



Working document in the series:
Mechanisms and strategies of education finance

The private costs of public schooling:

Household and community financing of primary education in Cambodia

Mark Bray

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of primary education in Cambodia

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UNICEF

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
MOEYS	Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
PTA	Parent/Teacher Association
Sida	Swedish International Development Co-operation Agency
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WCEFA	World Conference on Education for All
WFP	World Food Programme

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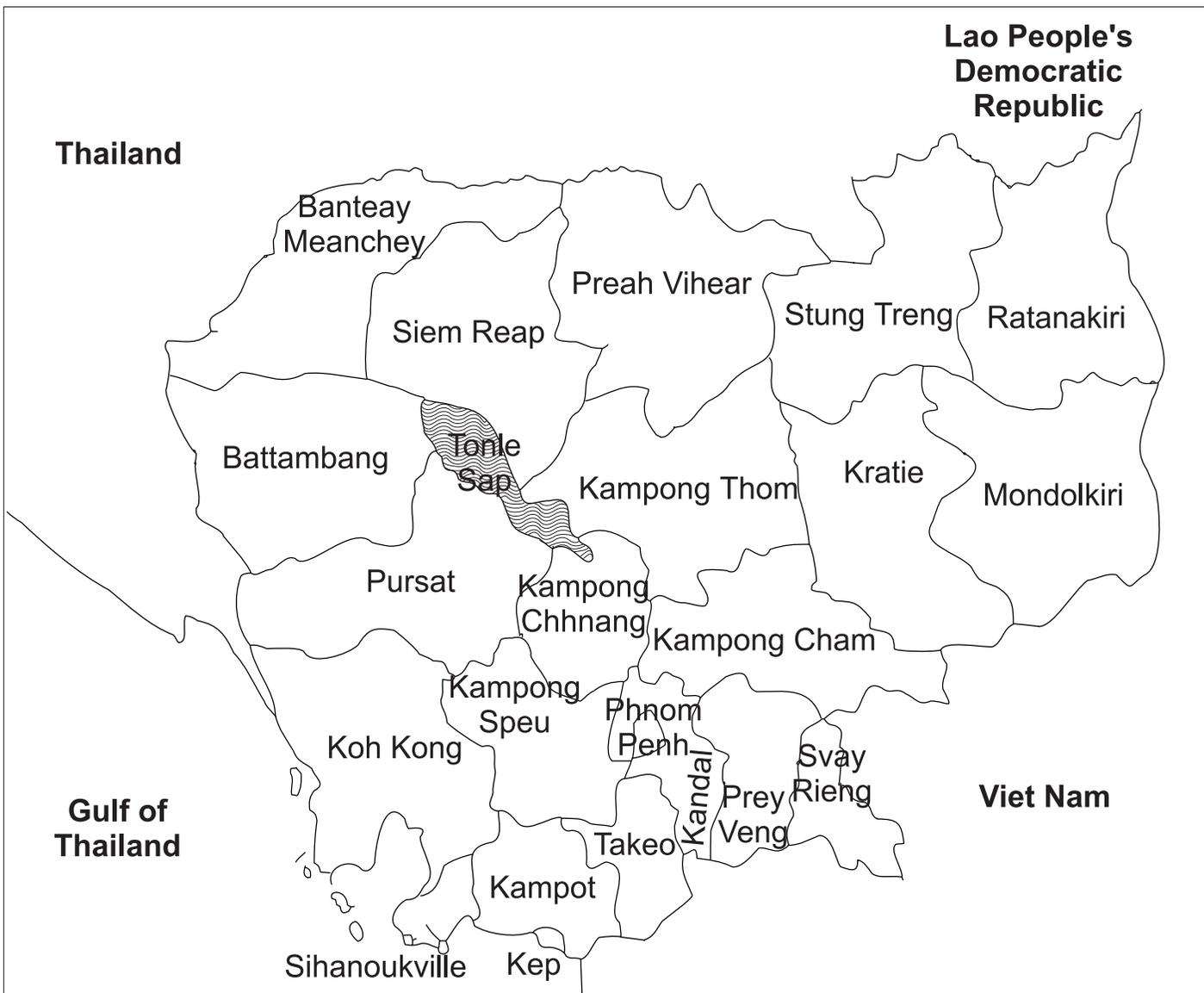
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Cambodia

Provincial boundaries



INTRODUCTION

In many countries, schools are classified in official data as simply public or private. This may be misleading. While at first sight the boundaries between public and private sectors in education might seem obvious, closer inspection may reveal them to be blurred. In some countries, schools which are classified as private receive substantial public resources; and schools which are classified as public receive substantial private resources. Cambodia fits into the latter category: the vast majority of Cambodia's schools are classified as public institutions operated by the government, but in almost all schools a large proportion of the finance comes from households, communities and other non-government sources.

This book examines the scale and nature of household and community financing of primary education in Cambodia. It presents new data on this topic, and analyzes the implications for policy-makers and practitioners at different levels of the system. The book is concerned with the whole range of costs that are incurred to educate a child at the primary level. This includes the costs of uniforms, travel to school, and, for many households, supplementary tutoring. Less easy to quantify, but also important, are the opportunity costs of income foregone by children who attend school. Especially for the poorest families, these opportunity costs may be a major factor in the decision whether to keep a child in school, and even whether to enrol a child in the first place.

The study was initiated by UNICEF's office in Phnom Penh. The work was mainly conducted by UNICEF personnel¹ in conjunction with counterparts in Cambodia's Ministry of Education, Youth and

1. This includes the author of this book, who was employed by UNICEF as a consultant.

Sport (MOEYS), but also in conjunction with UNESCO personnel in Phnom Penh. The research builds on an earlier study primarily financed by a UNESCO-UNDP-MOEYS project. That study was also conducted in conjunction not only with counterparts in the MOEYS but also with personnel from UNICEF. The second study was designed to complement and build on the first one; and although the report from the first study is available separately (Bray, 1997b), parts of the data from that study have been reproduced here. Indeed the pair of studies are best seen as a single entity comprising two phases for which the present document is an integrated report.

The main body of the book has seven parts. It begins by identifying themes and issues in a comparative framework. This is followed by presentation of the Cambodian social, economic and educational context and trends. The next section turns to explanation of the methods through which data were collected for the present study. Perhaps the most striking quantitative data are presented in the section on sources of resource inputs to primary education in Cambodia. In this part, the book assesses the nature and relative scale of inputs by the government; politicians; non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and external aid agencies; households and communities; and other school-generated income. This is followed by a section on opportunity costs, which in turn is followed by discussion of school-level management of household and community financing. The penultimate section addresses implications for equity, access and efficiency, and the final part presents conclusions.

I. HOUSEHOLD AND COMMUNITY FINANCING OF EDUCATION: COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES

1. Changing international views

The nature of household and community financing of education has attracted considerable attention during the last decade (see e.g. Bray, 1996a; Mehrotra et al., 1996; King, 1997; Lewin, 1998). The comparative literature has highlighted wide ranges in the scale of household and community financing. In some settings all in-school costs are met by the government, and the out-of-school costs of uniforms, transportation etc. are so small that they are not considered by analysts to deserve much attention. This is the case in many industrialized countries of Europe, for example. In other settings, household and community expenses are so large that they comprise over half the total, even in public systems of education. Cambodia is one country in this category. Other countries include Myanmar (Mehrotra and Delamonica, 1998), Togo (Togo, 1994), Uganda (Opolot, 1994), and Viet Nam (World Bank, 1997a).

Opinion on the desirability or otherwise of substantial household and community financing of education is mixed. Opponents of such financing point out that it exacerbates inequalities, because rich households and communities can afford payments more easily than poor ones. Since the quantity and quality of education received by a child is such an important determinant of that child's subsequent standard of living, many analysts have major misgivings about the fact that some households and communities are able to give their children substantial head-starts which are denied to others.

Commentators who view household and community financing more positively usually recognize this point, but argue that the problem cannot be avoided and that the merits of household and

community financing outweigh the demerits. Such commentators may argue that education is a commodity like many others, and that households and communities have as much right to spend their money on education as they do on housing, clothes, food, and other commodities. These commentators may be more tolerant of social inequalities, and may even argue that households and communities which invest in education are doing a service to the whole society by increasing general levels of human capital.

