. About their TV programs, he found those programs which explained applications of law in dramas interesting, so he wishes if they could have more of such programs.

About his Muslim education:

He learned when he was small, from his father, and from Thai teachers in a religious school built next to a mosque, about Arabic, about the Koran, and Islam. About Malay, he did not learn it particularly, but since there were many who could speak Malay in his village, he can also speak it. The teacher at the religious school was an Imam who took religious education in a college in Saudi Arabia. Currently, he is sending his children to a religious school built next to a mosque in Hajai for Saturdays and Sundays. Pondok is good at Islamic education, but in terms of general subjects, governmental schools are better, so he has no intention to send his children to Pondok as he is valuing general education more. He wants his children to get Bachelor's degrees at least, but if possible he wants them to go to general colleges, and particularly ones in Songkla. He does not really want them to go to Bangkok. It's better to have their children grown up in southern Thailand. Living expenses in Bangkok is so expensive that probably he would not be able to afford to pay for them. Besides, not only the matter of living expenses, once when he went to Ramkhamahaeng University he did not have a good impression of the students, so he would rather have their children study in his region, at STOU, rather than Ramkhamahaeng University. Also he is interested in letting them study in Islamic countries. In that case, he would like to help his children as much as possible. Apparently, as Muslim, fluency in Arabic and general knowledge in Arabic is necessary. Recently, they are offering Islamic Studies at Songkla University, and he thinks the

environment for learning Arabic is improving.

[Case 22] A Muslim female works as an instructor at a vocational school in Hajai.

About the background of the interviewee:

35 years old, female. She lives in a house in Hajai. She is a vocational school instructor, and not married. Before she used to work at the central office of the Ministry of Finance for two years, but she has been working in a current place for the 10 years. She was born in Phatthalung Prefecture, 4 years in grade school and three years in junior high she went to a school in the village she was born, and got a diploma from a vocational school in Songkla. After that she was teaching typing as a part time instructor at an educational college, quitting there she studied at a college for two years, the Ministry of Finance, and then to her current occupation. Her father did not have any education, but could read and write Malay, and her mother finished up to the 4th grade but can only handle Thai. Her grandfather on her father's side is an immigrant from Malay. Her father had been a sales person of various goods but died 10 years ago, her mother is still helping her father's business and she is still alive.

About her activities at STOU:

Entered in 1982, graduated in 1985. She took three year course in educational administration. She does not remember the time when she was in the school too well, but she never attended tutoring. She entered STOU because she could study anywhere, anytime, and that is convenient, the tuition was relatively inexpensive, and it is to her advantage for her possible promotion. She got a BA and fulfilled the requirement for promotion, so currently she is working as an assistant principal. She was not involved in student groups. What had changed after she had graduated was that she did get promoted, and perhaps because she was among those who graduated from STOU in its first year, those people around her recognized her ability and highly praised her. But she is not yet satisfied with this, and she is looking forward to take Bachelor's degrees in other subjects or a Master's degree. The public vocational school she is working at is a junior level one but there are only two Muslim out of 42 instructors. Other one is an instructor for sewing. There are roughly speaking 2,000 students but Muslim students count only to 10 %. Her rank in salary is C5. There are many STOU students among the instructors at her work. She is a Muslim Thai so she can not speak Malay, but she can read Arabic. She had Islamic education from her father, and also when she was in grade

school and junior high, with about 10 of her friends, she had classes at one teacher who is teaching in his/her house. To that, there was a financial aid from the religious organization of the district, so she did not have to pay. This teacher was an Imam graduated from Penang University in Malaysia. Rather than those people who got BAs from highly ranked colleges, those people who might have low ranked BAs but with better religious opinion would be more highly admired.

[Case 23] An officer at Songkla Prefectural Prison.

About the background of the interviewees:

Being interviewed are an officer at the prison and his wife. The husband is working at a place to educate prisoners, and his wife is also being a teacher in a grade school near by. The husband is a student at STOU law school, and his wife is a graduate from the department of education. The husband is 32, and his wife is 30. He lives in a housing for civil servants near the prison. His eldest son is 7, his second son is 4. They have been married for 9 years. He had been working for 13 years, and before he used to be a laborer at construction sites. His wife has been working for 10 years. His wife had graduated from a 3 year educational college after graduating from high school. The husband got his teacher certification after two years of the program for prospective teachers. Their combined monthly income is 10,000 bahts. All of their parents had educations up to the 4th grade, and working as a rice farmers. They were somewhat well off, so they could afford their son and daughter to have secondary educations. His wife was one of 10 children of her parents, but all of them had post junior high level educations. Both of them are from Songkla Prefecture.

About their activities at STOU:

The husband entered in 1988, and he has already taken 42 credits in law school. His wife entered two year course in education in 1985, and got a Bachelor's degree already. The husband entered the school because she was recommended by his wife. Both of them studied in average two hours a day. Sometimes they watch the TV programs. They listen to the cassette tapes well. They study at home, but since the husband has a long working hour, he also studies at his work. They hardly attended tutoring. About their motivations upon entering, for the husband was because he was recommended by his wife, and because they wanted to promote to higher positions by getting Bachelor's degrees. For civil servants, highest they can get promoted without Bachelor's degrees would be C3.

The motivation upon entering, for the wife was because she could study anywhere and STOU was convenient. It is not that she needs a Bachelor's degree for her promotion and the increase in her salary, as she is already getting paid for higher than a college graduate level, but she wanted to have self confidence and gain some knowledge. After graduating, the wife was given more responsible job, and also she was given more respect by her colleagues. The husband wishes to become a lawyer after graduating, quitting his current job. The wife did not get involved in a student club, but her husband is the committee member. His reason is because the seminars of the student club is useful for exams and studies. The problem of the remote education was that the wife experienced difficulties in studying because she was having a baby while she was in the school. The husband does not necessarily have Saturdays and Sundays off, so in order to attend tutorial, he has to ask his colleagues to substitute his shifts. In such cases, he has to pay the allowances. The text books of STOU is written in step by step, but have too many printing errors. About tutorial, it goes too fast, and there are conflicts in what they teach between tutors sent from the school and the local tutors. Also, supplementary teaching materials for tutoring is short and people fight for them. They want their children to have the education of the highest level possible. Of course Bachelor's degrees, and Ph.D. if possible. About colleges, they want their children to take national exams and go to colleges in Bangkok as much as possible. If that is not possible, Songkla University in their region would be fine. If that will not work out neither, they can just stay and go to STOU rather than go all the way to Bangkok and study at Ramkhamahaeng University.

[Case 24] A Chinese Thai motorcycle shop owner who is working as a president of the Student Club in Songkla.

About his background:

He is a Chinese Thai, a selling agent, running a motorcycle shop. He has three shops and one house. In his shops, he is hiring a dozen employees. His household consists of his mother, himself, his wife, his eldest son who is 20 and currently studying law in Thammasat University in order to become a justice, his 18 years old son and his 16 years old son, both are in high school, and a 5 years old girl. He wishes to send his second son to Chulalongkorn University and wants him to go far in the field of agriculture or he wants to make him into an engineer. Both of his parents came to Thailand from main land China. His father's father found education very important, and sent his father to a high

school in Beijing. Looking for freedom, his father came to Thailand with his wife, and had been working in a rubber plantation in southern Thailand. His father can not handle anything else too much beside Chinese, and his mother can barely read Chinese with her elementary level education. He has four other siblings. He is the eldest, received a certificate 26 years ago in a technical school of first semester junior high education level. All other four siblings are his sisters, the eldest sister is a high school graduate, she got married to a Chinese merchant of electrical appliances, his second sister learned social works in Thammasat University, received a Master's degree and working as a social worker, his third sister is a high school graduate, she got married to a Chinese regional civil servant, his youngest sister is a high school and got married to a Chinese engineer. Compare to his parents' academic careers, 5 of them have high academic careers. The interviewee had been working for two years as a foreman in a repair factory in his town after he had graduated from his high school, and later he started his own repair shop. Until 12 years ago, he had been a black market broker at night at a black market near the Malay border. 12 years ago he had a child, so he quit his dirty business. Currently he is earning 150,000 bahts. His expenses are 20,000 bahts per month. He is 47 years old.

About his activities at STOU:

Entered in 1984, to the department of law. He is expecting to graduate next year. He is doing pretty well. He studies in average 3 hours a day. He watch the TV and listen to the cassette tapes diligently on those subjects which are related to his, and as a leader of tutorial, he has enough knowledge. He is attending all tutorials. Virtually, his wife is running the shop so he has a lot of time to study. His motivation upon entering was to gain necessary knowledge in law in order to sell with loans, but now he wants to become a lawyer. Next year after getting a Bachelor's degree, he is going to take an exam in January, and if he passes, he can attend the seminar hosted by Thai Law Cooperation for one year, and if he finishes that, he can get certification for lawyers. He wishes to become a lawyer to protect social justice. Knowledge he learned from STOU is benefiting him because he does not have to bother lawyers any more in carrying out his business.

Significance of education for Chinese Thai merchant:

The reason why he wants his children to have high academic career is because in order to let Chinese Thai people penetrate into the Thai society, it is important to let these children become civil servants and others by letting them get strong academic background. Particularly, in order to run businesses, good connections help to let those people in

governmental offices make restrictions looser. Before, education was not important in such a sense, so his father did not consider education was as important. Such tendencies started to prevail like 15 years ago. In reality, most Chinese Thai people end up finishing their education in high school. A fraction of them who succeeded in business send their children to colleges and let their children have jobs in governmental offices. And yet they think that they can not succeed in business only with education, but rather natural wits or certain ability some of them are born with are more important. Yet, if relatives have proper educations and have titles as civil servants, the business opportunities do expand. As the size of business expands and become an organization of joint-stock company, modern education and positions in the modern sector become more important. His children are attending public high school, but as they get close to the date entrance exams are given, he sends them to clam schools for 4 days a week, 4 hours a day. That is how his eldest son succeeded in getting into a good college, and his second son is going to the school now. He is paying 200 bahts a month for that school. He wants his daughter to get a Bachelor's degree at least. His father did not give him any suggestions, so he would like to give suggestions to his children and advise them not to waste time. The reason he does not hire any maid is because he wants to take care of his children by himself, and let them grown up without being spoiled.

[Case 25] A secretary of a Student Club in Songkla, an official from the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications.

About the background of the interviewee:

40 years old, male. He lives in a housing for civil servants in Hajai. He has been working as a civil servant at the Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications for 17 years. His wife is 35 years old, a secondary school teacher. He has two daughters, 13 and 12 years old. His parents were farmers. He was born in a village near Songkla. He had eight other siblings; he is the 4th eldest out of 5 males and 4 females. Out of them, only he had high school education, and his youngest brother who is 32 finished education of junior college level and working at governmental offices of the Ministry of Agriculture. All other siblings finished up to the 4th grade in elementary school. When he was 9 years old, he quit grade 4 in elementary school, and he had been helping his parents farming for 14 years. In 1971, when he was 21 years old, he had been working as a construction worker for 22 bahts a day. From this salary, he paid the tuition and he learned at the education program for adult people hosted by the Ministry of Education for three years, and got a junior high graduate equivalency. Meanwhile, he took exams to become civil

servants and in 1973 he got his current job. At first he had the lowest rank and his monthly salary was 450 bahts. After getting a junior high equivalency, he was in the high school level education program for adult people, but he did not complete this. While he was in this program, when he was 25, he got married.

[Case 26] A young DJ who works diligently at Songkla radio station of Radio Thailand.

About the background of the interviewee:

27 years old, male. He has been working as a reporter, a programmer, a program producer, a DJ, and an announcer at Radio Thailand Songkla radio station. There are more than a thousand radio stations in Thailand, all of which are publicly run. Radio Thailand also has around 10 radio stations across the country, and in Songkla radio station 15 people are working. Out of them, there are two who have jobs like him. Other 5 are technicians, the rest are desk workers, and one director. His rank is C3. He is from central Thailand. His household consists of his mother, his grandmother, his brother and himself, and his mother and his grandmother are growing rice. Their agricultural field is as small as 16,000m², and combined monthly income of three of them adds up to 4,000 bahts. His mother was a high school graduate, and his brother had just graduated from high school. He learned electrical engineering at a technical college, and since he had graduated until today, he has been working at Radio Thailand for 7 years.

About his activities at STOU:

Entered in 1989, he is expecting a BA in public relations. Since he is busy, in average he studies one hour a day, occasionally he watches the TV programs and listens to the radio programs, and attended almost all of tutoring. The reason for attending is to have deeper understanding of the stuffs which he could not understand reading text books. His two motivations upon entering are; first, for his promotion, second, to have more knowledge and experience, and make a use of them in his work. He knew about STOU since he was a student, and he had been thinking he wants to study some day. Since he could not make the registration day, he has not been involved in a student club, but if he has an opportunity, he wishes to join them. Problems upon studying are that he does not have enough time to study, and that the text books proceed too fast and hard to comprehend. Particularly mathematics is difficult, and he thinks that it is too much into details. Sometimes he attends tutorial and get confused because the order is different from the text books. The TV programs lack in deep analysis. Exams are convenient because students

can take them in regional areas too. His knowledge he learned from STOU is helping him very well in his daily life as well as his work. As for his jobs, he has one DJ and two News programs in charge. Out of 15 at his work, there are 3 STOU students including himself, and one graduate. In future, he wishes to continue his job and become a manager, and also wishes to start his side business. He does get to choose a radio station, but he wishes to stay in Songkla. He thinks that degrees from STOU are worth the same as those of other colleges. The advantage is that it expands opportunities for high level education to those who did not have college education like himself.

[Case 27] A young temporarily hired office woman at a National Fisheries Experiment Station in Songkla.