A further factor concerns the capacity of governments to finance educational provision. In the societies where household and community financing is greatest, that is not usually the result of deliberate policy. Rather, it is a default situation created by the governments' inability to meet all the needs which they would like to meet. Cambodia is in this category. The government certainly desires to do more for the people; but such action requires improved administrative capacity and greater income from taxation or other sources. Unless and until these are achieved, households and communities find that if they want education of a reasonable quality – and in some cases if they want any education at all – then they must themselves provide much of the necessary resourcing.

Allied to this debate is an international shift in opinion on appropriate policies for educational financing. During the first four decades after the end of the Second World War, the dominant feature of international pronouncements was that public education should be free of charge, especially at the level of basic education. Article 26 of the 1948 United Nations Declaration of Human Rights stated that:

“Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages”.

Likewise, Principle 7 of the 1959 Declaration of the Rights of the Child stated that:

“The child is entitled to receive education, which shall be free and compulsory, at least in the early stages”.

And Article 13 of the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights declared that:

- “(a) Primary education shall be compulsory and available free to all.*
- (b) Secondary education in its different forms ... shall be made generally available and accessible to all by every appropriate means, and in particular by the progressive introduction of free education.*
- (c) Higher education shall be made equally accessible to all, on the basis of capacity, by every appropriate means, and in particular by the progressive introduction of free education”.*

However, general perceptions are now much more tolerant of the notion of cost-sharing, particularly in higher education. Indeed, at that level a considerable body of evidence shows that fee-free education, far from promoting equity, is likely to exacerbate *inequities* because the proportion of students from rich families attending universities (and thus receiving public subsidies) is usually much greater than the proportion of students from poor families. The current dominant international view is that public institutions of higher education should charge at least some fees, but that the needs of the poor should be protected through grants and perhaps loans of various kinds (Ziderman and Albrecht, 1995; Tilak, 1997). During most of the 1990s the framework for cost-sharing in Cambodian higher education did not match the dominant international one, but it was moving in that direction (Zhang, 1997).

At the primary level, fee-charging in public education is more difficult to justify. Most governments are keen to achieve universal education, and are therefore anxious to avoid measures which might

obstruct enrolment and attendance. However, ideals must be tempered with reality, especially in poor countries. Although most governments would like to be able to provide fee-free primary education – and some, including Cambodia, even enshrine this in their constitutions – in many countries the practical realities of making ends meet require at least some contribution from households and communities.

Reflecting these realities was the fact that the Declaration of the 1990 World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) did *not* include a statement that schooling should be free of charge. Instead, the Final Report of the Conference (WCEFA, 1990a, p.31) included open discussion of fees; and Article 7 of the Declaration (WCEFA, 1990b, p.7) stressed the importance of partnerships:

“National, regional, and local educational authorities have a unique obligation to provide basic education for all, but they cannot be expected to supply every human, financial or organizational requirement for this task. New and revitalized partnerships at all levels will be necessary ... [including] partnerships between government and non-governmental organizations, the private sector, local communities, religious groups, and families”.

This type of statement, moreover, has relevance to prosperous societies as well as poor ones. The Government of Singapore is certainly rich enough to be able to provide all the resources needed to educate the country’s children. However, even the Singaporean Government encourages some household and community financing (Bray, 1996b, p.12). This is not so much for financial reasons as because the partnership raises the level of family and community commitment to the educational processes. This was pointed out in 1982 by Singapore’s Prime Minister, Lee Kuan Yew (quoted by Tan, 1995, p.344), when he initiated a major partnership scheme with the

Malay Muslim community:

“A government-run scheme cannot achieve a quarter of the results of this voluntary, spontaneous effort by Malays/Muslims to help themselves. You can better succeed because you will be more effective with Malay/Muslim parents than government officers You can reach them through their hearts, not just their minds. You have the motivation and the dedication and commitment. This emotional/psychological support can make a vast difference between a student who tries, fails, and tries again, and another who fails and gives up”.

The same sorts of factors may also be evident in Cambodia, i.e. that households and communities which make at least some contribution to schools may take a greater interest in those schools than would be the case if everything was provided free of charge.

2. Mechanisms and types of household and community financing

The international comparative literature also comments on the mechanisms and types of household and community financing (e.g. Tembon, 1994; Cumming et al., 1995; Bray, 1997a). The categories may again be classified separately according to in-school and out-of-school costs. Concerning the former, the most obvious and direct form of revenue generation by schools is through fees. Sometimes school authorities waive fees for poor children, or grant reductions to families with more than one child in school; but most schools which charge fees do so at a standard rate for all children.

Many schools also demand cash payments of other kinds. The Cambodian data which follow include many examples, which have parallels in other countries, of per-pupil payments demanded for construction, repairs, and equipment. Less common in Cambodian primary schools, though evident in many other parts of the world,

are school-organized payments for textbooks and exercise books. These may also be levied at a standard rate per child.

Schools also commonly gain money through broader fund-raising events of various kinds. Particularly popular in Cambodia are school-sponsored flower festivals, which parallel the *fêtes* organized elsewhere. In many countries, schools organize launching ceremonies at which politicians and other prominent individuals are encouraged to give donations. Other ways to raise money include dances, raffles and sponsored walks.

Resources can be raised in land, materials and labour as well as in cash. Donation of land is especially important at the time of initial establishment of schools; and materials may be donated for construction, equipment and maintenance. In some societies, contributions of labour are expected from households, even if they have no children in the schools. Examples may be found in societies as different as Kenya and Lao People's Democratic Republic (Hill, 1991, p.133 ff; Bray, 1996a, p.31). A common pattern in Botswana is for levies to be imposed on each adult in the village, often with higher rates for men than for women (Ruda, 1993, p.45). The levies can be paid in cash or in cattle or other goods. In Bhutan, households may be levied in timber as well as, or instead of, cash and labour (Bray, 1996c, p.507).

Turning to out-of-school costs, many schools require uniforms which must therefore be purchased by pupils' household members. Some families also pay for school meals. Children of course need clothes and food whether they go to school or not. However, some uniforms cost more than other clothes, particularly when they include shoes and have specialist demands, e.g. for sports. School meals may also be more costly than home-cooked ones, though that is not always the case. One study in Myanmar found that uniforms,

school bags and clothing consumed 53.7 per cent of total household expenditures on primary schooling, while books and stationery consumed 7.5 per cent, and pocket-money consumed 30.0 per cent (Evans and Rorris, 1994, pp.46, 55, 63). The pocket-money was mainly used for snacks and other small items. The researchers did not originally consider pocket-money to be a cost of schooling, but parents clearly saw it as an educational expense and independently added it as a specific category. Similar findings have been recorded in Mauritius, where pocket-money was reported in 1986 to form 24.8 per cent of household expenditures on primary education (Joynathsing et al., 1988, p.24), and in Indonesia, where the proportion in 1992 was 32.8 per cent (Bray, 1996a, p.23). Transport is also commonly a major household cost, accounting for 11.8 per cent of the family expenditures on primary education in Mauritius, though only 3.7 per cent at the primary level in Indonesia. The costs of pocket-money and transport are commonly omitted from estimates of the cost of education, but are included in the present study on the grounds that they are certainly seen by households as part of the cost even if not always by ministries of education.

A further item which is a major expense in Cambodia and also in some other countries (see e.g. Foondun, 1992; Chew and Leong, 1995; Bray, 1999) is supplementary tutoring. In many settings this would be called an out-of-school expense because the tutoring would be in specially designated premises or in the tutors' or students' homes. In Cambodia, however, much of the tutoring is in the students' own schools and is given by their own teachers. Thus when the official school day ends, the unofficial school day begins – with the same teachers and the same pupils occupying the same desks in the same classrooms (Box 1). Supplementary tutoring is a particularly significant item of household expenditure in towns, but may also be found in rural areas.

Box 1. Private enterprise in a public system

The clang of a metal pipe against an old car wheel resounded across the school yard signalling the end of morning classes, but none of the 70 students in Kung Vichet's fourth-grade class budged from their seats. Instead, they put away the notes they had been taking on how magnets work and brought out their mathematics notebooks. Private schooling had begun.

Using regular classrooms for 'voluntary' private tutoring is built into the instructional programme at the Stung Mean Chey Primary School, as it is in many schools in Phnom Penh. "The policy of the Municipality is for students to pay for private instruction," explained Uth Makara, a school official. "Teachers asked for, and got, permission to do it in their regular classrooms". Students typically pay 200 to 500 riels (US\$0.08 to 0.20) per hour directly to the teacher.

Private tutoring is not, as outsiders might assume, an opportunity for individual students to get special help on material they might not have understood in class. Instead, it constitutes an extension of the regular curriculum offered by the same teacher in the same large group setting – this time with a user fee attached. Parents assume that children who do not take part in the shadow private system are likely candidates to stay in the same grade next year.

Uth Makara explained that private instruction at Mean Chey is "not obligatory" and that "students who do not have the money are welcome to stay". But students seem to see it differently. One boy walking across the school yard said that he was going home because he did not have any riels to offer the teacher. "The teacher says that it is okay to stay anyway," he said. "But we don't because we are so ashamed".

Source: Asian Development Bank (1996a), p.107.

Finally, some remarks are needed on the nature of communities, which may vary according to different contexts. The most common conception is a geographic community, such as a village or group of

villages. However, communities may be defined by religion, race, ethnicity or other criteria. Schools may be run by Islamic, Christian or other religious communities, the members of which may have a feeling of common identity even if they do not all live in the same place. In many countries, minority Chinese, European and/or Indian communities operate schools for their members which have different orientations from the mainstream institutions; and the same is true in some countries for members of different ethnic groups.

The dominant conception of community in the data which follow is that of the geographic community. However, other types of community also function in Cambodia, and even geographic communities require careful analysis to determine the precise nature of social structures. It cannot be assumed that people who live in geographic proximity necessarily operate cohesively as a community; and sometimes even small villages are split into several sub-communities. The school itself may provide a focal point and be an agent for building communities; but schools may also fragment communities, particularly when they compete with each other.

II. CAMBODIA: SOCIETY, ECONOMY AND EDUCATION

1. Contemporary social and economic features

Cambodia is one of the least developed countries of the world. In 1997, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 1997b, p.148) ranked it 153 out of 174 countries on the Human Development Index (HDI). This reflected its low life expectancies, literacy rates, and per capita incomes.

Within the total population of approximately 10 million people, about 90 per cent are Khmers. Most of these people are Buddhists. Minority groups include Cham-Muslims (also known as Cham-Malays), Vietnamese, Chinese, Thais, Laotians and members of hill tribes. The plains are the most densely populated areas, while the plateaux and mountain regions are the least densely populated. These factors affect the nature of communities and their willingness and ability to finance educational projects. Private schools operated by minority Chinese are a particularly obvious manifestation of community identity based on race (Peng, 1995).

An Asian Development Bank publication (ADB, 1996b, pp.6-7) states that:

“Cambodians have enormous respect for authority, rooted in the widespread assumption that anyone who has reached a position of leadership must be deserving of it, if only because of merit earned in previous lives. Leaders are expected to be strong and decisive. This respect for hierarchy and authority has significant implications for human resource development in Cambodia. The solution of social and economic problems is often perceived as the sole responsibility of the government”.

This statement only partly matches the data in the present report, which show clear willingness of households to contribute to schools. However, the data do also show the dominance of government and of hierarchical leaders as initiators of projects. This in turn may be linked to a subsequent observation in the ADB publication (p.7) that:

“There is a limited tradition in Cambodia of citizens organizing and forming associations to address common problems. The tradition of the ‘patron’ is strong in Cambodian society. Success is seen as coming through associating oneself with someone who will provide protection and favours in return for allegiance and service”.

The role of politicians is particularly evident in the data which follow. The construction of a significant number of school buildings has been sponsored by politicians.

Turning to economics, the Cambodian currency, the riel, has suffered from instability. Partly because of this, US dollars circulate widely within the country, and are commonly used for transactions in preference to riels. Even during the six-month period covered by the present study, the exchange rate altered from 2,600 riels to the dollar (July 1997) to 3,880 riels to the dollar (February 1998). Since the changing value of the riel creates difficulties when comparing values denominated in that currency, many monetary estimates in this report are also given in dollars.

The UNDP (1997a, p.3) has provided statistics on the extent of poverty in Cambodia. According to the UNDP assessment, nearly four out of 10 Cambodians lived below the poverty line, albeit in most cases only just below the line. Most of the poor lived in rural areas.

Since the early 1990s, Cambodia has received considerable resources from international aid. The period 1992-96 brought a shift in the profile of aid sources (Cambodia, 1997a, p.13). In 1992,

assistance from multilateral donors amounted to US\$45 million, compared to US\$204 million from bilateral agencies and US\$1 million from NGOs. By 1996, multilateral assistance had quadrupled to US\$198 million. In contrast, bilateral aid had risen more slowly to US\$284 million, and NGO assistance reached US\$36 million. External donors have given considerable assistance specifically to the education sector. For example, nearly one third of all NGO disbursements in 1996 was devoted to education and training (Co-operation Committee for Cambodia, 1997, Appendix II).²

These external resources have been especially important to Cambodia because of the government's limited capacity to generate revenues. The World Bank pointed out in 1995 (p.17) that Cambodia's ratio of taxation to Gross Domestic Product, at 6.0 per cent in 1994, was very low compared with that of neighbouring countries. In Viet Nam, for example, the ratio was 17.4 per cent (1993), and in Lao PDR it was 9.1 per cent. In other countries of the region the ratio was even higher, for example reaching 18.0 per cent in Sri Lanka and 20.6 per cent in Malaysia in 1995 (World Bank, 1997b, pp.240-1).

Within the limited government budget, moreover, the education sector has been allocated proportions which are far below the international average. Whereas most governments allocate between 10 and 20 per cent of their budgets to education, in Cambodia the figure during most of the 1990s was below 10 per cent (Ayres, 1997, pp.248-9; Co-operation Committee for Cambodia, 1997, p.5). The government had made various public commitments to raise this proportion, but had been unable to meet its promise. The combination of a small total budget and the low percentage of that budget allocated to education meant that public expenditures on

2 This figure includes multilateral and bilateral funds channelled through NGOs. Total disbursements by NGOs in 1996 were US\$64.13 million, of which about two fifths came from multilateral and bilateral sources.

education represented less than 1 per cent of Gross National Product. This figure was lower than that in any of the 130 countries for which figures were recorded by UNESCO (1998b, pp.156-9). It may be compared with the average for Asian countries of 4.4 per cent.

Finally, a note is needed on administrative structures. Cambodia is divided into 19 provinces plus four municipalities (Phnom Penh, Pailin, Sihanoukville and Kep). Provinces are subdivided into districts, which total 176. The country has approximately 12,500 villages. The village chiefs are employed by the state; but few chiefs have special facilities, and they earn minimal salaries. Ovesen et al. (1996, p.64) report that although large village meetings were common during the socialist era, when a great deal of work was organized collectively, by the mid-1990s such meetings had virtually ceased. Thus, the authors add, after the 1993 election political life in the villages had become less democratic, at least in terms of political participation. As one would expect, levels of development vary widely in different parts of the country.

2. The education system

The main part of the education system has a 6+3+3 structure, i.e. six years of primary school, three years of junior secondary, and three years of senior secondary. This arrangement dates from 1996, prior to which the system had a 5+3+3 structure. In addition, some children attend pre-schools; and some students proceed to university and other post-secondary studies.

Table 1 presents statistics on the numbers of institutions, students and teachers in 1997/98. In that year, Cambodia had 5,017 primary schools, most of which were grouped in clusters. Each cluster had a core school and a number of satellites. Some schools had annexes, which were branches located at a distance from the parent schools

Table 1. Education Statistics, Cambodia, 1997/98

	Schools	Students	% Female students	Teachers	% Female teachers
Pre-school	792	43,337	49.7	1,800	98.9
Primary	5,017	2,010,742	45.1	43,252	36.6
Collège	350	132,630	33.8	8,385	26.1
Lycée	125	170,322	35.6	8,435	27.8
<i>Primary schools:</i>					
Cluster core schools	718	563,260	45.0	12,095	43.7
Cluster satellite schools	4,294	1,446,408	45.1	31,129	33.8
Schools not in clusters	5	1,074	44.0	28	39.3
Annex schools	1,605	252,679	46.0	5,127	23.6
Schools in pagodas	1,139	465,965	44.7	9,961	35.0

Source: Cambodia (1998), p.1.

but administered by those parent schools. Most core schools were in population centres, and on average they were more than twice the size of satellite schools. Because of high drop-out and repetition rates, the primary sector is shaped like a steep pyramid. In 1996/97, 35.4 per cent of total primary enrolments were in Grade 1, and 23.6 per cent were in Grade 2 (Cambodia, 1997b, p.8). At the other end of the system, only 7.8 per cent of total enrolments were in Grade 5, and 3.4 per cent were in Grade 6.