About the background of the interviewee:

26 years old, female, temporarily hired office worker. She lives by herself in a rented house in Songkla. After graduating from high school, she studied for 3 years at an agricultural college, and in 1985 he got a diploma. Her father is an independent rice farmer of his field about 56,000m², and her mother is in charge of house keeping and farming. After she graduated, she had been helping house keeping for a while, but 2 years ago she came to Songkla and got her current job. Her father had an elementary education of about 4th grade level, and her mother hardly went to school. She had 8 siblings, the eldest was her sister, 47 years old, finished 4th grade in elementary school, and got married to a farmer. The second is her brother, 45 years old, and he is in agriculture. The 3rd is her sister, 40 years old, had 4 years in elementary school, her husband is running a rubber plantation. The 5th is her sister, 37 years old, and her husband is running a rubber plantation. The 6th is her sister, 35 years old, finished 4 years in elementary school, and her husband is running a fruit plantation. The 7th is her brother, 30 years old, and he is a miner. The 8th is her brother, 28 years old, a junior high graduate, and he is running a rubber plantation belongs to his wife. The last is herself. In the order of her cousin, her nephew, and niece; a diploma of a college level is the highest level. In future if she is to get a Bachelor's degree from STOU, as a member of her group, she will have an extremely high academic career. She entered STOU in 1988, and took courses in agriculture. She studies 10 hours a week, from around 8 o'clock at night. She did not use the TV and the radio, but studied by herself using text books and cassette tapes. She attended every tutoring. Her motivation upon entering was because recently there are increasing number of people who have BAs so she wanted to

have a better life by getting a better job by getting a BA. Right now she is only temporarily hired, so she wishes to get more stable job. The tuition at STOU is not that expensive, she can have education with the money she earned, and it is very convenient. She did not even know that student clubs existed. The problems upon studying is that text books are too clamming, and depending on subjects, there are some materials out of date. She is working at a National Fisheries Experiment Station, and out of 150 people working there, there are 3 STOU students and 1 graduate. In future she wishes to build a traditional Thai house, and if she could live a normal life she will be happy enough. She wants her children to get BAs at least, and she wants to send them to traditional colleges if possible.

[Case 28] A young male student at STOU who works at a fisheries experiment station.

26 years old, full time employed civil servant of C1 at a fisheries experiment station. He works as an instructor of fishermen. Together with his two colleagues, he lives in a dorm for civil servants. After graduating from junior high, he studied for 5 years at an agricultural school, and in 1986 he received a diploma. Currently his salary is 2,750 bahts + his allowance of 300 bahts. Both of his parents had 4 years of elementary education. His father is an independent farmer, and his mother is helping his father. Both of them and himself are from Songkla Prefecture. He has 3 siblings. The eldest is his brother, 35 years old, after graduating from junior high, he studied at a three year technical school, received a diploma, and currently he is running a wholesales rice store. The second is his sister, 32 years old, had 4 years of elementary education, and she is running a small restaurant. The third is his sister, 29 years old, had four years of elementary education, and she is helping a laundry shop of her husband. Two brothers out of 4 siblings got promoted by receiving diplomas. He just started taking classes in law since June 1989. He studies about 6 hours a week, but he studies more before exams. He doesn't use the TV and the radio, but he studies with cassette tapes, text books and by attending tutoring. His motivations upon entering were, because his current job finishes on time, he wanted to use his night time and gain more knowledge, and that he wanted to promote by achieving higher academic career. He can study at STOU while working. If he receives a Bachelor's degree, he wishes to change to a better job. He knew about student clubs but did not join them. His reason for not joining is because he was not interested. He had no problem in studying. Even if he receives a Bachelor's degree, he would not be able to get promoted unless he passes the exams for promotion. Everyday, he woke up at 7, reported to his work at 8:15, had breakfast after arriving at his work, worked until 4:30, and had dinner around 7 after hanging around.

After dinner, he went out or read text books until 12, depending on days. He does not possess anything big. The money he can spend is 2,000 bahts monthly. If he has enough money, he wishes to buy up and hoard lands. He wants his children to get diplomas of college level at least.

[Case 29] A young female who works at a hotel in Hajai.

About the background of the interviewee:

27 years old, female. She is a clerk of an international hotel. She lives in Hajai, in a house she rented with her 4 other friends. Out of 5, 3 of them are employees of the same hotel. Office work in this hotel is her first job she ever had. She has 7 siblings, and out of 8, she is the 6th. Out of 8, there is one who has a BA from Songkla University, two who have degrees from vocational school, and one high school graduate. She got a diploma in a technical school after studying business for 2 years until 1984. Her current monthly salary is 2,700 bahts + various allowances of 300 bahts. Both of her parents had about 2 years of elementary education. Her father is a rice farmer of his field about 19,200m², and her mother was buying and selling natural rubber. Her family was very poor. Perhaps this is an indication of the change of the Thai society that siblings with considerably high academic careers are coming out from such a poverty. She is a Thai of Thai descent.

About her activities at STOU:

She just entered in June, 1989. She wishes to graduate within 4 years, if possible. She is taking courses in business in studies of business administration. She is studying one hour every day. She does not watch the TV programs of STOU very often. Also, as she does not receive detailed information about it, she has not attended much of tutoring. Her motivations upon entering were because currently she has some time even though she is working, so she wanted to use that extra time effectively, that in Thailand right now she can not expect to have a good job unless she has a Bachelor's degree at least, and that she wanted to have higher salary. Her brother-in-law was a STOU graduate, and recommended her to enter STOU. It was also because she could study while working. After graduating, she wishes to get a stable job like being a civil servant, or she wants to start her own business like a merchant of electric appliances. She will decide if she will or will not continue at STOU, looking at her grades in the first semester, and if she will, she wishes to join a student club too. Right now she is just trying out. Her problems

upon studying are that she is busy and she does not have enough time, and that she is short of information regarding the system of the university. She expects her children to have academic careers with BAs at least, and higher the better. She prefers traditional colleges. If a son, she wants to make him a civil servant, and if a daughter, a nurse at a public hospital. Her reason is because such jobs are stable.

[Case 30] A Chinese Thai woman who works at a car dealer in Hajai.

About the background of the interviewee:

27 years old, female. She lives in a house rented by her parent, together with her mother, herself, and her nephew. She is the youngest of 10 siblings. Out of those 10, there is none who has an academic career higher than high school graduate, and only she and her youngest brother are the ones who finished high school. Her father was born in main land China, and her mother is a Chinese Thai born in southern Thailand. There were many children in a family, and her family was very poor. Both of her parents hardly had any education, and they could hardly read and write Thai. Her father is a rubber plantation worker, and her mother is a housewife. She graduated from high school in 1984 when she was 22 years old, but this is because there had been a change in the education system in Thailand, and also because she started going to school when she was 9 years old. After graduating, first she was working as a cashier in a hotel, but now she is working as an office worker in a company which sells cars. By changing her job, she could increase her payment and vacations. Now she is earning like 10,000 to 12,000 bahts. Her salary depends on the amount of sales they make.

About her activities at STOU:

Entered in 1986, and she is expecting to graduate in October 1990. She is taking business courses in the business administration department. All the Chinese Thai students the interviewer has interviewed are choosing business. She is studying 6 hours a week, she does not watch TV, but she attends tutorial often. Her motivations upon entering were, because she wanted to gain some knowledge, she wanted a strong academic career to get a better job and enjoy higher standard of living, and she wanted to be the first one in her family to get a Bachelor's degree. Her reason for choosing STOU is because then she does not have to leave her location. After graduating, she wishes to start her own company related to car dealing, using her expertise in business. Her fiance whom she is expecting to marry next year is also involved in selling cars, and she wants

to start independent business with him. Her fiance is Thai with Thai descent (not Chinese Thai) and a graduate of a technical school. She is recommending him to enter STOU too. She is recommending him to enter STOU. Out of her siblings, three of them got married to Thai with Thai descent so there is no problem. She is involved in a student club because she wanted to join study groups and get more friends. Her difficulties upon studying is that they did not offer any tutorial for mathematics and statistics even though these subjects are difficult. She bought a color TV 10 years ago, a VTR, last year, and a refrigerator, 2 years ago. She is driving 1984 Toyota pickup truck. When she thought of getting a Bachelor's degree, she wondered if she should go to Ramkhamahaeng University or STOU, but since her family did not financially support her, she had to choose STOU. Her family had an opinion that it is better off investing in lands other stuffs than investing in education. Even among Chinese Thai, young people are starting to change their way of thinking and starting to have higher academic career, but in her parents' generation, they still tend to persist with money. She thinks that general education and business education are both important, and one's ability is more important than one's academic career. She thinks that education would help her in her jobs after all, but her parents do not think that way, and particularly they thought that women do not need to have high education. They were advising her siblings it is better to forget about schools and care about work. If she is to have children, she wants them to have BAs at least; she wants them to have the highest education possible. If she is to have a son, she wants him to learn business and be successful their business. That way he can be wealthy, and he can look them after their retirement. She prefers traditional colleges. If she is to have a daughter, she wants to make her into a nurse.

[Case 31] A Muslim police officer, a committee member of the Songkla Prefectural Student Club.

About the background of the interviewee:

The interviewee is a Muslim Thai police officer, 43 years old. He lives in a housing for civil servants in Hajai, Songkla Prefecture. His family consists of his wife, 37 years old has been married him for 12 years, his eldest son, 12, his second son, 9, and his daughter, 7 years old. He got this job right after he graduated from high school. There are only quite a few Muslim police officers in Thailand. He can read and speak Malay but can not write it. His wife has a BA, and their combined income (monthly salaries of the two + a construction-related side business of the husband) adds up to 40,000 bahts per

month, and this belongs to a middle class. When he was small, there weren't enough Islamic schools around them, so he gained most of his Islamic knowledge from his parents and magazines published by Islamic cooperation. Perhaps because many intellectuals are from Phatthalung Prefecture, his faith is considerably strong too. His father had 4 years of elementary education, and he could speak Malay. His mother was a Buddhist born in Songkla, and after getting married she started to believe in the Islamic faith, could not speak Malay. After his father died rather early, 9 siblings split the land. He is the youngest of the 9, and out of 9 siblings, 4 are living in this village, and 5 are out to Hajai working. He is the only high school graduate, there is one junior high graduate, and the rest had up to the 4th grade in elementary school. The 6th eldest one, his brother, studied in Malaysia for Islamic studies, but last year he died of cancer. He contributes to a mosque 250 bahts out of his net income of 10,000 bahts every month.

About his activities at STOU:

Entered in 1982, four year course in law school. He has already taken 17 subjects. He is studying almost nothing. He does not watch the TV programs nor listen to the cassette tapes. At the beginning he used to go to tutoring a bit, but as he is busy with his side business in these days, he has not attended recently. He still needs more time to graduate. His motivation upon entering was for his promotion. But in future, he would like to quit being a police officer, and start a pharmacy kind of store within about 5 years. He is a committee member of a student club. He is the member because 4 years ago he bumped into a Chinese Thai merchant in Case 24, became his friend, and became a committee member when he tried to start their own tutorial, organizing a student club. The text books of STOU are very good, and he entered because with these he thought he could study.

About STOU from a Muslim point of view:

Degrees from STOU are equivalent to those of the other colleges, but from a point of view with religious values, they could just be pieces of paper. Yet, if there are two with have same amount of religious background and same amount of Islamic education, one who has a BA will have higher reputation.

About his work:

Currently, he is in charge of public relations in Hajai Police Department. Out of 300 in Hajai Police, there are 30 to 40 Islamic believers. Among these Islamic believers, the one

with the highest position is a police sergeant (not as high). He is currently C4. He does not really think he should promote in his current work. Officially, there is no discrimination against Islamic believers. There are many other STOU students at his work.

About his children's education:

He would love to send his children to Pondok. Right now he is sending his daughter to a religious and general school in a village. There, he wishes her to have a general knowledge as an Islamic believer and high school graduate equivalency as a general education, and send her to Songkla University. He will let her take local entrance exams for colleges, if she passes, he will send her to Songkla University, and if she could not make it, he will let her take the nationwide standardized entrance exams. Yet, he does not want her to go to Bangkok, and if she can not make Songkla University, she can go to STOU which she can stay in her place and work. Ramkhamahaeng University is not good because they can not work while studying. Bangkok is not good because it has degenerating and consuming social environment, and religious identity as an Islamic believer will be lost. Therefore, in a sense that he can have his daughter in southern Thailand where Islamic influence is strong, and that he can still have an opportunity for high level education for her, STOU has been accepted and considered as a new opportunity of social mobility among Muslim in southern Thailand.

[Case 32] A motor cycle repair mechanic in Hajai: part 1 - a dream to become a white-collar worker.

About the background of the interviewee:

21 years old, male. He goes to the motor cycle repair shop from his house. Now there are only three in his house hold; his parents and himself, but he has two younger sisters, both of them got married and live in Hajai. The first sister had 6 years, and the second sister, 4 years of elementary school. The interviewee got a high school equivalency in an informal evening school. In terms of proportion, such cases like his would be less than 10 %. It has been a month yet since he started working in this shop. Before, after graduating from junior high, he had been working as a construction worker for a few years, and recently after working as a sales person of car radios, with someone who introduced him to this place, he got this job. In the shop he is working now, there are 6 repair mechanics, and the person who has been working for the longest time has been

working for the 3 years. There is no rank among them, and their salaries depends on numbers of year they have been working and their repair skills. His monthly salary is 1,500 bahts. The third year person is getting 2,400 bahts. His father is working at a governmental office with no rank, as a worker, and his mother is working as something similar to an office worker in an office. Each of his parents is earning 2,100 bahts. His father is a grade school graduate, his mother did not graduate from school.