At the post-primary levels, numbers decline further. In 1997/98, Cambodia had only 350 collèges and 125 lycées. A collège is a lower secondary school normally covering grades 7-9. A lycée is an upper secondary school normally covering grades 10-12, though not all lycées have all these grades and some have lower secondary grades.

At the pre-primary level, the gender balance is almost equal, with 49.7 per cent of pupils in 1997/98 being girls. However, gender disparities increase at subsequent levels. At the primary level, girls formed only 45.1 per cent in 1997/98, and in lycées they formed

only 35.6 per cent. A strong case can be made for government action to narrow the gender gap (Fiske, 1995).

Enrolment rates will be difficult to calculate accurately until reliable census data become available. In 1997 the MOEYS estimated that the gross primary enrolment rate was 94.5 per cent, and that the net rate was 84.7 per cent. The corresponding figures for lower secondary were 30.5 and 23.2 per cent; and for upper secondary they were 7.2 and 6.3 per cent. Drop-out rates are high in all sectors of education, and particularly at the primary level. Data in this report show that household direct and opportunity costs of schooling are significant factors both in non-enrolment and in dropping out.

Table 1 also presents statistics on teachers. The gender imbalance is even more marked than among pupils. Some communities assist teachers with housing, food and other benefits, but government salaries are very low. In 1993, teachers were earning, on average, just US\$6 per month from their official salaries. To raise these earnings, in 1994 the government gave a general 20 per cent salary rise for civil servants plus a 'prime pédagogique' of US\$8 per month to teachers (ADB, 1996a, p.81). This increased average teachers' earnings, including allowances, to the equivalent of US\$23 per month. While this was a considerable improvement, the figure remained very low. Moreover, salaries were rapidly eroded by inflation and, when expressed in dollars, a falling exchange rate. A further 20 per cent salary increase approved in January 1998 helped ameliorate the situation (Chandara, 1998, p.10); but even after this increase the average monthly salary for all teachers was only the equivalent of US\$17 (60,000 riels). Primary teachers received less than secondary ones; and junior teachers received less than senior ones. Even at the top end of the scale, the salary was far from adequate to meet family needs. Prescott and Pradhan (1997, p.20) estimated the poverty line in 1993/94 to have been 47,300 riels per person per month in Phnom

Penh, 37,900 riels in other urban areas, and 33,500 in rural areas. The UNDP (1997a, p.3) placed the poverty line for 1996 at 35,500 riels per person per month as a national average. Teachers with families therefore had to supplement their incomes through in-school and/or out-of-school means. Provision of supplementary tutoring was one common strategy. Other strategies, less related to education, commonly included petty trading and farming.

Box 2. Teachers' work and teachers' pay

Chau Lakana³ was born in 1992 in a commune in Prey Veng Province. His father was a taxi driver, but had to sell his car to meet medical expenses when the family was hit by sickness. He left the province to work as a house guard for an expatriate in Phnom Penh. Lakana's mother sells petrol in the commune.

When Lakana went to school, he was put in a class of 45 pupils. The teacher's salary was so low that she could only afford to work if all pupils would pay 100 riels each for lessons. However, almost all were too poor to pay every day, and the teacher would only work one or two days each week for three to four hours a day.

Lakana's father was concerned that his son was not learning to read, write or calculate, so brought him to Phnom Penh. He enrolled Lakana in a nearby school, and had to pay US\$20 to the classroom teacher for this. Lakana now goes to school every day, and is in a class of 48 pupils. Each pupil pays 200 riels to the teacher every day. The teacher prepares his lessons well, and Lakana goes to school five days a week, for about four and a half hours each day.

Lakana's experiences have parallels throughout the country. Cambodia faces major tensions because its teachers are barely paid enough even for an individual (let alone a whole family) to live on a single official salary.

3 This name has been changed to protect anonymity; but all other details are statements from a real case.

Cambodia's constitution (Article 68) declares that "The state shall provide free primary and secondary education to all citizens in public schools". This, however, must be taken as a declaration of aspiration rather than reality. The data in this report show that at the time the research was conducted, even setting aside expenditures on private tutoring which might be considered a supplementary activity, households had to meet considerable costs in public primary schools.

3. Some historical perspectives

Cambodia has had a turbulent past, which has included many dramatic transitions. Several of these transitions have implications for education, including its financing. A few observations about the past assist with understanding of the present.

Cambodia gained Independence from the French in 1953. During the colonial era, the government-sponsored education system was small and primarily oriented to the needs of an élite. However, Cambodia's long tradition of education for boys in its Buddhist pagodas, financed primarily from contributions by villagers, continued in parallel with the colonial schools. From 1911 onwards, some of these pagoda schools were secularized and came to be known as khum or communal schools. They were popular among Cambodians, especially in rural areas, and were used by the colonial regime to extend the availability of education (Clayton, 1995, p.8). In the 1930s, a further model was introduced in which monks were trained in the methods of Franco-Cambodian education and then sent back to their schools which were designated 'modernized' pagoda schools (Clayton, 1995, p.9). In 1932/33, Cambodia had 225 modernized pagoda schools compared with just 18 Franco-Cambodian schools offering the full primary curriculum (Ayres, 1997, p.50). By 1938/39 the number of modernized pagoda schools had been increased to 908, while the number of Franco-Cambodian schools

remained at 18. The modernized pagoda schools offered a curriculum similar to that of Franco-Cambodian elementary schools except that all courses were in Khmer. Ayres (1997, p.50) remarks that:

“It could easily be argued that the utilisation of modernised pagoda schools was a fine example of ‘association’, where colonial ideas and native institutions were blended to form a harmonious partnership.... A more cynical and possibly realistic assessment is that the ‘modernisation’ of the pagoda schools was a financially prudent move for the French. Rather than finance an entire educational system, they were able to rely on existing teaching staff and existing infrastructure, financed by the villages themselves”.

The post-Independence era brought pressure to expand the education system, chiefly through the state machinery. Modernized pagoda schools continued to operate parallel to state schools, but the latter were given greater emphasis. One observer in 1954 (cited in Ayres, 1997, p.69) indicated that village communities played a major role in construction, and that in this respect the general climate was more dynamic than in neighbouring Viet Nam or Lao PDR. Government budgets were severely stretched, though were supplemented by external aid. Private schools flourished, particularly during the 1960s. Education was allocated a much greater percentage of the government budget than was the case in the 1990s, in some years gaining over 20 per cent (Chandler, 1994, p.199); and teachers were well paid, especially in comparison with other professions (Tilak, 1994, p.59). In 1970, public expenditure on education formed 5.8 per cent of Gross National Product (ADB, 1996a, p.73).

The early and mid-1970s brought abrupt change, most dramatically with the ascendance of the Khmer Rouge and the Pol Pot regime. During the period 1975-79, almost all schools were

closed and in many cases their contents were destroyed. Teachers were singled out for persecution in an attempt to obliterate pre-revolutionary modes of thinking. Ayres (1997, pp.164-71) points out the incorrectness of assertions that all forms of education during that period were annihilated; but he agrees that in many parts of the country no schools operated, and that schooling in the remaining parts was at best skeletal and a distorted shadow of its former self. On any account, the period of the Pol Pot regime was a period of destruction of education and other social institutions. As noted by the UNDP (1997a, p.2), Cambodia is:

“probably the only country in the world that experienced (during the Khmer Rouge years of 1975-79) not merely genocide on a scale hitherto unseen, but deliberate state-sponsored destruction of economic, social and human capital. Anywhere from one to two million people lost their lives due to torture, execution, disease, and starvation”.

The reconstruction during the 1980s under Vietnamese advice and support followed socialist models. The ADB (1996a, p.1) described the results of these and subsequent efforts as the rise of “a phoenix from the ashes”. The present study shows that communities played a major role in school construction during the 1980s, and, given the severe lack of government resources, it can be assumed that households also met a large share of other needs. However, the socialist system had no place for either monastery schools or private institutions.