About his activities at STOU:

Entered in 1988, to 4 year course in public relations. His grades are about average, he studies 2 hours a day. Sometimes he watches the TV programs of STOU, does not listen to the radio, but he does listen to the cassette tapes. Very often he attends tutoring. Since he does not have his own desk, he is studying on a couch. His motivations upon entering are because STOU is convenient, and he wanted to make a good use of his free time. The reason he chose the department of public relation is because he wanted to do some business related to advertising. (Here, the interpreter added that the interviewee can not be an owner, that he can only work at an office.) His family belongs to a low social class, and he is thinking of moving upward taking the advantage of STOU, but the interpreter feels that there is a limit. He is involved in a student group. Problems upon studying is that information about text books and others come in very late. For exams, he reads all text books, takes notes, and studies over and over. About text books, they are pretty okay in terms of the academic standard, but sometimes they are written too much into details. Tutorial is good in general, but often they do not have enough text books for all students. Also, sometimes text books of tutorial covers only limited topics and too short, or in other time stuffs are too clammed and he can not catch up. Sometimes he watches English TV programs, but they are too difficult for him to understand. What he is learning from STOU does not help him in his work nor in his daily life. His future plan is very vague. He is the kind of man who constantly study. When he recommended STOU to his friend, he paid 30 bahts for him and got an application for him. Because he is going to STOU, he can talk to people around him without hesitation, and he can now have a normal relationship with them.

About his general impression:

Although his family belongs to rather poor class, he himself is a very hardworking man, he has a nice smile, he responds to questions quickly and there is something clever about him. Although the interviewer feel that the interviewee would study at STOU steadily, he

is not yet very clear what, going to STOU now means, for his future, and it is like he is studying because he likes studying. In a way, STOU is used as a scheme to create a new middle class in Bangkok, but the interviewer is impressed that it is expanding opportunities for education, in regional cities like Hajai, to those people who would not have any opportunity for high level education like this young man unless they have STOU.

[Case 33] A motor cycle repair mechanic: part 2 - as a right-hand-man of a store master:

About the background of the interviewee:

26 years old, male. There are 7 in his family, his parents, his elder brother, his elder sister, himself, and two younger sisters. Currently he lives in a dorm of the motor cycle shop with his brother. He does not have to pay the rent, but the room is very small. His father is running an ice cream shop in Hajai, and his mother is a housewife, also helping his father. Both of his parents are from Hajai. His father had 4 years of elementary education, and his mother had no education. His father earns 3,000 bahts every month, the interviewee is earning 2,400 bahts. Total in his family adds up to 5,000 to 6,000 bahts. His brother is 31 years old, a junior high graduate, he had been working in Bangkok for a while but now he is back to Hajai and is working with him together. His elder sister is 28 years old, a junior high graduate, and she is working in Bangkok. The interviewee graduated from an evening high school, had been working for 2 years as a temporary electronic technician, but after that he is back to where he is now, and this is his third year. His second sister finished P7 (7th grade in elementary school) and she does not have any job now, his youngest sister is currently in high school.

About his activities at STOU:

Entered in 1988, and he is taking a 4 year course in the department of business administration. His grades are around average. He studies about 2 hours a day, and a lot more on Sundays. Mostly he studies on his bed. He can not watch the TV programs of STOU too often because his working hours are not regular, and sometimes he gets into fight with his family over the TV. He does not listen to the radio at all. He sometimes listens to cassette tapes. He can attend tutorial only once in a while because he is busy. The difficulty of the text books is acceptable, and he thinks the text books are well written. He can clearly see the points authors wanted to emphasize. Education at STOU is very convenient for studying by himself. For exams he reads his text books over and

over while underlining them, and solves practices problems in addition. There is no difficulty upon studying. He is also involved in a student group. He entered STOU because he thought he could organize the work he is doing right now using the knowledge of business administration which he learns from a college. In this motor cycle shop, there are 6 employees but he is the one who has been working for the longest time, and he is in a position of a right-hand-man of the owner. In future, he wishes to have this kind of shop by himself, the owner also wants him to too, and the owner often teaches him how to carry out business administration. About the effect of his studies at STOU, now he can guess what the owner has in his mind, and that he can control his lifestyle using his academic knowledge. He knows about the existence of STOU for the long time, he had been thinking that he is going to make it someday, and now he finally made it to STOU. His elder brother, whom he is living with, hates studying, and he does not go to STOU. He told a few of his friends how convenient STOU is, and actually they started studying.

[Case 34] A STOU female student who works at the Bank of Bangkok in Hajai.

About the background of the interviewee:

24 years old, female. She lives with her parents in Hajai. She works at a bank. There are 6 in her family, her father, 50 years old, her mother, 45 years old, she is the eldest daughter, the eldest son, 23 years old, the second daughter, 20 years old, and the youngest daughter, 18 years old. She used to work as a secretary in an office in Songkla University, but after entering STOU she came to her current office. She went to schools near by for her grade school and junior high, graduated from a high school in Hajai, and received a diploma from a technical school of junior college level. Her parents had 4 years of elementary education, her father is running a rubber plantation of 64,000m², and her mother is a housewife. Her parents and herself were born in a suburb of Hajai, where they live now. She had religious education from her grandfather before she goes to school, and until her 3rd year in junior high she learned Arabic and Islamic religion in an Islamic school near by only during summer vacations. Because she is from Thai Muslim district, she speaks Thai, and her Arabic is just something she had learned from an Islamic school. This Islamic school is independent, and established separately from a mosque. There are 202 employees at the branch office in Hajai, and there are only 2 Muslim. There are many other STOU students at her work. Her monthly salary is 4,300 bahts.

About her activities at STOU:

Entered in 1987, she is taking a 2 year course for studies of business administration; she has already gotten credits for 12 subjects. She studies about 10 hours a week. Since she does not have her own TV, she can not watch the TV programs of STOU, but she did listen to a part of cassette tapes. She studies in a study room, and attends tutorial for those difficult subjects like mathematics and statistics. Her motivations upon studying were that she could study at her parents' house while she is working, STOU was very convenient, and it is to her advantage in her promotion if she has a BA. There is no regular promotion, and when there is an open spot, they recruit from people in the office, but they do require a BA. She thinks she will graduate sometime this year, but she has no intention of changing her job. Nonetheless, she wishes to get a BA in accounting too. She is not interested in student groups. Her problem upon studying is that her text books are too thick and she does not understand which one is important and which one is not. Basically, tutorial is good, but she wishes if she could have more. She wants her children to have BAs at least. She wishes to send her children to general colleges, Songkla University if possible. If it is a choice between Ramkhamahaeng University and STOU, she prefers STOU. Unless her children can go to Chulalongkorn University or Thammasat University, she would rather let her children study near her, at STOU. In future, if she is going to get married, she would like to get married with an Islamic believer if possible, but if not, she would like to change her future husband's faith and live together as Islamic believers.

[Case 35] Strong kinship and passion toward education: a strategy of reviving of a typical Chinese merchant family.

About the background of the interviewees:

This family is selling shoes and bags on a main street in Hajai. The husband is 47 years old. His wife is 41 years old, his eldest son is 21 years old, a 4th year student in a business college in Bangkok, his second son is 20 years old, a 2nd year student in a business college in Bangkok, his eldest daughter is a third year student in a famous public high school in Hajai. The parents consider education very important, so all their children go to very good schools. Their shop is magnificent, and soon they are going to start their second shop. The eldest daughter wishes to major in business at Songkla University. She can do some reading and writing Chinese, but she is not really good at speaking Chinese. The father's parents are from Canton province, and moved to Thailand thinking

they will make a fortune out of business after they got married. At that time in Canton province, immigrating out to Thailand was very popular. Probably the parents only finished grade school, and both of them were gardeners. The husband himself was born in Hajai, finished 8 year business school in 1963, had been working, doing accounting in a shop, but he started his own small shop, and made it bigger little by little until today, to this size. The parents of his wife are also immigrants from main land China; his wife herself was born in Hajai, and she is a high school graduate. She met her current husband in Hajai and got married. The husband has 5 siblings. The eldest sister has a Chinese Thai husband, and they are running a business. The second one, his brother is also running a business in Hajai, he is the 3rd one, the 4th is his younger brother who is running a business near him. The 5th is also his younger brother, and he is a sales person of real estate in Hajai. The 6th is also his younger brother, running a business in Hajai, the 7th is his younger sister, after working in a company she got married to a Chinese Thai husband and running a building industry with him. This is a typical Chinese family.

About their activities at STOU:

The husband entered in 1984, and he is graduating with one more subject. This happened because his wife saw an advertisement on a newspaper about recruiting new students, and she strongly recommended him to. Her reason was because she was worrying about her husband as he goes out at night. The wife took programs in business and law in 1985, and they were extremely useful for her job. The husband also took 2 programs before, and in a program of theory of accounting, he won the award. After the husband graduates, then his wife is planning to start studying law. A good thing about degrees from STOU is that not the academic career, but expertise is useful (an opinion of the wife). A strong academic career leads to one's self confidence, and then one can win respect from his or her business partners. They wish to recommend STOU to their business partners, particularly those who had finished only high school.

About their lifestyle:

At home, they use both Thai and Chinese. More Thai, to be more precise. As their children say, grandparents use only Chinese, parents are using both about the same, and they use mostly Thai. The parents will let their children to have academic careers of a college graduate level at least. They will let their children go as far as they want. They will let them choose to which direction and to which field of studying they want to go.

However, in reality, children until now went ahead to study business and law, so they can see certain kind of pressure. Having their children gotten married to Thai with Thai descent is no problem for the parents. But letting their children not being able to speak Chinese will be a problem in carrying out business. They answer this way because they are so confident that there is no way their children would forget about their identity. Although customs and cultures as Chinese are eroding, they still celebrate Chinese New Years and worship their descent, and these they still protect firmly. In general, there is an impression that bondage among people with Chinese descent is solid. When they speak up, they are liberal, but as a result there are strong ties among relatives mostly concerning business. There is an impression that, to Chinese Thai people, education is not too much like a step to move out of their own society, but rather it is a step to reinforce it.

[Case 36] A female civil servant working at an agricultural guidance office in a suburb of Chiangmai, dreaming of a Master's degree.

About the background of the interviewee:

26 years old, female. She lives at her parent' house together with her parent. This is her first job, and currently she is working as a civil servant of C4, at an agriculture-related supporting department. She is the eldest of the three, (she has two younger brothers,) her 24 years old brother is a high school graduate and he is an independent farmer with his field about 96,000m², her 23 years old brother had 6 years of elementary education, and he already has a wife who is a housewife. The interviewee failed in college entrance exams after graduating from high school, entered in an agricultural college, and after having 2 years of education, she received a diploma in 1982. Her current salary is 1,450 bahts. Both of her parents had 4 years in elementary school. He father, who died back in 1973, was a farmer, and her brother succeeded all the fields. Her mother is also farming.

About her activities at STOU:

Entered in 1983 to the department of agriculture, took an agricultural administration course, and received a BA in 1986. When she was a student, she studied like 10 minutes a day, but one week before exams she studied like 3 hours a day. She could not attend tutorial because it was too far away. Her motivation upon entering was that she wanted to get a degree for promotion, in a college like STOU where she could get it while working. Now she is studying for a Master's degree, but that is because having only a Bachelor's degree would not be enough. In the organization she is working at right now, there are

local offices and regional offices, but in order to become an adviser at a regional office which covers a large area, it is to her advantage to have a Master's degree. However, it is not like a candidate can get the job automatically if he or she has an appropriate academic career, but he or she has to take exams. For this job, there are only a couple of people in every prefecture, and this is a very demanding job. She knew about student groups, but since there was none of them in her prefecture, she did not join them. Many of the stuffs she studied at STOU were something she had already studied through the trainings at her work, so they were not difficult. By getting a Bachelor's degree, a half of the people around her started to have different attitude toward her. She felt honored. Her colleagues started asking her more questions, but now she could answer them with what she had studied. In practical training session, she could learn systematic thinking, about human relationships and how to work out together through instructions of the staff members. Nonetheless, there has been no change with position in her work after getting a Bachelor's degree. This is because she was already in a BA level position. Right now she is looking for a position even higher than she has now and she is trying to get a Master's degree, but she does not really know how the system of promotion works, and she is just believing if she has a stronger academic career, her employment opportunity would expand. She is recommending STOU to her friends also, because they can get degrees while working, the tuition is not high, and they will have more opportunities in future. Out of 11 working in her office, there are 5 STOU students and 4 graduates. Her current job is that she visits farms and directly instruct farmers. She is in a course for a Master's degree right now, but this tuition is 9,000 bahts per semester, and 6,000 bahts in summer in addition. She is the only one who is studying this in her office. When compared to other colleges, she herself and people around her feel that traditional colleges are worth more than STOU. She wants her children to get BAs at least, and if she can send them to traditional colleges, she wishes to let them take up to Ph.Ds if possible. She thinks that traditional colleges are more difficult, and the result of the degrees are greater. If she can take a Master's degree, she will have even higher prestige, but she needs 2 more years for that, and there is a course which she writes a thesis and get a Master's degree, and there is another course which she does a case study and get a Master's degree.

[Case 37] A male civil servant at an agricultural guidance office in Chiangmai, gave up his higher education when he was young.

About the background of the interviewee:

37 years old, male. He lives in his own house in Chiangmai; out of 7 in his household, 4 are of his family, and 3 are his wife's parent's family. The 4 include himself, his wife who is 35 years old, selling snacks in a market, his son, 13 years old, and his daughter, 10 years old. His occupational rank is C5. The 3 include his wife's mother, and two younger sisters of his wife. The interviewee used to be a teacher at an agricultural school of a junior high level before he start working in his current place. In 1979 he passed the exams and switched to his current job. When he was young he wanted to go to college, but he could not afford it. His elder brother who is 38 years old finished a second semester secondary level school, and working at an airport. When he was young, his parents got divorced, his elder brother was grown up at his mother's place, and the interviewee was also at his mother's place at the beginning, but after his mother died he moved to his father's place, with his father paying his tuition, he studied at a 3 year agricultural school after graduating from high school, and received a diploma in 1974. His current salary is 7,200 bahts, and his wife's income is 3,000 bahts. His father had 10 years of education, became a soldier, climbed up to a considerably high position, and until 3 years ago he was getting paid around 9,000 bahts monthly.