Following the official abandonment of socialism in 1991, private schools were once again permitted. Figures available to the MOEYS indicated that in 1997 2.4 per cent of urban pupils and 0.4 per cent of rural pupils attended private schools. Moreover, the 1990s also brought a flourishing of private supplementary tutoring. No pagoda

schools of the type that had been common prior to 1970 were re-established during the 1990s, though, as noted in *Table 1* above, 22.7 per cent of (secular) primary schools in 1997/98 were partially or fully located within the compounds of pagodas.

Even prior to the 1970s, social structures in most of Cambodia were loose (Delvert, 1961, pp.198-220). Ovesen et al. (1996) describe Cambodia as a society in which “every household is an island”. Kalab (1976, p.158) highlighted the importance of Buddhism, but Thion (1993, p.92) cautions against over-emphasis of the role of the pagoda in creating a sense of community. Among the non-Buddhist minorities, community bonds based on ethnicity are said to have been strong among the minority Chinese and Vietnamese, and the Cham are reported to have had a strong sense of solidarity strengthened by the Islamic religion (Ovesen et al., 1996, p.8). The animist minorities did not have comparable community bonds forged by religion; and in the whole country, attitudes of community belonging and mutual trust were severely damaged by the Pol Pot regime. Muscat (1993, p.32) stressed “the profound changes (largely deleterious) ... in interpersonal relations and community dynamics as a result of the trauma and dislocation” of the 1970s and 1980s.

The period of rehabilitation brought by the 1990s included reconstruction of community identities, but this was in the context of severe damage to those identities. It was also in the context of increasingly monetized relations with the reintroduction of the market economy. Ovesen et al. (1996, p.65) report that commune officials indicate that villagers are less willing to collaborate without pay for public works when urged to do so.

In summary, household and community financing of education has long roots in Cambodia, but different eras have brought different emphases. Household and community resources were major inputs

during both the colonial and the initial post-colonial eras, though limited empirical data exist on the nature or dynamics of those inputs. During the 1960s, government budgets supported education much more fully than was the case in the 1990s. The subsequent Pol Pot regime of 1975-79 brought household and community financing of education, in the common sense of the term, practically to a stop; but activities were revived during the 1980s, and took new directions from the early 1990s. The pagodas and monks suffered during the Pol Pot era as much as the schools and teachers. A major task in subsequent periods has been reconstruction of religious structures as well as educational ones, and one sub-theme of the present report concerns the relationship between the two. Cambodia's education system is now basically a secular institution, but questions arise on the nature of priorities at local levels. In some communities, reconstruction and/or development of religious structures has taken priority over reconstruction and/or development of educational ones. In other communities the reverse has been the case; and in yet other communities the two emphases have supported each other in a symbiotic relationship.

III. METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

As already indicated, this book incorporates data from a UNESCO-UNDP-MOEYS project conducted during August-September 1997 (Bray, 1997b). That study may be considered Phase 1 of the overall project, in which Phase 2 was the work in January-March 1998 conducted under the UNICEF umbrella.

The research for Phase 1 of the project focused on two sites, one rural and the other urban. The rural site was in Takeo Province, and the urban one was in Phnom Penh. Data were collected through questionnaires and follow-up discussion with personnel from nine schools in each location. The design of the questionnaires was based on the instruments used for a similar study conducted under UNICEF auspices in another Asian country (Bray, 1995). Headteachers were asked to complete the questionnaires and then to bring their data to workshops which lasted a full day in each case. In addition, separate workshops, also with questionnaires, were organized for parents to report and discuss the costs of schooling. The data from the parents amplified and helped confirm or modify the data received from the schools. The sample in each location was designed to include both core and satellite schools. Detailed notes of the workshop discussions were kept, to supplement the data contained in the questionnaires.

For Phase 2, six further workshops, each catering for between eight and 10 schools, were held in different provinces. The sites were selected to provide a range of urban and rural locations, with prosperous and impoverished communities, and with minority as well as Khmer respondents. These workshops, which were organized during January and February 1998, were held in Banteay Meanchey, Battambang, Kampot, Kandal, Ratanakiri and Svay Rieng provinces (*Table 2*). Respondents were again asked to complete a questionnaire in advance, and to bring their completed questionnaires to the

Table 2. Sample and format of school-level data collection

Province/ municipality	Number of schools in sample	% of sample schools described as urban	Format for investigation
Banteay Meanchey	8	50.0	workshop
Battambang	8	37.5	workshop
Kampot	8	0.0	workshop
Kandal	9	33.3	workshop
Phnom Penh	9	100.0	workshop
Ratanakiri	8	50.0	workshop
Svay Rieng	10	60.0	workshop
Takeo	9	11.1	workshop
Kampong Cham	2	50.0	detailed case study
Kampong Speu	2	0.0	detailed case study
Kampong Thom	2	0.0	detailed case study
Stung Treng	2	100.0	detailed case study
<i>Total</i>	<i>77</i>	<i>42.9</i>	

workshops for discussion and checking. The questionnaire used for Phase 2 was a modified version of that used for Phase 1.

To gain additional qualitative data, eight detailed case studies were conducted in a further four provinces. These provinces were Kampong Cham, Kampong Speu, Kampong Thom and Stung Treng. Two schools in each province were selected with a range of features. Some were urban while others were rural. The schools also had varying reputations for strength in household and community financing. The research teams were particularly interested in the dynamics of operation. Extensive notes were taken, and were translated into English.

The bulk of the fieldwork for Phase 2 was conducted by two teams, comprising a combination of MOEYS, UNICEF and UNESCO personnel. At the start, some members from each team worked together to promote co-ordination and sharing of effective research strategies.

The sample has an urban bias, with 33 of the 77 schools (42.9%) being described by respondents as urban. This bias must be taken into account, especially since over 90 per cent of the total population lives in rural areas. However, corrections for bias must be made with care, since the term *urban* can itself mean different things. It was used by the respondents to refer not only to Phnom Penh, which is a large city, but also Banlung, which is a small provincial town in Ratanakiri, and to Baty, which is an even smaller district headquarters in Takeo. Since some quite small concentrations of population were described as urban, the bias in the sample is not as great as it appears at first sight.

In addition to the survey data, the study draws on information gained through other channels. These include supplementary school visits by the author, interviews with education personnel of various kinds, and newspaper reports, government documents and other written materials.

In summary, the data presented here have both quantitative and qualitative dimensions, and are the result of considerable effort by a substantial number of people. Data were collected from over half the provinces/municipalities in the country, and from locations of different types. Information of the kind sought here tends to be elusive, partly because school committees do not always keep complete written records, and households rarely keep written records of any kind. Also, respondents are not always willing to reveal details of incomes and expenditures. However, among important features of the research process was that information from households on what they spent could be compared with information from schools on what they received. Considerable efforts were made to construct full pictures, and the data are as complete as could reasonably be expected.

IV. SOURCES OF RESOURCE INPUTS TO PRIMARY EDUCATION

This section categorizes the major sources of financial and other resources devoted to primary education. It observes the magnitudes of these sources, and notes the types of items on which the funds were spent. The five main categories, each of which is presented in turn, are (a) the government, (b) politicians, (c) NGOs and external aid agencies, (d) households and communities, and (e) schools through their own revenue-generating activities.

Although summary of the balance between these categories is difficult because of the complexities of data collection and extrapolation to areas and populations not covered, at least an approximate picture can be constructed. *Figure 1* portrays an estimate of the resource inputs from different sources during 1997.⁴ The mid-1990s were a period of considerable construction, and in that sense the period was atypical. Many buildings will last at least a decade and possibly much longer; and a similar remark applies to the textbooks prepared during the period under review. Had the research been conducted ten or even five years earlier, it would have shown much smaller investments by politicians, NGOs and external aid agencies.

1. The government

The main government inputs are in the form of teachers. In contrast to the situation in countries such as Bangladesh, China and

4. The basis for the calculations is explained in the following sections and in Annex Table 17. Allowance has been made for the urban bias of the sample of 77 schools investigated for this study. Two domains in which such allowance is necessary are transportation and supplementary private tutoring. Also, allowance has been made for the facts that not all pupils wear uniforms and that expenditures on pocket money may save in other parts of household budgets.