His mother could hardly read and write, and she was a housewife until she got divorced when he was 10 years old.

About his activities at STOU:

He entered in 1982 to the department of agriculture, took courses in agricultural administration, and graduated in 1986. From like a week before exams, he studied about 10 hours every day. He did not use a TV, a radio, or tutorial. His motivation upon entering was because he was hungry to study, so he entered STOU as soon as it was established. After graduating, he would like to make a good use of what he has studied, at his work. In the agricultural school, he learned basic stuffs, but in STOU it was appropriate because he could study practical stuffs. The story that he achieved his academic career spread from a recruiting department to the whole office, and eventually people started to respect him. In the practical training course, it was good that he could get to know other students and teachers. There is no change after graduating such as a change in salary, but he could win people's respect and he could increase his working knowledge. He is suggesting STOU to his friends too because the tuition is not high, it does not affect to the working hour, and as long as a student is willing to, it is not difficult for him or her to graduate. Out of 16 people in his office, there are 4 STOU graduates including him. He wants his children to get BAs at least in traditional colleges.

His reason is because he wants them to study intensively when they are young. For financial reasons, he can not take a Master's degree, but he hopes that STOU will offer Master's courses.

[Case 38] An agriculture-related guide, looking for a Master's degree at Chiangmai Institute of Technology.

About the background of the interviewee:

37 years old, male. He lives in his parents' house in a suburb of Chiangmai. In his household, there are his parents, his grandmother, his elder brother, his younger brother, himself, his wife, and his son who is 6 years old, and his daughter, 4 months old. He is working as a civil servant, agriculture-related, and his rank is C5. Before, he used to teach studies of agriculture in junior high. In 1975 he finished junior high, studied at 5 year institute of technology, and received a diploma. He became an agricultural instructor with C3, but in 1980 he became a civil servant and dropped his rank to C2, but came back up to C3 right away, and before graduating from STOU he went up to C4. He entered STOU in 1982, got a BA from the department of agriculture in 1984. In 1988 he got promoted to C5, but this is not because of his academic career. Each of him and his wife are getting 6,800 bahts monthly, they don't have any side business. His father got a BA from an educational college, and his mother had 4 years in elementary education. His father is in the Ministry of Education, a civil servant with C7, and his mother is a housewife. Both of his parents belong to an ethnic group from Burma, born in Chiangmai. His family's financial situation is about average, now and then. There are 5 siblings, and the eldest is his brother, 39 years old, and he had hour years of elementary education but he is currently unemployed. The second is the interviewee, the third is his younger brother, has a diploma from a technical school, and working as a small-scale independent architect, the 4th is his younger sister, 33 years old, got a BA in education from STOU and she is working as a secondary school teacher, the 5th is his younger sister, 31 years old, she has a BA from a technical college, and she is working as a secondary school teacher too. His wife is Chinese Thai, and she is a secondary school teacher of C5.

About his activities at STOU:

Entered in 1982, and graduated in 1984. He got a BA in agricultural administration. He studied 2, 3 hours a day. He sometimes watched the TV, but did not listen to the radio at

all. He attended every tutoring. His motivations upon entering is that he wanted to get promoted, and he wanted to use his time efficiently and gain knowledge. To become C5, he has to take exams, but the exams are competitive like in the case of C5, 2,000 out of 3,300 pass, and for C6, less than 700 pass out of 13,000. They have these exams once in every two years, and they can try as many times as they want. He did pass C6, but actually he can not get promoted unless he has an empty spot. They have written exams for general knowledge, regulations within a bureaucracy, and expertise, and later they have interviews. For a part of exams for expertise, classes from STOU helped him. If one studies by one self, one may not be able to get promoted even if he or she has a degree, but if one started studying because a governmental office asked him to, he or she can take a "train" for his or her promotion after getting a Bachelor's degree. Right now he is studying for a Master's degree, and his reasons are because he wants more practical knowledge, and he wants to get promoted even further. After graduating from STOU, he made his decision to go for a Master's degree. What he needs for promotion are his ability, influence of his superior officers, and knowledge. The influence from his superior officers is very big. After getting a Bachelor's degree, people started to treat him very nicely, and they started to think that he has knowledge. Regarding his children's academic careers, depending on their ability, he has no particular opinion.

[Case 39] A notable local gentleman, a Chinese Thai stationary merchant who works as a president of an alumni association.

About the background of the interviewee:

61 years old, a president of a group of graduates in Chiangmai. He is also an executive in a Chiangmai Rotary Club. He runs a variety of businesses, but he is also an associate judge at a domestic relations court, a member of Thai Social Welfare National Committee, and a member of committees of Chiangmai University and other university which is the first private university in Thailand. He has a fancy stationary store along a main street in Chiangmai, and he lives upstairs of his store. This is his wife's parents' house, and the house where he was born is right near by. In northern Thailand, it is a tradition for a man to live in his wife's house together with her parents after getting married. He also has a dyeing factory and a garments printing factory beside the stationary shop. All together, he hires a little less than 150 employees. His income is 12,500 bahts a month. His father, who died a few years ago at the age of 101 years old, came from Canton province in main land China when he was 20 years old. His mother is a Thai. Both of his parents had elementary education. His father was a farmer at first when he came, but then he was

hired by someone, and after a while he started a small business of selling construction materials. His mother was helping his father. Regarding his academic career, he entered a private Chinese grade school, but since it was during the war, it was closed down by the government; for junior high, he went to a private missionary school called Prince Royal College, but this one was also closed down by the government. For high school, he transferred to another private school. After graduating from high school, he went right into business. Since their houses were close by, he knew his wife since she was small, but their fathers were in a bad term. This is because both of them were the leaders of two groups in Chinese community which were in conflict to each other. His wife was his sister's school mate; he started to persuade his parents using his cousin as he wanted to marry her. In northern Thailand, a wife possesses more power than her husband, so they tried to convince mostly a mother of his wife, and after spending one year on persuading, they succeeded in convincing their parents. He was the 9th man who proposed the woman who later became his wife, but since there was a reputation around his neighborhood that he was a very hardworking, good student when he was in high school, so he could become her bridegroom. In Chiangmai, some hundreds of families belong to this Chinese community, and although it is smaller in scale compare to those in Bangkok, this is the kind of community one can find across the nation. Now the tie among the community is starting to loosen. He has 12 siblings, and the eldest is his sister, about 80 years old, the youngest is about 40 years old. They are all in good health, and live either in Chiangmai or Bangkok. Out of the 13, there are 4 males. His elder brother is adopted, his academic career is around the level of a high school graduate, and he is running a business in Bangkok. The second male is himself. The 3rd one graduated from Chulalongkorn University, a governmental official of the Ministry of Natural Resources, an excellent Saxophone player (for fun), and he is a close attendant of an ex-Prime Minister. The 4th one had also graduated from Chulalongkorn University, and he is in the second highest position of one big electric merchant. His two younger brothers could go to Chulalongkorn University because his father and him worked and paid the tuition for them.

About his activities at STOU:

He entered STOU because there were many who had high academic career among his family and his acquaintances, he felt it was necessary, and also because his friend who happened to be the head of the study center came with an application and strongly recommended him. He entered in 1982, graduated in 1986, he was in the department of business administrations and he got a BA in it. He studied like an hour and a half every early morning back when he was studying. His difficulty upon studying was that he was

busy and he did not have enough time. By getting a Bachelor's degree, he benefited by winning other people's respect and also in terms of how he felt. It was pretty tough, so he does not intend to go for a Master's degree.

Right now he wishes to concentrate in playing golf, which is his favorite pastime. He plays golf at least 3 or 4 times a week with his relatives. His golf handicap used to go as far as 13. Since when he was 35 years old, he started playing golf, singing, doing volunteer social works, and learning English conversation. On holidays, he plays golf and watches TV, or writes back letters. He has two fax machines, in his house and at his work, two TVs and two VTRs, one air conditioner in his bedroom, and he does not need a washing machine because he has three maids. If he has more money, he would like to establish a foundation and establish a system of financial aid for poor people. Even now, he is donating 10,000 bahts to STOU, 10,000 bahts to Chiangmai University, some thousands bahts to an educational college in Chiangmai and a private Payupp University every year. If he has enough time, he would like to let other people take over his executive post and enjoy playing golf. Also, he would like to be more active in a volunteer social works. Since he has many friends in Chiangmai who have important positions in every political party, his policy is not to get involved in any of those political activities.

About his children:

His eldest daughter got a Bachelor's degree from Mahidol Medical School, and she is working as a dentist. Her husband graduated from Chiangmai University, and he is running a big electric appliance shop. His second daughter graduated from a nursing school of a university in Australia, and she is working as a manager of the stationary shop at home. Her husband is 35 or 36 years old, he took a Ph.D in engineering in the States, and now he is teaching at Chiangmai University. He is living with his second daughter, and he is planning to let her succeed his house. His third daughter took a Master's degree at NIDA (National Institute of Development Administration); her husband also got a Master's degree in the States and he is working as a manager at a chemical cooperation. His youngest son got a Bachelor's degree from ABAC (Assumption Business Administration College), and he is working as a manager of the printing factory his father is running, and at the same time, he is also working as a manager of a pretty big computer company. His children can speak English and Thai, and they did study Chinese but he is not sure if they can speak Chinese now. He himself is trying to assimilate to Thai very positively. All three of his sons-in-law are half Chinese half Thai, but this is just a

coincidence, and he has a strong tendency of bringing up his children as Thai or international people rather than Chinese. When he brought up his children, he emphasized helping themselves, and he took pretty much indifferent attitude toward them. He had two disadvantages, one for having Chinese descent, and also for not graduating from college, but still he succeeded considerably and active in the society as a notable gentleman. He does admit also that the degree from STOU was significant to this effect. He speaks 6 languages; 3 dialects of Chinese, Thai, Laotian, and English.

[Case 40] A librarian at USIS, fluent in English, "a man of discipline".

About the background of the interviewee:

46 years old, male. He is a quiet gentleman who works as a secretary of the alumni association. He is one of the 5 who were locally hired by a branch office of an American organization which provides information to promote the cultural exchange between the States and Thailand called USIS (United States Information Service). He is in charge of the library. His family consists of himself, his wife who is an official of the government, his 18 years old daughter who is studying in the States via AFS (American Field Service), his 16 years old daughter who is a first year high school student good at playing sports, and his 12 years old son who is in a grade school. About his academic background, he took veterinarian certification at first, then he got a BA in education from an educational college, and in addition he got a BA in law from STOU. For the first three years, he has been working as a veterinarian in a medical team, but since he spoke English fluently, he has been working for a year as an interpreter. Later, looking for a stable job, he changed to his current job, and it has been 23 years since then. After getting his current job, he attended evening classes of that educational college, and he got a BA in education. He has a strong self discipline; he receives education to improve himself. His father is an immigrant from main land China, and his mother was a Thai from central Thailand. He was born in Khon Kaen. His parents have been involved in agriculture; he has 4 more siblings, but two had died already. His younger brother is a public servant official at the Financial Bureau. Out of all siblings, he is the only one who got a BA. It is not clear whether he can handle Chinese or not.

About his activities at STOU:

Entered in 1983 to three year course in law, and graduated in 1986. His motivations upon entering are because with his expertise in law, he can live without giving troubles to

others, also he can help those who are in troubles, and he wanted to try if he has a bad memory or not. His grades are about average. Sometimes he watched the STOU TV programs, hardly listened to the radio, but he did use cassette tapes often. He went to tutoring whenever he could. When he organized self-study group and studied at USIS or at public libraries, he asked a local justice to be a lecturer, but he refused to receive remuneration. His difficulty upon studying was that he was busy with his work and his family, and did not have enough time. His wife was also working and she was a STOU student; all his family members were students, but he did not have any maid, so everyone split house chores. When he was the student, there were still some STOU text books which were incomplete, but later as they were revised many times, they are very well organized now. Tutorial is necessary for everyone, but sometimes among those instructors who were invited from outside the school, there were some who were not good at teaching. It is a problem that there are not enough full-time instructors for STOU. The TV programs, English especially, was something anyone could enjoy very much. About exams, they gave out true-false format at the beginning, but later they started giving out essay format ones and those were difficult. There was a subject which he failed a couple of times and ended up taking it thrice. Once he hurt his back bone and he had to stay in a hospital, a person in charge from STOU came to the hospital with exams, and he took the exams in his bed. The practical training course is an absolute necessity, and it is very significant because he can meet his teachers and other students comes from regional areas. His STOU education did not help him in his promotion, but his American superior officer started to recognize him, and he could improve himself. Also, he was appointed to one of the 24 associate judges of a domestic relations court, he felt very honored, and people in the town started to respect him. For his work in the library, and also when he is assigned to do various other projects beside his initial job, his expertise in law helps him in various ways. He is still taking a correspondence course of education at a college in the States. He has been into his job for a long time, but in three more years of working, he can get a privilege, so then he would like to quit this job and start his own business.

[Case 41] A male who is working as a news reporter at Thai Public Broadcast Station, got an opportunity for his promotion.

About the background of the interviewee:

41 years old, male. He is working as a TV reporter of the news program in a local station in northern district and the news programs of Channel 11 in nationwide network. His

rank as a civil servant is C5. After graduating from a high school level technical school, he got a job as a technician of the TV station and the related areas, started studying at evening classes of a diploma level technical college in Chiangmai in 1977 while working, and received a diploma after 2 years. Later he started studying public relations at STOU in 1985, received a BA in 1987, and came back to his current job in 1988. His monthly income is 7,200 bahts, and his allowance is 1,200 bahts. His father was a petty (lower) official in the Navy, but later he started a business of renting three wheelers; he was enjoying boom for a while, but later he bankrupted and his financial situation got worsened. His mother is a housewife. His father had about 10 years, and his mother has about 3 years of education. His father is from eastern Thailand, and he is from a regional city in eastern Thailand. He has 5 siblings. The eldest is his sister, 48 years old, had 4 years of elementary education, and she is running a clothes shop. Second eldest one, his sister who is 44 years old, had 10 years of education and she is running an apartment for students. The 3rd is the interviewee. The 4th, his sister who is 38, had 10 years of education and she is a civil servant. The 5th, his brother who is 36, had 10 years of education and he is a soldier. The 6th, his sister who is 34, went to a nursing college after 10 years of education and became a nurse. The reason he had education twice after getting a job was because when he was young he could not have high education, since his family was not very wealthy.

About his activities at STOU:

Entered in 1985, graduated in 1987, he has a BA in public relations. When he had time, he studied often. Always watched the TV, sometimes listened to the radio, and attended about 60 % of tutorial. His motivation upon entering was because when he was young his family's financial situation was not good and he could not go to college, but now he can pay a tuition by working by himself, and he thought he would need a Bachelor's degree for his promotion. After he graduated from Payupp, he applied to Chiangmai University and got accepted at a technical education course, but he did not like it because it was the course to become a teacher in technical related field after graduating, so he did not go after all. After 6 years STOU started to offer a public relations course, so he jumped right in. He thought he could become a reporter if he had a BA even before he entered STOU. At his work, it is not that promotions and changing jobs do not take place regularly, but they do have written exams and interviews, and to take these exams they require a Bachelor's degree. When a candidate passes the exams, his or her superior officers look for an open spot, and if they decide that the candidate is appropriate, he can get the job. STOU took a great part in him passing the exams because stuffs in the exams were similar to what he had been studying at STOU. After exams, he got promoted to C5

from C4. At that time, about 120 across the nation applied, and two kinds of occupations, news reporters and DJs were open; probably some 20 people passed. Recently the tendency for higher academic career which started in Bangkok did arrive even Chiangmai, and there are increasing number of people who get BAs by attending evening classes or by STOU. When he was in the school, his wife was not interested in starting to study at STOU, but after she saw him promoting after graduating, she was motivated to do so. Out of 75 who work at the Public Broadcast Station in Chiangmai, there are two STOU graduates and 7 STOU students. For promotion, besides exams, if the candidates are registered at a recruiting department as BA holders, they might assign them to open positions exclusively. After getting a Bachelor's degree, people around him, especially his superior officer, started to recognize him as an important person. He also felt like he became a different kind of person, and he got more opportunities of socializing with people with higher ranks. To his children, it depends on every case, but if they do not have a job and have enough time, he would like to let them go to usual colleges. If they do have jobs, open-to-public colleges would be okay, but he does want them to get BAs at least.

[Case 42] A summary of interviewing a school principal and another female teacher.

About the background of the interviewee:

The school principal is 32 years old, and his rank is C5. In 1978, he got a diploma from Chiangmai Teacher's College, and he has been working for 10 years. His parents are rice crop farmers. He has 5 younger brothers, and 4 including him graduated from high school or higher, two have BAs, and one has a diploma. He entered STOU in 1980, to the department of education, and received a BA in 1983. He entered STOU because they started to offer the course of school administration which he wanted to study at Teacher's College but he could not. The female is 30 years old, and her rank is C4. She graduated from Chiangmai Teacher's College in 1978. She is from a village near Chiangmai and her parents are rice crop farmers. Neither of her parents had any school education, but her father can read and write, and her mother also can, but not as much as her father. She entered STOU in 1984, graduated in 1987, and she took a BA. She entered STOU because she was stimulate by some of her colleagues in her former school who took Bachelor's degrees, and she thought of taking a BA too. She has been in this school for the 3 years.

About the education at STOU:

Both of them think that what they had studied at STOU are helping them by improving their realistic, practical ways of teaching, such as how to use charts and slides. About the significance of STOU to a small school on a country side, the principal thinks that his education at STOU taught him to work out with the community. In a small school on a country side, they can not expect any practical financial support from the central government, so cooperating with people in the community would be inevitable. The principal thinks that the stuffs in STOU text books are appropriate, but the female thinks that although they are appropriate, there are tendencies of including too much stuffs. The female once opened the text books and discussed about them with her friend, but the friend thinks that what they teach in STOU is more academic, more difficult, and of higher level compare to what they teach at Teacher's College. They talk to their students in a grade school about STOU sometimes. They tell them that even if they are poor and do not have any college near by, they can still take advantage of open-to-public universities, because they did graduate from it.

[Case 43] A female administrator of Radio Thailand in Chiangmai, her second Bachelor's degree following the one from Chulalongkorn University.

About the background of the interviewee:

44 years old, female. She lives in Chiangmai. She is a civil servant of her rank C6. Her husband also works at Radio Thailand, and his rank is C5. She has two daughters; 13 and 8 years old. Before working at this place, she used to work at Bank of Bangkok in Bangkok for about a year. She has 4 siblings; the eldest sister, 45 years old, had about 10 years of elementary education, and she is running a coconut plantation. The second one is the interviewee, working as an announcer; the 3rd is her 42 years old sister who is a nurse with a diploma from a nursing college, and she also graduated from STOU. The 4th is her 38 years old brother, graduated from a university in Philippine, and he is an engineer; the 5th is her 36 years old brother, had 10 years of elementary education, and he is running a coconut plantation. The interviewee took a BA in business at Chulalongkorn University 20 years ago. Her current income is 12,950 bahts, and her husband's income is a little over 10,000 bahts. Her father had 3 years, and her mother had 1, 2 years of elementary education. When she got the job, people could become civil servants with 4 years in elementary education. Her father was a bamboo basket merchant, and her mother was a housewife. They also had a coconut plantation of about 20,800m² in south to

Bangkok, hiring about 15 people, so they were not particularly short of money. Both of her parents are from south to Bangkok.

About her activities at STOU:

Entered in 1986, to the department of public relations, and she is expected to graduate in 1990. She studies about 2 subjects like a month before the exams, for about 2 hours a day preparing for the exams using her text books. She often watches the TV, but does not listen to the radio, she often attends tutorial, particularly for statistics. She entered STOU because she did not have any expertise as an announcer although she did have a degree in business, so she decided to use STOU. She got promoted to a middle rank administrator, but to give suggestions to people working under her, she needed a systematic knowledge in this field. If she had taken courses, she could force herself to study, and also she did not have to go to school, and that was an advantage of STOU. About student groups, she was one of those who established them, but she was busy and could not join them afterwards. When she was in Chulalongkorn University, she had an impression that people had been treating her like a child as she was young, but at STOU, her willingness is important. She is suggesting to those who are working under her to enter too. As a superior officer, she trusts STOU graduates very much. Her reason is because one needs strong willingness to graduate, and it is no inferior than other colleges. For her children, she wants them to get at least BAs, and she prefers traditional colleges as long as they have ability to. Her reason is because there are many good effects in terms of friends and social life. Ramkhamahaeng University is also an open-to-public university so one needs strong willingness. She thinks that when they are still adolescents, traditional colleges would be easier places to study.

[Case 44] A mighty intellectual female teacher who wishes to get a new job.

About the background of the interviewee:

36 years old, female. She teaches microbiological science at the Faculty of Associated Medical Sciences in a hospital's college in Chiangmai. She teaches classes 2 days a week, four hours a day. In here, there are 150 faculty staffs split into 7 subjects, and out of them, 70 are teachers. If you study in here, you can get a BA. About her academic career, she had been working here since she got her BA at Chiangmai University, later she got a MA in microbiological science at Chulalongkorn University, she came back here, and she has been working since then. Her family consists of her husband, herself,

her 8 years old son, and 4 years old daughter. Her husband is a military personnel; he used to study at STOU but he did not make it. The monthly incomes are 4,000 bahts for her and 10,000 bahts for her husband. She is from northeast region, her father is from Nakhon Sawan, and her mother is from Chiangmai. After getting a BA in agriculture in a university in Philippine, her father was in a position, with quite a lot of responsibility, to go around tobacco plantations in various places of Chiangmai. Her mother has a Bachelor's degree in literature from Chulalongkorn University, and also she has a diploma in education, and she is a housewife. Her elder brother took a BA in economics, and doing the same job as his father.

About his activities at STOU:

Entered in 1987 to the department of public relations. Her motivations upon entering were that her current job is too hard and she hated it, and also because she was recently appointed to a member of the editorial board of a school newspaper. Once started studying, she figured that studies of mass communications are a lot more fun than studies of sciences. There are 2 plans after graduating; one is to make a use of her knowledge to her current job, and the other one is to change to a job which is related to mass communications. For her, the latter is more desirable, but in the current situation where she is now, she can only choose the former. The quality of STOU text books are high, but she thinks that there are some mistakes in their contents. There is no problem with tutorial; the TV programs are fantastic. Her problem upon studying is that she wishes to study but she does not even have a time to open her text books. About student groups, she just heard about them recently, and she has not joined them. Since she is working in a small college, she has many miscellaneous duties which keep her busy. She has to take care of microorganisms, so virtually she has no holiday. For her teaching job, STOU education does not help her directly, but because she learned communications, it helps the relationships between her and her students or other people. Sometimes the know-how she learned at STOU helps her in making videos for her volunteer activities which she does during her holidays. Out of 70 teachers, there are 6 STOU students, and 2 of them are majoring in mass communications. STOU is very famous, so it is not like she has to let her friends know about it. About the future plan of her children, she will let them decide. She does not matter which way they go. In Thai society, a person with just a Bachelor's degree is a plain idiot with specialty, and such person is totally useless. Rather, in recent years they have more vocational schools, and they have been successful to certain extent. She wants her children to make judgment by themselves, and more than that, she wants them to become being able to make judgment with careful consideration to

the society and people around them.

[Case 45] A woman who works at Chiangmai Broadcast Station of Radio Thailand; her way to new middle class.

About the background of the interviewee:

42 years old, female. She is working in accounting, and producing radio programs, in Chiangmai Broadcast Station of Radio Thailand. She was born in Bangkok, graduated from a business high school in 1968, and had been working in a company in Bangkok doing marketing. Later she started working at Radio Thailand in Chiangmai; she has been there for 20 years since. Since she was young, she really wanted to come to Chiangmai, and when she entered Radio Thailand, she also applied to a governmental office for public relations, and she was accepted. Right now her rank is C5, and her monthly income is 6,000 bahts. For her side business, she has been working in an insurance company as a manager since 10 years ago, and her monthly income from that company is 14,000 bahts. Her grandfather was a general of the Army, and both of her parents are from Bangkok. Her father has a BA from Thammasat University, he had been a teacher for a while, became a police officer, and got his position as high as a colonel. Her mother has a diploma for nursing, and she is a housewife. She has 8 siblings. The eldest sister is a high school graduate, and she is a grade school teacher in Bangkok. The second eldest sister is the same. The 3rd eldest, her brother, has a diploma in business. The 4th, her sister, has a BA, and she is a teacher. The 5th is the interviewee. The 6th and the 7th are twins, and the 6th, her sister, is a housewife with a senior diploma, and the 7th, also her sister, is a high school graduate who is a teacher. The 8th, her brother, took a BA from a university in Philippine, one more BA from Kasetsart University, and he is a medical doctor. The 9th, her sister, is a handicapped person, and she does not have any academic career.

About her activities at STOU:

Entered in 1987 to a 4 year course in the department of public relations. She has already taken 96 credits, and she has 6 more subjects to go. She entered STOU to get promoted to a higher position by gaining more expertise. Her husband (ref. [Case 41]) studied at STOU and got promoted to a TV reporter from a technician, so she also wants to get a BA so that she can become a producer from an accountant. There are 10 producers, from C3 to C9, and they need BAs. Before, she was too busy getting certain amount of income, and did not have time to think about, but 2 years ago her job became stable finally, and

started to think that she really wants to get promoted. She studies about one hour a day. Right now she is busy preparing for exams. She does not use any teaching materials except her text books, but she is always attending tutoring. Her reason is because she can get good suggestions from her teachers. She has not involved in student groups yet. Her problem upon studying is that she does not have enough time to study. With only text books, she can not comprehend the materials well enough, also there are subjects which are too detailed, and they are not very convenient for studying by herself. Tutorial is very good. Her current job is accounting, and producing and broadcasting a music program from 8:30 to 9 o'clock at night, 5 nights a week; her classes at STOU are helping her very much in this job. She can use her knowledge in producing programs, and also she can use her knowledge to improve her personality. The benefit her husband enjoyed after graduating was that he could become a reporter, and that he got higher prestige as people around him started to consider him differently. There is no difference between STOU and other traditional, usual colleges in terms of the value, and it does not matter where, one had graduated from. Particularly, at this point, STOU is the top in a mass-communication-related curriculum and what a student can get from them. She wants her children to finish college at least, but she will let them decide which department they want to go to or which subject they want to major in. As for her wish, she wants her daughter to go for a broadcasting-related field, and her son to become a great military personnel. She is telling her children that, perhaps, if they study with a lot of effort, it will be good for their future. Her son is pretty good at studying, so she wants him to get a Ph.D if possible.

[Case 46] From a Chinese to a Thai; a daily life of a young Chinese Thai employee of a company.