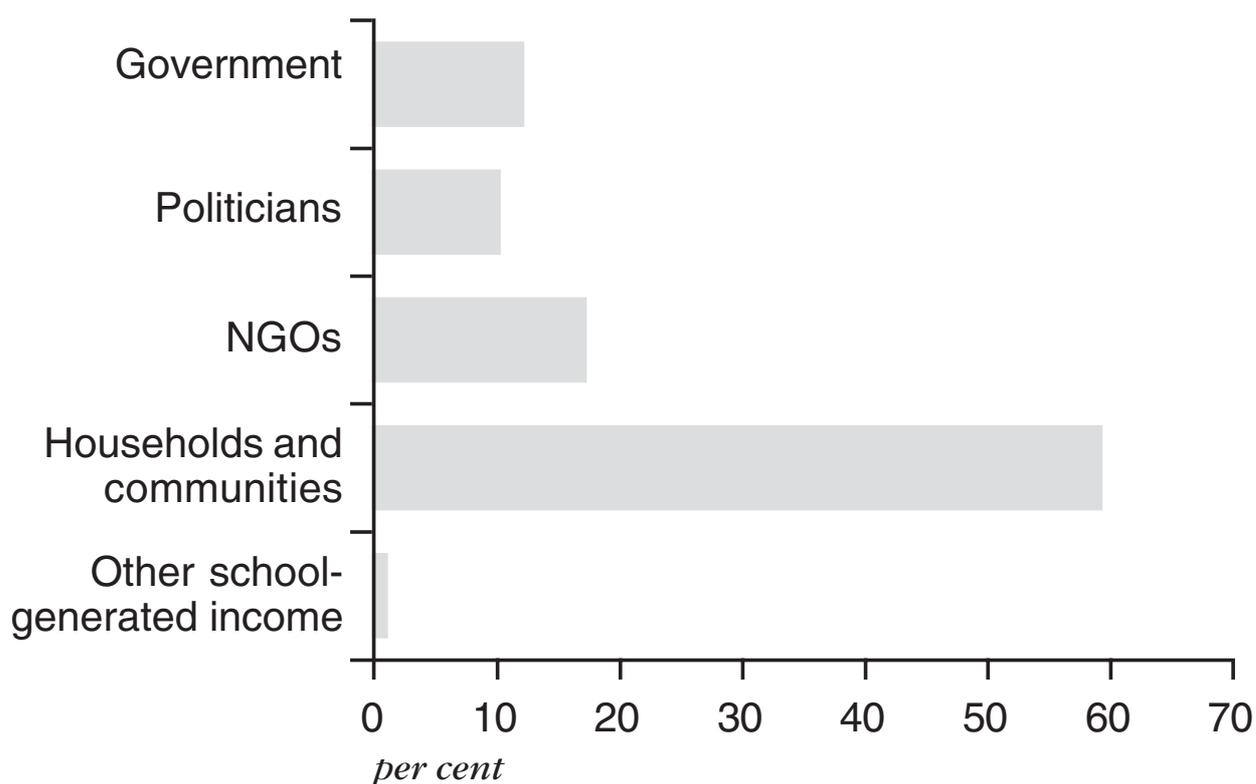


Figure 1. Resource inputs to Cambodian primary education: approximate proportions (1997)

Malawi, where substantial numbers of teachers are employed by local communities (World Bank, 1996; Tsang, 1996; Malawi, 1993), almost all teachers in the schools sampled were employed by the government. Official statistics indicated that in 1997/98, 242 (0.6%) of the country's 43,252 primary-school teachers were employed by communities, and that 64 (0.1%) were teaching monks. No teaching monks were recorded in this sample, and only three (0.1%) community-employed teachers were recorded among the 2,132 teachers in the sample.⁵

Although all teachers in the sample were paid by the government, expenditures were not great because their salaries were very low.

⁵ The three teachers were all in one school, in Kamptot Province.

Among the 32 schools (54.2%) which provided data,⁶ the average monthly salary during 1997 was 59,000 riels, i.e. approximately US\$20. This included responsibility, family and other allowances. These schools had an average of 36.7 pupils per teacher. This implies a government expenditure on teachers' salaries of 1,600 riels (US\$0.54) per pupil per month, or 19,200 riels (US\$6.48) per annum.

In addition to salaries, the government provided 'hidden' inputs to schools in the form of teacher training, pensions, and administration of the whole system. These may be estimated at 20 to 30 per cent of the direct cost of teachers' salaries.

In a few schools, the government had provided some buildings and other facilities. Only five of the 77 schools (6.5%) had buildings which had been constructed during the 1990s by the government, and none had been constructed during 1997 (Appendix *Tables 1-9*). Four of the five schools which had received government-financed buildings were in Phnom Penh, which suggests a severe imbalance in the distribution of the few government resources that were available. Eleven out of 59 schools (18.6%) indicated receipt of some furniture from government sources during recent years.

The tiers of government of course include provincial and district levels as well as the central authorities. Whereas teachers' salaries were determined according to a national scale and paid by the central government (albeit passing down the provincial and district ladder), some variation was evident in the role of provincial and local governments. Five of the 77 schools (6.5%) recorded receipt of money during 1997 from provincial governments, or from specifically-titled officials in the provincial governments, under the heading of Other

6 This question was not asked in Takeo or Phnom Penh. Thus the percentage is of 59 rather than 77 schools. The figure matched estimates from other sources. For example, the Co-operation Committee for Cambodia (1997, p.5) has indicated that average monthly salaries for all MOEYS staff during 1997 were 55,000 riels.

Income. The amounts ranged from US\$167 to US\$2,445, and among the five schools averaged US\$742. When divided by the total number of pupils in the 77 schools, this became just US\$0.04 per pupil.

The central government also financed part of the cost of school textbooks. Development of textbooks had been in progress since 1995, and production and distribution of first editions of books for Grades 1-9 was planned for completion by 2000/01. Each primary-school child was supposed to have four books – in Khmer mathematics, science and social studies. At the time of the research, books for Khmer, mathematics and science in Grades 1, 2 and 6, plus books in social studies for Grades 1 to 3, had been distributed and were generally available either for each pupil or on a shared basis with one book for two pupils. For other subjects and grades, pupils and teachers were still having to manage with whatever they could find in schools, homes and market places.

Cost estimates are available for the books in Grades 1 and 2. The average cost for writing, printing, distributing and orienting teachers for each of these books was US\$0.98, making US\$3.92 for the four books per child. For the Khmer mathematics and science books, finance was provided approximately 20 per cent by the government, 20 per cent by UNICEF, and 60 per cent from an ADB soft loan. The development and first print run of the social studies books were entirely funded by grant aid from the European Union. Taking into account loan repayment conditions, the government input for Grades 1 and 2 was estimated at 45 per cent of the total cost, i.e. US\$1.76 per child.⁷ The books were expected to last for three years, with annual wastage due to damage, theft and loss of about 35 per cent. The fact

7 The ADB component will have to be repaid by the government, but on soft terms, which means that in effect a proportion of it should be considered a grant. In this estimate, it has been treated as 33.3 per cent grant and 66.6 per cent loan. The estimate also recognizes that some pupils had to share books. In 1997/98, plans were in process to prepare new books for Grades 4 and 5, and to provide all four books for every student in Grades 1-3. Reprinting of the old books for Grades 4 and 5 had ceased in 1996.

that at the time of the research books partially funded by the government were not provided in Grades 3-6 brought the overall estimated government expenditure on textbooks to US\$1.06 per primary-school child.⁸

2. Politicians

During the period covered by this research, the direct role of politicians in school funding was far greater than that found in most other countries and at most earlier points in Cambodia's history. Most of these politicians already held official leadership posts, and it could be argued that their inputs should be grouped with those of the government. However, their activities were rather different from those of civil servants, and should therefore be considered separately. Because the politicians did not usually declare the sources of their funds in an explicit way, it is difficult to know whether they were drawing on taxation and other government revenues. It seems likely that a large part of the finance came from alternative sources, including donations by business people who wished to support particular political parties and/or individuals.

Among the 77 schools from which data were collected, 31 (40.3%) had received school buildings from one or more politicians during the mid-1990s. In 25 of these 31 schools, Hun Sen, the Second Prime Minister, was specifically named. In 10 cases, the whole school had been named or re-named after a politician. Five of these were named after Hun Sen, while others were named after Prince Norodom Ranariddh or other politicians. In some cases the politicians were reported to have paid for all construction, and also in some instances for furnishings; but in other cases communities provided counterpart resources. The buildings typically cost between

8 This figure recognizes that about 60 per cent of total primary-school enrolments are in Grades 1 and 2, and that only 40 per cent are in the other grades.