About the background of the interviewee:

29 years old, male. He is a Chinese Thai. He lives in Bangkok with his family. There are six siblings and his parents in his family. His father came from main land China. His mother was born in Bangkok, but her parents came from main land China to Thailand. He himself was born in Bangkok. His father is a driver helping his younger brother's food business. His mother is a housewife. He graduated from a business high school, first got a job at a shipping company but changed his job several times, and from 1983 he has been working as a manager in his uncle's mechanical company in Chiangmai. His monthly salary is 6,000 bahts. His father's income is 3,000 bahts. His father is a junior high graduate, and his father had P4 (4 years in elementary school) or less. He is the

eldest son, and his younger brother is 27 years old is an employee of a company after getting out of the economics department of Kasetsart University, his sister who is 26 years old used to work in a big farm after studying veterinary at Kasetsart University, but she was not satisfied with the job, so now she is studying human sciences at Ramkhamahaeng University; she is not married. His other sister has a diploma from a business technical school, she is working as a company's secretary, and at the same time she is studying at ABAC (Assumption Business Administration College); she is not married. His other younger brother who is 22 years old is studying business at Ramkhamahaeng University. His youngest 10 years old brother is a grade school student. To pay the tuition for those who had high level of education, they used a private financial group within the Chinese community.

About his activities at STOU:

In 1984, he entered to a 4 year course in the department of economics. Right now it is his 6th year, and he has finished 18 subjects out of 24. His grades are not good as he does not study much. He has not attended any tutoring. He entered STOU because when he was interested in studying, he got to know about STOU via newspapers and a TV. Still, he gets tired of studying very quick, and also he is often too tired to study because he has been working, and he is experiencing some difficulties in graduating. He used to be involved in the establishment of the student group in Chiangmai, but too many people rushed to it, and it broke away; he does not know what is going on with it now. He can use his classes at STOU to his occupation, and he can expand his way of thinking. In these days he watches STOU programs on TV, during holidays. Yet, there is no socializing with the other students.

About the fact that he is Chinese Thai:

His father can do some reading and writing in Mandarin (Chinese), but he can not. His parents brought him up, very strictly in terms of studying, but not as a Chinese. The reason why he did not go to college was because he was in business high school, he was not too confident of academic subjects. The reason why he chose a business high school was because he did not really think and he wanted to start working early. He would like to get married at any time as long as he has a good partner, but he prefers Chinese Thai. His reason for saying this is because he can get his family's consensus easier this way, and his partner would adopt to his family easier. He does not know too much about Chinese traditional culture, and he never thought about them seriously. What he has learned at STOU would be one condition in future to start his carrier as an owner of a

shop. He can have self confidence, and if he is to look for a new job, it would be to his advantage.

Chapter 2

Statistical Profiles of STOU Students and Graduates: From Interviews

Introduction

In November and December of 1989, the NIME Research team conducted intensive interviews with the total of 140 STOU students and graduates. Interviewees were not randomly sampled, but either STOU Student Clubs or Alumni Groups kindly collaborated to select them. Interviews were done, through Thai-English interpretation, mainly one-to-one basis with using open-ended type interview manuals. Open ended answers according to planned interview items are after-coded for statistical analyses in this section.

In most cases, it took about one hour to conduct each interview. Interviews were carried out either at interviewees' houses or workplace, or at STOU's headquarter or study centers. In some cases, group interviews with 3 to 5 interviewees at the same time were carried out, too.

In this chapter, we summarize and report main characteristics of those interviewees such as personal attributes, reasons to enter STOU, impact of learning at STOU on their life, learning activities at STOU, social backgrounds, and so on.

1.1 Personal Attributes

First, let us take look at personal attributes of our interviewees. Out of 140 interviewees, 75 are students and 65 are graduates. Totally, 54.3% of interviewees are male, while 45.7% are female. Present official statistics of STOU student body show that 50.3% are male, and 49.7% are female, therefore sex composition of our interviewees is very closed to total student body of STOU (Table 1).

Table 1 Gender Composition of STOU Students and Graduates(%)

	Current Students	Graduates	Total
Male	45.3	54.7	54.3
Female	64.6	35.4	45.7

Age distribution of our interviewees shows that 36% are younger than 30, 30% are between 30 and 39, 21% are 40's, and 14% are older than 50. Among graduates, there are more older persons than current students as shown in Table 2.

Table 2 Age Composition of STOU Students and Graduates(%)

Age	Current Students	Graduates	Total
-20.0	49.3	20.0	35.7
-30.0	25.3	35.4	30.0
-40.0	17.3	24.6	20.7
50+	8.0	20.0	13.6

Table 3-1 Occupations of STOU Students and Graduates(%)

	Current Students	Graduates	Total
Public Employees	49.3	70.8	59.3
Semi-Public	2.7	4.6	3.6
Else	48.0	24.6	37.1

Table 3-2 Occupations of STOU Students and Graduates in public sector

	Current Students	Graduates	Total
Teachers	8.1	21.6	14.3
Administrative Staff	10.7	15.4	12.9
Clerical Workers	10.7	16.9	13.6
Semi-professional	12.0	10.8	11.4
Professional	0.0	4.6	2.1
Else	9.3	3.0	6.4
N.A.	49.2	27.7	39.3

Table 3-3 Occupations of STOU Students and Graduates in private sector

	Current Students	Graduates	Total
Self-employed	5.3	7.7	6.4
Clerical Workers	9.3	4.6	7.1
Sami-professional	1.3	0.0	0.7
Professional	2.7	3.1	2.9
Service	8.0	1.5	5.0
Sales	1.3	0.0	0.7
Manual Workers	2.7	0.0	1.4
Fermers	0.0	1.5	0.7
Else	18.6	6.2	12.8
N.A.	50.8	75.4	62.3

Concerning interviewees' occupations, totally 69% are public or semi-public employees (Table 3-1). As discussed later, the majority of our interviewees are public employees, who are most likely to be attracted to STOU for their career-up. Among public employees, 24% are teachers, 22% are clerical workers, 21% are administrative staff (Table 3-2). Among non-public employees, 19% are clerical workers, and 17% are self-employed (Table 3-3).

2. Student and Graduate Status

Out of current students, 33% of our interviewees study at department of administration, 31% at law, and 9% at communication. Among graduates, about 30% finished at department of administration, 23% from law, and 11% from education (Table 4). Compared with the official statistics, our graduate interviewees are over-sampled from the departments of administration and law, and less sampled from education.

In the case of current students, the majority began learning at STOU before 1985. 40% of graduates started their education at STOU before 1982. About year of graduation, 46% of graduates acquired the degree before 1986, while 21% finished for the last 2 years before the interview.

Table 4 Educational Programs at STOU (%)

	Current Students	Graduates	Total
Education	1.3	10.8	5.7
Administration	33.3	29.2	31.4
Law	30.7	23.1	27.1
Health science	6.7	6.2	6.4
Economics	0.0	1.5	0.7
Home economics	5.3	4.6	5.0
Political science	0.0	1.5	0.7
Agriculture	1.3	13.8	7.1
Communication	9.3	4.6	7.1
Intensive courses	8.0	0.0	4.3
N.A.	4.1	3.2	3.8

3. Reasons to enter STOU

In open-ended type questions, we asked interviewees why they began learning at STOU, then we coded their answers into several categories of their reasons to enter STOU. As Table 5 shows, 48% raise convenience of managing learning time at STOU as an important reason. Another 44% mentioned that STOU enabled them to learn by themselves, and 18% referred to convenience of places to study (e.g. they can study at their hometown, or their own houses or work places, etc.). These answers mean that many students are motivated to learn at STOU because of its convenience in both terms of time and places to learn.

Table 5 Reasons to learn at STOU (%)

	Current Students	Graduates	Total
Easy to manage time	48.6	37.0	43.5
Study by myself	57.1	37.0	48.4
Study at anywhere	11.4	25.9	17.7
Cheap tuitions	2.9	11.1	6.5
Good programs	14.3	25.9	19.4
STOU's high reputation	0.0	3.7	1.6
Recommend by others	25.7	14.8	21.0
Its openness	8.6	7.4	3.2
Else		11.1	9.7

Seeing from different perspective (Table 6), 46% of interviewees mention that they seek for knowledge and skills useful to their jobs. 33% answer that they wanted to be cultured and to fulfill their life. 20% desire for higher educational credentials and

27% wish for promotion and rise of salaries, and 23% hope to expand their chance in labor market. As shown by these answers, many interviewees begin STOU education to seek for career oriented goals, while not a few are motivated to enrich their life. As a higher education institutions for working adults, according to our interviewees' responses, STOU succeeds in attracting working adults for their interests in careers.

Table 6 Reasons to learn at STOU related with occupations (%)

	Current Students	Graduates	Total
To have higher degree	16.2	25.0	20.3
For promotion	27.9	25.0	26.6
To find better jobs	30.9	13.3	22.7
For prestige	10.3	5.0	7.8
For useful knowledge	42.6	50.0	46.1
For Self-fulfillment	32.4	33.3	32.8
Else	1.5	0.0	0.8

4. Learning Activities at STOU

In this section, we overview students' present and graduates' past learning activities at STOU from several perspectives.

4.1 Study hours:

Asked how many hours to study for STOU programs (in case of graduates we asked their previous experiences when they were students), 31% of interviewees answered that they studied less than 10 hours a week, 29% studied for 11 to 20 hours a week, and 11% did so more than 21 hours, while 6 % of interviewees answer that they studied only before examinations (Table 7). On the average, the majority of students studied for 1 to 2 hours a day.

Table 7 Study hours per week of STOU students and graduates

	Current Students	Graduates	Total
Less than 5 hours	9.3	13.8	11.4
6-10 hours	22.7	16.9	20.0
11-15 hours	18.7	18.5	18.6
16-20 hours	10.7	9.2	10.0
more than 21 hours	12.0	9.2	10.7
Unclear	0.0	1.5	0.7
any convenient time	0.0	4.6	2.1
intensively before exams	1.3	0.0	0.7
Only before exams	6.7	3.1	5.0
N.A.	18.6	23.2	20.8

4.2 Attendance at Tutorial Sessions:

STOU provides tutorial sessions for specific subjects at regional and local study centers usually on Saturday and Sunday. What portion of STOU students attend those tutorial sessions? Out of our interviewees, about 40% of students and graduates attended tutorials quite often, while 21% answer they didn't attend at all (Table 8). Note that since we chose interviewees from student clubs' and alumni associations' members, our interviewees may be more active than general students.

Table 8 Attendance at Tutorial Sessions (%)

	Current Students	Graduates	Total
Always	33.3	20.0	27.1
Often	13.3	13.8	136.0
Sometimes	9.3	21.5	15.0
Don't attend	24.0	18.5	21.4
N.A.	20.1	26.2	22.9

4.3 TV and Radio Programs

As supplemental teaching materials, STOU use TV and radio broadcasting to help

students learn. STOU broadcasts 3 TV programs a day and 150 radio programs a week. While a quarter of interviewees watch STOU TV programs, only 10% listen to radio programs (Table 9, 10).

Table 9 Use of TV Programs for STOU (%)

	Current Students	Graduates	Total
Always	9.3	7.7	8.6
Often	18.7	15.4	17.1
Sometimes	14.7	6.2	10.7
Don't use	38.7	21.5	30.7
N.A.	18.6	49.2	32.9

Table 10 Use of Radio Programs for STOU (%)

	Current Students	Graduates	Total
Always	9.3	7.7	8.6
Often	0.0	6.2	2.9
Sometimes	6.7	7.7	7.1
Don't use	29.3	23.1	26.4
Use cassette tapes	24.0	15.4	20.0
N.A.	30.7	39.9	35.0

4.4 Difficulties in Learning at STOU

Asked what difficulties our interviewees found in studying, 38% answer that it is difficult to find time to study. 28% mention that contents of textbooks are too difficult and too much, while 28% find no problems in studying at STOU. Comparing current students and graduates, we find that graduates felt less difficulties than current students in studying (Table 11). To ask interviewees to self-report their grades at STOU, 16% answer that they are good, while 21% say fairly well.

Table 11 Difficulties to study at STOU (%)

	Current Students	Graduates	Total
To find time to study	38.1	37.5	37.8
Difficult to understand	33.3	21.6	28.4
No academic advisers	11.9	13.5	10.8
No problems	23.8	35.1	28.4
Little information	9.5	8.1	8.1
Else	4.8	5.4	5.4

4.5 Participation to Student Study Groups

At regional and local study centers of STOU, students organize "study groups" or "student clubs" to help one another study themselves and especially prepare for examinations. Among our interviewees, 44% respond that they take part into those study groups. Student volunteer groups help students in fact study at this distance education institution. Note again that our samples come through relations with student clubs and alumni associations, so that this high rate of participation does not necessarily the average from the total student body.

5. Student Evaluation of STOU Education

After starting to learn at STOU, how do students evaluate its education? How do graduates evaluate effects of finishing education at STOU? In this section, we describe students and graduates' evaluation of STOU from several viewpoints.

5.1 Usefulness of STOU Education

In interviews, when students and graduates mention about effectiveness of STOU education, 44% say that education they receive at STOU is useful in their occupational life, while only 8% respond it is not useful (Table 12). Graduates are more likely to regard STOU education useful for their jobs than current students.

Table 12 Usefulness of STOU Study for Jobs (%)

	Current Students	Graduates	Total
Useful for jobs	33.3	55.4	43.6
Not useful for jobs	9.3	6.2	7.9
N.A.	57.4	38.4	48.5

Table 13 Usefulness of STOU Study for Daily Life (%)

	Current Students	Graduates	Total
Useful for daily life	33.3	40.0	36.4
Not useful	1.3	1.5	1.4
N.A.	65.4	58.5	62.2

Not only to their occupational life, but also students and graduates regard STOU education as useful to their daily life. 36% of interviewees answer knowledge from STOU education is of use to for their everyday life (Table 13).

5.2 Reputation of STOU Degree

Finishing STOU programs leads graduates to changes both socially and mentally. About two thirds of graduates mention in interviews that people began seeing them differently after finishing STOU (Table 14). Their upgraded educational credentials gave them chance to be respected by others. Some answer that they became to be regarded as hard workers. 43% of graduates also confess that they get confidence from completing STOU programs. Thus, one can see that STOU offers higher social reputation and better self-concept to its graduates.

Table 14 Changes happened to You after Completing STOU Study (%)

	Current Students	Graduates	Total
People seeing me differently	41.7	66.0	61.0
Having Self-confidence	50.0	42.6	44.1
Friends respect me	0.0	8.5	6.8
Having more authority	8.3	25.5	22.0
No changes	0.0	6.4	5.1

5.3 Comparisons between STOU and other Universities

As a distance higher education institution, STOU is unique in the way of provision of education. Do students and graduates regard the level of STOU education as equivalent to non-distance higher education institutions?

Although only less than one third of interviewees mentioned, when they referred to this point, many say STOU is equivalent to usual universities with non-distance methods. Those who see STOU lower than general universities are more than those who see it higher than conventional universities (Table 15).

STOU is unique not only in its provision of education, but also in its "open admission" policy, through which eligible students can access to higher education without any entrance examinations or selection. Compared with another open admission university, Ramkamaeheng University, how do students and graduates evaluate STOU?

In the interviews, there is none who mentions that the level of STOU education is lower than that of Ramkamaeheng, 6.4% say these two open universities are equivalent, and 5% answer that STOU is better than Ramkamaeheng University (Table

16).

To see students' and graduates' evaluation of STOU from a different perspective, in the interview, we ask them if they want to have their child (if any) go to university when they become old (Table 17). Over 60% of our interviewees hope that their children will have university education. Among them, 37% say that they may send their children to STOU, while 23% insist that they want to send their children not to STOU but other conventional universities like Chulalongkorn or Thammasat Universities. The fact that more interviewees are positive to send their child to STOU than to conventional universities means many students and graduates highly evaluate STOU education they receive(d).

Table 15 Compared with Conventional Universities, reputation of STOU is --- (%)

	Current Students	Graduates	Total
Lower than	9.3	9.2	9.3
Equivalent to	22.7	12.3	17.9
Higher than	4.0	4.6	4.3
Else	1.3	0.0	0.7

Table 16 Compared with Ramkamaeheng University, reputation of STOU is --- (%)

	Current Students	Graduates	Total
Lower than	0.0	0.0	0.0
Equivalent to	9.3	3.1	6.4
Higher than	6.7	3.1	5.0
Else	1.3	0.0	0.7
N.A.	82.7	93.8	87.9

Table 17 If you had a child, what kind of education would you like to give him/her?

	Current Students	Graduates	Total
Any kinds	2.7	0.0	1.4
Bachelor's incl. OU	38.7	35.4	37.1
Bachelor's excluding. OU	16.0	13.8	15.0
Chulalongkorn/Thammasat	5.3	10.8	7.9
Higher than MA	20.0	10.8	15.7
Up to Child	6.7	15.4	10.7
Else	1.3	3.1	2.1
N.A.	9.3	10.7	10.1

6. Educational Background

In this last section, let us look at social and educational background of STOU students and graduates. Before entering STOU, what kinds of educational background did our interviewees have? As shown Table 18, 48% of interviewees finished some of non-university post-secondary education (mainly vocational programs), while 24% had had degree from conventional universities. There are only 21% who finished only secondary schools. Since the official statistics of STOU students show there are only 12% of current students who finished conventional universities, our interviewees are biased toward higher educational background.

How about their father's education? Table 19 indicates that less than 10% of our respondents have fathers with higher education, the majority (about 40%) of their fathers had as much as or lower than elementary education. Our interviewees' mothers, neither, had higher education. 63% of mothers had as much as or lower than elementary education. There are 14% of students and graduates who have mothers with no education or illiteracy. In that sense, STOU gives people, whose parents had no chance to be educated at university, higher education, and educational upgrading.

Table 18 Educational Background of STOU students and graduates (%)

	Current Students	Graduates	Total
Graduate school	4.0	4.6	4.3
Bachelor's	7.3	21.5	19.3
Diploma	42.7	53.8	47.9
Upper Secondary	25.3	15.4	20.7
Lower Secondary	8.0	3.1	5.7
Primary	0.0	0.0	0.0
N.A.	2.7	1.6	2.1

Table 19 Father's Educational Background of STOU students and graduates(%)

	Current Students	Graduates	Total
Graduate school	0.0	1.5	0.7
Bachelor's	8.0	10.8	9.3
Diploma	5.3	9.2	7.1
Upper Secondary	14.7	9.2	12.1
Lower Secondary	12.0	10.8	11.4
Primary	33.3	27.7	30.7
Less than primary	4.0	0.0	2.1
No education/Illiterate	2.7	3.1	2.9
No education/Literate	1.3	7.7	4.3
N.A.	18.7	20.0	19.4

Chapter 3

A Rise of A Middle Class in Thailand and STOU¹

Introduction

Sukhothai Thamairat Open University (for short, STOU) was established in 1981 as Thailand's first national university providing higher education through distance education as a main method. STOU, like many other distance education institutions in Southeast Asia, is characterized by the following features: providing mass or "popular" higher education, with open admission policy, based on national or governmental sponsorship, and using "module" and "distance" methods. STOU mainly uses printed materials mailed to students as a main medium, with supplementary Radio and TV broadcasting and tutorial sessions in local study centers.

Through its characteristics as a distance learning institution, STOU has set its main purposes the opening educational opportunities for people who couldn't otherwise have the chance to learn at university. That is, STOU aims at offering education for people who live far from "campus," who have not time to commute it, and/or who faced economic or other difficulties that prevented them from going to college when they were young. In sum, STOU was established to provide higher education beyond "distance" in terms not only of geography, but also of time, age, and social class backgrounds.

To what degree are these aims achieved by STOU? How does STOU expand higher educational opportunities in Thailand? How does this distance education institution contribute to equalizing educational opportunities beyond geographical distance, age difference, and social and educational backgrounds of learners? To what extent does its expanded educational opportunities give students and graduates chances to climb social ladders to reach middle class? By analyzing both interview and statistic data of STOU students and graduates², this paper will investigate how STOU gives Thai people dreams of becoming middle class and whether their dreams come true.

In the first section of this paper, we will examine how STOU has expanded

¹ The original version of this chapter comes from a paper presented at International Symposium at NIME titled *The Impact of Higher Education on Social Transformation in Asia and the Pacific*, 16-18 November 1992, Chiba, Japan.

² Sets of survey data we use in this paper are from NIME (1989, 1991) and STOU (1986). For details of the data sources, please see them.

educational opportunities. Then the second section will reveal what students and graduates expect from STOU and how much their expectations are realized. Based on findings from the data analyses, the third section will discuss what impacts distance higher education has on syndromes of "diploma disease" in Thailand.

1. STOU and Expanded Educational Opportunities

Before the 1970's most universities in Thailand were located in the Bangkok metropolitan area. As a result, people living far from the Bangkok area had difficulties of learning at university: they had to come to and stay in Bangkok for four years of higher education. Time-settings of "traditional," regular higher education institutions also restricted educational opportunities to only people who could learn on a full-time base. Thus, working adults were eliminated from higher education once after they entered the work place.

STOU, the first higher education institution relying completely on distance education methods in Thailand, was intended to overcome those difficulties and expand opportunities of university level education to people, especially to those who lost chance to go to university when they were young and who lived outside the Bangkok area.

In this first section, to examine to what degree those aims of STOU are attained, we will investigate STOU students' compositions of a)age, b)occupations, c)residential areas, and d)educational backgrounds in comparisons with non-distance education institutions in Thailand.

1.1 Age Distribution of STOU Students

As a "life long education" institution, STOU aims to provide a "second chance" to people who did not have a chance to go to university when they were young. In other words, many of STOU's potential students are working adults.

As Table 1 indicates, most students in STOU are, in fact, those over 23 years old. Students aged between 17 and 22 -- whose ages are same as those in regular universities -- constitute less than one fourth. On the other hand, students over 26 make up half of all students. As was purposed, STOU successfully enrolls older students than 'traditional,' 'closed' higher education institutions.

Since the latest statistics available to us cover only incoming students and the way of categorization of age ranges differs from the previous data, it is difficult to follow the trend of students' age distribution up to recent years. However, Table-1 shows a gradual shift of students' age composition from old to younger students. In 1982 only 28% of STOU students were under 25, but the percentage increased to 49% in 1984. In 1988

over 50% of incoming students are younger than 26 years old. The age of current STOU students tends to be younger. However this change does not necessarily mean that new students of STOU are fresh high school graduates. Instead, young working adults (aged between 22-25) have become a majority of newly enrolled students in STOU, as shown in the Table-1.

Table-1 Age Distribution of STOU Students(%)

Age	Year	1980/81	1982	1983	1984	1988*
17-22		5.4	8.4	20.1	23.7	11.0
23-25		25.5	19.6	24.1	25.7	39.4
26-30		35.4	28.7	24.5	25.3	24.4
31-35		16.1	20.1	13.1	12.1	13.0
36-40		9.1	12.3	8.1	6.6	6.7
41-50		6.1	7.1	6.2	4.7	4.5
51-60		0.9	0.9	0.9	0.6	0.6
Over 60		0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
N.A.		1.3	2.8	2.9	1.2	0.4
Number		76,730	69,561	50,112	85,041	49,420

Data: Wichit 1986 for 1980/81-1984, The Data of 1988 from New Enrollments STOU Academic Year 1988 for 1988

Note: The data for 1988 include only incoming students, and this year's statistics use different categories of ages as "17-22" is "under21", and "23-25" is "21-25".

1.2 Students' Occupations

Table-2 Occupations of STOU Students (%)

	1980/81	1982	1983	1984	1988*
Government Service	84.0	69.7	59.4	55.2	49.8
State Enterprise	1.2	7.8	5.9	5.6	5.8
Private Sector Employment	8.0	13.9	14.1	15.2	21.3
Private Business	0.3	2.1	4.4	4.1	4.9
Agriculture	0.1	0.1	1.1	1.1	2.0
Others	0.1	1.3	3.2	5.8	3.8
No employment	6.4	5.1	8.5	10.4	11.0
No response	-	-	3.4	2.6	1.5
Total Number	82,139	69,561	50,112	85,041	50,748

Data: Wichit 1986 for 1980/81-1984,

New Enrollments STOU Academic Year 1988 for 1988.

The data of 1988 include only incoming students.

Most STOU students are working adults. While only 11% of students have no

jobs, over 80% are employed or own their business. As hoped for, a great number of working adults have been enrolled in STOU. Table 2 shows the majority of STOU students have been public employees for years. This may be natural because for the earlier years after establishment, STOU provided mainly teacher training and public administration programs for teachers and public officers. However, recently the number of private business workers has increased as STOU has provided more varied educational programs like communication arts and economics.

1.3 Regional Distribution of STOU Students

Another important role expected to be played by STOU is to expand higher education opportunities to people living outside the Bangkok metropolitan area. Does STOU succeed in attaining this purpose?

Table-3 shows a regional composition of STOU students' residence with a comparison with non-distance higher education institutions. For the purpose of comparison, a "selectivity index" is calculated.³ Using this index, we can compare student regional distribution between STOU and non-distance universities.

A clear-cut finding from this comparison is that both STOU and non-distance 'closed' universities show a selectivity index higher than 1.00 for the Bangkok area. However, the STOU's index is smaller than the others (2.49 vs. 3.83). These findings mean first that more students come from the Bangkok area than other areas into both STOU and other universities. But, secondly, they suggest that Bangkok students are overrepresented more in non-distance education universities than in STOU. On the other hand, although students from such distant regions as North and Northeast are underrepresented both in STOU and other universities, STOU's selectivity indices for these two regions are smaller than the 'closed' universities. STOU enrolls more students from those regions than the other non-distance education universities.

Thus, as a distance education institution, STOU successfully expands higher education provision to distant areas and contributes to equalizing educational opportunities among different regions.

³ Let α be percentage of students from one region to all students, and β be percentage of population in the same region to the whole population in Thailand; then $Y(\text{selectivity index}) = \alpha/\beta$. For example, 1.00 in the selectivity index means the number of students from a region is equally distributed relative to its regional population. When Y is more than 1.00, the number of students from the region is overrepresented relative to its population, and when Y is less than 1.00, students from the region are underrepresented.

Table 3-1 Residential Distributions of New enrollments of Non-Distance Education Universities in

Student Residential Distribution	Bangkok	Central	Northern	Southern	Eastern	Western	Northeastern	Total
New enrollments	16,013	3,052	4,079	4,150	3,463	3,694	6,038	40,489
N.E. Composition	39.5%	7.5%	10.1%	10.2%	8.6%	9.1%	14.9%	100.0%
Population(1987)	5,468,915	3,651,234	10,490,201	6,607,877	4,107,390	4,091,480	18,552,107	52,969,204
Pop. Composition	10.3%	6.9%	19.8%	12.5%	7.8%	7.7%	35.0%	100.0%
Selectivity	3.83	1.09	0.51	0.82	1.10	1.18	0.43	1.00

Data: Report on The Joint Higher Education Entrance Examination Academic Year 1986
Ministry of University Affairs, Thailand, Statistical YearBook 1987-88

Table 3-2 Residential Distributions of New enrollments and Graduates of STOU in 1986

Student Residential Distribution	Bangkok	Central	Northern	Southern	Eastern	Western	Northeastern	Total
New enrollments	14,248	5,101	7,438	6,152	4,079	3,556	10,174	50,748
Graduates	2,386	850	1,622	969	594	697	2,156	9,274
N.E. Composition	28.1%	10.1%	14.7%	12.1%	8.0%	7.0%	20.0%	100.0%
Grad. Composition	25.7%	9.2%	17.5%	10.4%	6.4%	7.5%	23.2%	100.0%
Population(1987)	5,468,915	3,651,234	10,490,201	6,607,877	4,107,390	4,091,480	18,552,107	52,969,204
Pop. Composition	10.3%	6.9%	19.8%	12.5%	7.8%	7.7%	35.0%	100.0%
Selectivity	2.49	1.33	0.88	0.84	0.83	0.97	0.66	1.00

Data: New Enrollments, STOU 1988, and Survey of Graduates, 1988.