US\$15,000 and US\$25,000 each. Among the 77 schools, the inputs by politicians during 1997 averaged approximately US\$3.50 per pupil. Nationwide, the Cambodian People's Party, led by Hun Sen, is said to have constructed over 1,800 primary-school buildings during the period 1995-97, with particular activity in the later part of the period, costing about US\$36 million (Zhang, 1998, p.34). Other parties had been active, but not to the same extent. On this basis, the figure in the sample seems an underestimate, and for the year 1997 US\$8.00 per pupil might be more accurate as a nationwide figure.

3. NGOs and external aid agencies

During the 1990s, a large number of NGOs and external aid agencies commenced work in Cambodia. Many of them included schools in their focus, and provided finance for both capital and recurrent needs. Some of these bodies were relatively small, such as World Vision and Redd Barna; but others, such as UNICEF and the World Bank, were large multilateral organizations.

During the mid-1990s, the work of NGOs and external aid agencies was particularly evident in construction. In 43 (55.8%) of the 77 schools examined, buildings had been constructed during the 1990s partly or completely by NGOs and/or external aid agencies. In most cases, the construction had been during the mid-1990s; and in many cases the agencies also provided furniture. In 12 schools (15.6%), mention was made of additional facilities, such as latrines, libraries and wells. Thirteen of the 77 schools (16.9%) recorded donations from external agencies under the heading of Other Income. The reported NGO and external aid agency inputs to the 77 schools for construction and other direct inputs during 1997 was US\$4.30 per pupil. However, nationwide figures (Cambodia, 1997a; Council for

the Development of Cambodia, 1998) indicate higher expenditures by the agencies, and these school-level estimates may be too low. A more reasonable nationwide estimate is US\$7.00 per pupil.

Table 3 shows the balance in financial inputs between UNICEF and communities for buildings constructed or repaired in 332 primary schools in the 44 clusters of the six provinces in which UNICEF operated from 1993 to 1997.⁹ It shows that on average, UNICEF met 75.9 per cent of costs, while communities met 24.1 per cent. Proportions in individual schools varied according to factors which included the capacity of the communities. Other agencies had similar cost-sharing schemes, though some agencies met all costs by themselves.

Table 3. UNICEF and community cost-sharing in primary school construction and repair, 1993-97 (US\$)

Province	New buildings	Repaired buildings	UNICEF inputs (US\$)	Community inputs (US\$)	Total inputs (US\$)	% UNICEF	% Community
Takeo	49	18	485,632	241,323	726,955	66.8	33.2
Battambang	37	29	447,658	73,685	521,343	85.8	14.2
Stung Treng	23	4	245,076	88,531	333,607	73.5	26.5
Banteay Meanchey	15	45	258,623	45,045	303,668	85.2	14.8
Svay Rieng	16	6	209,000	57,322	266,322	78.5	21.5
Kampong Thom	16	2	196,000	77,408	273,408	71.7	28.3
Total	156	104	1,841,989	583,314	2,425,303	75.9	24.1

Source: Zhang (1998), p.37.

NGOs and other agencies also provided books and other inputs through central channels. As noted above, in 1997 a substantial

9 A considerable proportion of the UNICEF resources for this work was itself received from the Swedish International Development Co-operation Agency (Sida). Until 1995, this body was called the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA).

proportion of the cost of textbooks in Grades 1-2 was met by external agencies. The previous year, these agencies had also supplied books for Grades 3 and 6. The value of inputs of these agencies in 1997 was estimated at US\$2.86 per child, compared with US\$1.06 from the government. As with government expenditures, further inputs were in the form of teacher training and support to the central and provincial administrations (Cambodia, 1997a); and UNICEF and some other agencies also made substantial inputs at the cluster level (Zhang, 1998).

Two minority types of non-government bodies should also be noted under this heading, namely churches and commercial enterprises. The Assemblies of God church had constructed and given recurrent support to one of the sample schools in Takeo, and another church had made a small donation to a school in Banteay Meanchey. The teachers in one of the Ratanakiri schools gained salary supplementation and housing from a rubber company; and some buildings in one school in Stung Treng had been constructed by a local sawmill.

4. Households and communities

The most obvious resource inputs by households are in direct financial contributions¹⁰ of various kinds. Households must also purchase stationery, uniforms and related items; and many schools ask parents and community members to provide labour and/or materials for construction and maintenance. In addition, parents and community members contribute to funds raised during festivals; and many households pay for supplementary tutoring. Each of these categories is considered here in turn.

10 Many people would consider the word 'fees' a more accurate description than 'contributions', especially where they are obligatory. However, the latter is widely considered more expedient – especially since, as noted above, the Cambodian constitution indicates that the state shall provide free primary (and secondary) education to all citizens in public schools.

Direct financial contributions

Almost all schools in Cambodia demand specific financial contributions from each child. These contributions have different labels and justifications. The largest is usually a basic contribution, and additional ones are demanded for sports, art and other items. Most schools expect these charges to be paid by all pupils, though among the pupils covered by this survey 16.7 per cent were estimated to default on payments. In 14 of the 77 schools (18.2%) covered by this study, pupils admitted to Grade 1 were required to pay additional registration charges, ranging from 200 to 2,500 riels and averaging 1,000 riels.

Table 4 sets out the total contributions that the 77 schools systematically demanded from pupils. It excludes the registration charges for pupils in Grade 1, and averages some other inter-grade differences reported in Appendix *Tables 1-9*. It shows some instructive commonalities and variations.

Beginning with the commonalities, the strongest feature is that contributions were demanded in all except six schools (7.8%). Five of these six schools were in rural parts of Ratanakiri, which is sparsely populated and has a less monetized economy than many other regions of the country. The sixth was in Takeo. That school had decided to seek other ways to raise revenue, but was being forced to consider reintroduction of per-pupil contributions.

The average annual per-pupil contribution for the 77 schools was 2,500 riels. Among provinces with more than two schools sampled, average charges in Ratanakiri were by far the lowest (300 riels) while those in Banteay Meanchey were the highest (4,550 riels). This appears

Table 4. Standard annual financial contributions to the sample schools, by Province

Province	School	Urban/ Rural	Contribution (Riels)	Province	School	Urban/ Rural	Contribution (Riels)
<i>B. Meanchey</i>	1	Urban	5,600	<i>Battambang</i>	1	Rural	1,200
	2	Urban	6,700		2	Urban	3,000
	3	Urban	4,800		3	Urban	800
	4	Urban	3,800		4	Rural	1,800
	5	Rural	3,100		5	Rural	2,000
	6	Rural	3,700		6	Rural	2,200
	7	Rural	3,700		7	Rural	3,000
	8	Rural	5,000		8	Rural	2,700
Average			4,550	Average			2,100
<i>Kampot</i>	1	Rural	1,000	<i>Kandal</i>	1	Rural	2,700
	2	Rural	1,100		2	Rural	2,500
	3	Rural	1,300		3	Rural	2,600
	4	Rural	1,500		4	Rural	3,400
	5	Rural	2,100		5	Urban	3,500
	6	Rural	800		6	Rural	1,500
	7	Rural	1,000		7	Rural	2,500
	8	Rural	800		8	Urban	1,900
Average			1,200		Average		
<i>Phnom Penh</i>	1	Urban	3,500	<i>Ratanakiri</i>	1	Urban	500
	2	Urban	5,350		2	Urban	500
	3	Urban	3,000		3	Urban	0
	4	Urban	3,000		4	Urban	1,500
	5	Urban	3,200		5	Rural	0
	6	Urban	3,000		6	Rural	0
	7	Urban	3,500		7	Rural	0
	8	Urban	3,500		8	Rural	0
	9	Urban	3,000	Average			300
Average			3,800				
<i>Svay Rieng</i>	1	Urban	1,100	<i>Takeo</i>	1	Rural	3,000
	2	Urban	1,200		2	Rural	3,000
	3	Rural	1,700		3	Rural	3,000
	4	Urban	1,300		4	Rural	3,000
	5	Rural	1,200		5	Rural	3,000
	6	Rural	1,000		6	Rural	3,000
	7	Urban	1,250		7	Urban	1,000
	8	Rural	700		8	Rural	1,500
	9	Urban	1,100		9	Rural	0
	10	Urban	1,700	Average			2,300
Average			1,200				
<i>Kampong Cham</i>	1	Urban	8,300	<i>Kampong Thom</i>	1	Rural	3,500
	2	Rural	5,100		2	Rural	7,500
<i>Kampong Speu</i>	1	Rural	5,000	<i>Stung Treng</i>	1	Urban	3,200
	2	Rural	2,000		2	Urban	5,000

Note: Figures exclude the additional charges commonly demanded for Grade 1. In some cases, figures are rounded.

to reflect general income levels in those provinces.¹¹ The average for urban schools was 3,000 riels compared with 2,200 riels in rural schools. This disparity is to be expected, though the gap is perhaps not as wide as might have been anticipated. Some rural schools in Banteay Meanchey charged more than schools in urban Phnom Penh. In Takeo Province, six schools in a single cluster had standardized demands. However, no other examples were identified of uniformity within clusters.¹²

In addition to direct payments by parents are donations by others. Particularly in rural areas, such people may be asked to contribute to schools regardless of whether they actually have children in the schools. For example, during the workshop discussions, one participant indicated that “the chief of the village ... asked each family to contribute 100 riels to the school every month”. Another explained that:

“We go from house to house, and explain to each household about the needs. Each household is requested to contribute between 700 and 1,000 riels”.