1.4 Educational Background of STOU Students

Through distance education methods, STOU can provide a second chance to people who could not have chance to go to college when they were young. To examine how successfully this goal is attained, we compare students' secondary education backgrounds between STOU and regular universities.

Table-4 indicates that while academic secondary school graduates are overwhelmingly enrolled in non-distance education institutions, more than half of STOU students graduated from vocational programs. Due to sever competition of entrance examinations and high selectivity among non-distance education universities, we assume, vocational school graduates must face difficulties to enter traditional universities which require severely academic-oriented entrance examinations. Stuck into a dead-end 'vocational' branch of secondary education, those graduates were eliminated from higher education probably because of difficulties to pass the entrance examinations. With an open admission policy, STOU can now ease them to learn at university.

Table-4 Students' Secondary Education Background
(STOU&Traditional National Universities)

	Academic	Vocational	Else
Traditional Univ.	97.6%	1.4%	0.9%
STOU	27.6%	58.3%	14.1%

Data: Reports on the Joint Higher Entrance Examination(1986)
and New Enrollments STOU(1988)

Or, perhaps the vocational school graduates intentionally chose their programs. They knew that they couldn't enter college after secondary education. If they did decide not to go to college, they may have thought that vocational schools would give them better occupational chances after graduation. STOU opens its door to lead back to school people who otherwise would have been excluded from higher education forever.

2. A Load to Middle Class through Distance Education

The previous section revealed that STOU successfully attains its goals of expanding higher education opportunities to people who would otherwise have difficulties in receiving higher education. In this section, we examine what students and graduates of STOU seek for and how and to what extent their expectations are realized.

As shown before, most STOU students are those who are working adults, and were not given chance to go to university when they were young. What leads those people back to higher education? What do they expect STOU to offer? What purposes do they have for attending STOU? Analyses of our interview data with 140 students and graduates of STOU depict that their main motives to enter STOU are career-related.

2.1 Motives to be enrolled in STOU

46% of our interviewees answered that they decided to enter STOU for knowledge and skills relevant to their jobs. Many students expect STOU to provide useful knowledge and vocational skills to enhance their business chances. A law program graduate of STOU, who owns and runs his business in a southern region, told us that his legal knowledge learned at STOU helped his business a lot, especially such financial contract issues as loans and tax arrangements. He also emphasized the importance and usefulness of his legal knowledge when his company would become a joint-stock company. The more modernized business becomes, the more legal issues enter the picture. Therefore, up-to-date knowledge and ways of thought in law can help business people like him expand their business chances and improve management.

A middle-aged flight attendant of Thai Air Way decided to learn at STOU not for her second BA but for the content of education itself. To improve her job skills as a flight attendant, she learned home economics at STOU. According to her what she learned about human relations in her courses help improve her services and understand passengers better than before.

A medical doctor who is an associate professor at a national university began his study at administration program of STOU when he was appointed dean in his university. For university administration, he thought, STOU's public administration program gave him useful knowledge, which he couldn't learn at his medical school.

As shown by those cases, in an inexpensive way, STOU offers modern knowledge and skills useful in public and private administrations, business and service. Developing countries usually lack infrastructure to diffuse modern knowledge in their rapidly changing administrative and economic structures. All the textbooks and other instruction materials of STOU are written in Thai, so that such knowledge is diffused in readable and understandable ways to ordinal Thai people. STOU can also transmit such knowledge widely and easily to the country-sides through its distance education methods. Thus STOU contributes to the modernization of the nation by providing knowledge and information, which many students in a changing society need more and more in their jobs.

A chance to enhance career advancement is students' another expected outcome

from STOU. 27% of respondents said that they expected STOU to provide degrees and/or knowledge for promotion in the workplace. 23% responded that they wanted higher educational credentials. Thus, while one third of our interviewees mentioned that they attended STOU for their own cultivation and self-fulfilment, the majority of them also emphasize their career-oriented motives to be enrolled in STOU.

Our interview cases provide clear examples of those motives. A middle-age male public officer, who finished an agricultural course at STOU, told us that he decided to start the STOU program to enhance his promotion chances. A young male public employee working at a national fisheries experiment station said that he planned to change his jobs with the help of STOU's degree. His current job, according to him, was dead-end. He hoped to move to a new job, which would be more relevant to his speciality in his BA of home economics. A young female STOU student, a part-time clerk at the same fisheries experiment station office confessed that after she finished her education at STOU, she hoped to have a full-time job, which would offer more career advancement. Like these two STOU students, young workers in that national fisheries experiment station office regarded learning at STOU as a ladder to improve their occupational careers.

The promotion system in public offices in Thailand partly explain the motives of STOU students. In many public offices, bachelor's degrees are set as a pre-requisite for promotion in the workplace. Although bachelor's degrees do not necessarily guarantee automatic promotion, they provide eligibility to take examinations for career advancement.

A middle rank male public officer working for a national TV station started a communication course in STOU to obtain eligibility to take promotion examinations. Without the BA from STOU, he mentioned, he would not have been given the chance to be promoted. His learning at STOU also helped him prepare for the examination. Following his success, his wife, who also worked at the same station, was persuaded to begin learning at STOU. She expected, too, to be given a chance for promotion after she finished her STOU program. As shown, especially for students who are public employees, STOU is seen as a good instrument to acquire eligibility for career upgrade.

Not only eligibility for promotion, but social reputation and prestige are enhanced by higher educational credentials from STOU. A middle-age employee working at a public office told us his success story. Before he finished his education at STOU, his secondary education certificate limited his activities in his workplace. Even if he attempted to assert his opinion at a meeting, few paid attention to him because of his lower diploma. However, after he obtained his bachelor's degree from STOU, he was more respected and his ideas became listened to with more attentions by others, even if what he said was not so different from before. With improved authority and reputation in his workplace, the interviewee also increased his self-confidence. This case clearly shows that social reputation enhanced by a higher educational credential from STOU

increases a graduate's social influence in the workplace.

STOU's degrees also extend graduates' social networks and sociability. A president of an STOU alumni group in a northern region told us that his motive to start a STOU program was to get a bachelor's degree, which most people in his business circle already had. After he received the degree, he felt more comfortable to meet people with college education.

Out of STOU graduates we interviewed, two thirds answered that they felt positive changes in other's views of them, and 26% said that their power and authority in the workplace were increased after they got BA's from STOU. 43% responded that they had more self-confidence after they finished STOU programs. Not only does STOU give eligibility for promotion, but social and self-respect are also enhanced by completion of STOU degree.

2.2 From Lower-Middle to Middle-Middle Class

As described before, most STOU students are those who lost a chance to get college education when they were young. Not a few interviewees commented that they came from poor families so that they couldn't afford higher education when they finished secondary education. But an analysis of their social background shows that even before they were enrolled in STOU, they had already moved from a working-class family background to the lower middle class.

Table 5 indicates a cross-tabulation between incoming STOU students' occupations and those of their fathers. Obviously those who have public officers as their fathers tend to become public officers themselves as well. However, even from farming families, most STOU students (70%) had already become public officers before they finished STOU programs. Public officers are, in general, seen as prestigious in Thailand. They are also clearly stratified by their rank and titles in bureaucratic organizations. Educational credentials are regarded as one of the crucial determinants for promotion. Thus, many from farming families first became public officers, then, to pursue a higher social status, they began STOU programs.

Table-5 Incoming STOU Student's and their Father's Occupations in 1988
(%)

Students' Fathers'	Public Sector	Private Sector	Self-employed	Agriculture	Total	N.
Public Sector	71.4	20.9	3.6	4.1	100.0	8278
Private Sector	40.6	51.2	4.3	4.0	100.0	1832
Self-employed	50.7	30.4	14.4	4.6	100.0	9111
Agriculture	70.2	18.7	2.7	8.4	100.0	17793

Data: Shimizu 1991, the Original data from New Enrollments STOU Academic Year 1988.

We can calculate a "selectivity index" of STOU students from a farming background and compare it with those in non-distance universities. While traditional on-campus institutions still close their doors to farmer's offsprings (the selectivity index is 0.04), STOU, on the other hand, welcomes them much more (the index is 0.63 though still below 1.00). Compared with non-distance education institutions, STOU in fact opens its door to people who came from lower family backgrounds.

2.3 Realization of Students' Plans

Although many graduates regard STOU as an instrument to climb up the career ladder, it is still questionable whether their expectations are realized. If so, how and to what extent?

According to a survey of STOU graduates, only 2.7% changed their jobs after they completed STOU programs. Although the percentage of graduates who changed jobs is low, it varies among different programs. While graduates from educational studies (1.4%), agricultural extension and co-operatives (0.8%), law (0.8%), and health science (0.2%) rarely changed their jobs after finishing STOU, those from communication arts (14.8%), economics (11.0%), home economics (6.1%), and political science (5.6%) more often changed their jobs after getting STOU degrees. Unfortunately we have no direct information about the extent to which promotion within the same work place happens. But our interviews show that as far as public officers are concerned, upgraded educational credentials by STOU seem to help its graduates' chances to be promoted. At least higher degrees give eligibility to take examinations for promotion in many public offices. Indirect evidence supports this interpretation. Among STOU graduates, 84% answered in a questionnaire survey done by STOU that they were satisfied with their current jobs. If many of STOU graduates were frustrated with a gap between their expectations to be promoted and actual promotion chances, one would assume that more STOU graduates would be dissatisfied with their current jobs.

3. Distance Higher Education and Problems of the "Diploma Disease"

Establishment of distance higher education institution with an open admissions policy has expanded educational opportunities greatly. Accompanying Ramkamaeng University, another open admission -- but not distance education -- university, STOU has increased the number of bachelor's degree holders produced in Thailand. For the five years between 1967 and 1971, about 43,000 people received bachelor's degrees from traditional, "closed" universities. But only in 1987 alone, the number of new graduates

increased to 58,131. In 1987, while 55% out of new college graduates came from regular, "closed" universities, 32% were from Ramkamaeheng, and another 13% from STOU (see Table-6). By only these two open admission universities, 45% of bachelor's degrees were produced.

Table-6 Compositions of Students and Graduates among Different Types of Higher Education Institutions

	Students	Composition	Graduates	Composition
National Univ.	92,181	13.0%	23,339	40.1%
Private Univ.	53,397	7.5%	8,417	14.5%
STOU	165,617	23.4%	7,805	13.4%
Ramkamheng	397,516	56.1%	18,570	31.9%
Total	708,711	100.0%	58,131	100.0%

Data: Statistical Yearbook Thailand, 1987-88(1987)

Social critics warn that rapid expansion of educational opportunities could cause a serious problem in developing countries such as high unemployment among highly educated people. Rapid expansion of higher education could bring about mismatches in the labor market unless the demand for college graduates expands at the same pace. Over-supply of college graduates could cause high unemployment among holders of new bachelors' degrees. That in practice takes place in Thailand. Graduates from Ramkamaeheng University suffered unemployment even after they received college degrees. In 1986-87, 42% of Ramkamaeheng graduates couldn't find a job after completion of their college programs, and another 21% kept the same jobs they had while they studied at the university. Increased number of higher degrees caused mismatches in the labor market.

On the contrary, STOU, as a distance higher education institution, seems to be able to escape the problem. STOU graduates do not suffer from being unemployed as severely as those from Ramkamaeheng. Not surprisingly, less than 2% of STOU graduates couldn't find a job upon their graduation. Since most STOU students had jobs when they started STOU programs, they didn't have to seek for jobs. 96% of STOU graduates kept the same jobs as they had at STOU when they finished their educational programs. STOU's case suggests that by providing education to already-working adults, upgraded educational credentials do not necessarily lead to an oversupply of college educated labor force in the market.

Since we have no information about promotion chances among STOU graduates in the same work place, it is difficult to prove how much a distance learning institution can avoid problems of diploma disease such as a mismatch between supply and demand for college graduates. One could argue that a mismatch may take place not in the external

labor market, but in the internal market. Although unemployment may not emerge in the external market, in the internal market -- that is, within the same work place -- frustration may accumulate among STOU graduates. Given a higher educational degree after long anxiety for it, it is natural that STOU graduates should strongly expect to be promoted. But for various reasons, they must still be in a queue to wait for promotion. There are not a few STOU graduates who are now eligible to take examinations for promotion but have not yet done so. Those people may have higher aspirations for promotion than before. A gap between their expectations and reality may cause frustrations but may not emerge as unemployment because those people stay in the same jobs. In contrast to the external labor market, mismatches between expectations and reality do not appear so clearly. Besides, such mismatches can often appear in a shape of individuals' frustrations. They are less visible than unemployment, which is regarded as a serious social and economic problem. Instead, those mismatches may be solved or suppressed by each individual and concealed rather than emerging as organizational or structural shortcomings.

In so far as these frustrations don't appear explicitly and are solved individually, one would predict that a distance higher education institution can attract more people to learn and seek for higher credentials for promotion chances. In that way, the distance learning institution can mitigate the diploma disease, while functioning to diffuse modern knowledge widely and, thereby, improve the human resources of the nation. One could content that distance higher education is a great invention capable of minimizing the symptoms of diploma disease and maximizing educational functions.

But in case those frustrations give away to clear disappointment, people's dreams of becoming a member of middle class may be destroyed. It is too early for us to make judgement about STOU's success in resolving diploma disease. This innovative institution is still challenging, changing, and enchanting people in Thailand. Will STOU create more dreams or more frustrations for the Thai people? Through pursuing an answer to this question, we can learn a lot about distance education in the future.

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