Other community ties are less constrained by geography. Many Cambodians in Phnom Penh and abroad retain links with their home villages, and may be considered part of the villages’ diaspora. These people are also asked to contribute, as explained by another participant:

“Sometimes, the school committee designated its members to crisscross the country to seek funds, either inside the same province or in Phnom

11 The 1996 socio-economic survey investigated household expenditures in seven provinces plus Phnom Penh. Ratanakiri was the province in which average household expenditures (unextrapolated; both rounds) were the lowest, at 157,378 riels. Banteay Meanchey had the highest (excluding Phnom Penh), at 248,713 riels. Banteay Meanchey is on the border with Thailand, and has considerable cross-border trade.

12 Zhang (1998, p.39) presents figures on contributions demanded by 28 schools in four clusters. The overall picture on the scale and nature of contributions matches that of the present study. None of these clusters had standardized demands. One school demanded a 50 riels contribution explicitly to support the operation of the cluster.

Penh. The school committee tried to identify its members' wealthy relatives. Eventually 80 per cent of them, including those living in France, Italy, etc. gave positive responses to the school".

Among the 77 schools in the sample, four recorded donations from overseas Khmers. One was a lump-sum payment of US\$1,700, and another was a recurrent monthly donation of 190,000 riels (US\$63) to supplement teachers' salaries. Zhang (1998, p.40) noted three schools in which overseas Khmers had donated buildings. One of them was a six-room brick building financed by an overseas Khmer who was a monk. The cost of this was not stated; but the buildings in the other schools each cost US\$24,000.

Stationery, uniforms and related items

Households must pay substantial sums for daily necessities related to education. The authorities aim to provide textbooks free of charge, and at the time of the research were on the way to achieving this. However, some parents buy additional books both to supplement the ones provided in lower grades and to bridge gaps in higher grades.¹³ Parents are also expected to buy slates and chalk for younger children, and exercise books, pens and pencils for older ones. Pupils are supposed to wear uniforms, though not all schools insist on it¹⁴ ; and many schools require students who would otherwise walk barefoot to wear slippers or shoes. Some families, particularly in more elitist schools, have to purchase specialist clothing for sports.

13 During the Banteay Meanchey workshop, one parent indicated that he bought a reading book for his child in Grade 1, two textbooks for Grade 2, and three textbooks for Grade 3. Each book cost 2,000 riels. When asked why he purchased the books, he replied that the authorities only distributed the books at the beginning of the academic year or later, and he wanted his children to have the books from the end of the previous academic year. This practice was said to be common among parents in urban areas. Participants in the Battambang workshop also reported that some parents purchased textbooks. As noted above, at the time of the research the government was not providing any books for Grades 4 and 5.

14 The workshops in rural parts of Kampot and Kandal Provinces estimated that 30 per cent of pupils did not wear uniforms, but that other pupils had two (or even three) sets so that one could be washed while the other was being worn.

Headteachers were asked to estimate the annual cost of these items. The average indicated on the 38 questionnaires (49.4%) which provided an estimate was 8,500 riels for exercise books, 5,000 riels for stationery, and 31,200 riels for uniforms. However, the range between the lowest and the highest estimates was considerable (*Table 5*). Also instructive was the difference between estimated costs in urban areas compared with rural ones. In general, costs were higher in rural areas, presumably because of the requirements for transportation and perhaps because retail outlets had fewer competitors. The difference between urban and rural estimates was greater for exercise books and stationery than for uniforms.

Further data were obtained from interviews with parents. These revealed several items additional to those mentioned by the schools. *Table 6* summarizes data from parents interviewed in six provinces plus Phnom Penh Municipality. Disaggregated data by province/municipality are presented in Appendix *Tables 10-16*. Efforts were made to select parents with children in different grades so that the

Table 5. Schools' estimates of household annual expenses on exercise books, stationery and uniforms (riels)

	Exercise books	Stationery	Uniforms
Overall average (N = 38)	8,500	5,000	31,200
Lowest*	4,000	1,500	8,500
Highest	25,000	25,000	95,000
Average for urban schools (N = 15)	6,700	3,900	31,100
Lowest urban*	4,200	1,500	10,000
Highest urban	12,800	6,500	95,000
Average for rural schools (N = 23)	9,600	5,700	31,300
Lowest rural*	4,000	1,500	8,500
Highest rural	25,000	25,000	95,000

* Some respondents left the item blank, but none indicated zero expenditures.

Table 6. Parents' annual expenditures on primary education in six provinces and Phnom Penh Municipality (riels)

Grade of pupil	1	2	3	4	5	6
School contribution	2,300	1,800	1,800	2,400	2,100	1,800
Individual donation	3,300	700	900	700	1,000	700
Registers etc.	700	700	600	800	700	600
School maintenance	100	100	100	100	100	3,200
Uniform	32,800	29,100	40,100	48,700	66,000	84,700
Other school equipment	12,400	12,800	13,600	16,600	23,400	28,600
Private tutoring	5,700	13,100	19,000	67,600	66,000	31,600
Transportation	123,300	119,900	117,100	78,600	185,000	164,200
Pocket-money	75,200	77,700	95,400	115,700	128,000	123,100
Accessories, including stationery	5,700	6,500	9,400	16,000	12,400	17,600
Personal gift to teacher	2,000	1,700	1,800	2,700	3,100	2,200
<i>Total</i>	<i>263,500</i>	<i>264,100</i>	<i>299,800</i>	<i>349,900</i>	<i>487,800</i>	<i>458,300</i>

differences in the costs of those grades could be identified. Efforts were also made to include a mix of rural and urban parents.¹⁵

One feature of the tables is a general increase with the grades. Although entrants to Grade 1 were commonly charged registration fees, children in the higher grades needed larger uniforms and more exercise books. Items under the heading Other School Equipment included bags, hats, and plastic flasks for drinking water. The estimated number of exercise books required ranged from five for a Grade 1 pupil to 18 for a Grade 6 pupil. Parents provided pocket-money to buy snacks, etc.¹⁶

15 However, the bias is towards the urban settings and towards households in middle- and upper-income groups. The urban bias partly arises from the fact that workshops were organized in conjunction with provincial authorities who live in towns; and the income bias partly reflects the fact that the poorest parents did not have any children in school at all.

16 Since children would need clothing even if they had no school uniform, and money would be saved from the general food budget if children purchased snacks with pocket-money, it is arguable that only a portion of this cost should be ascribed to schooling. The costs are presented here in full because parents clearly perceived these items to be a cost of schooling. However, *Figure 1* and *Appendix Table 17* show only half the amounts as direct costs. The cost of transportation is also cut by half on the grounds that it mainly refers to purchase and maintenance of bicycles which are durable items and can be used for non-school purposes as well as for school.

Appendix *Tables 10-16* also show striking differences between the estimated costs in different locations. At one end of the scale is Phnom Penh, where per-pupil costs in all grades averaged 773,700 riels; and at the other end is rural Kampot where costs were 157,500 riels. All the Phnom Penh parents paid for supplementary tutoring, whereas none of the Kampot parents did. Urban parents are also more likely to pay for transportation. The Phnom Penh school to which the figures apply runs a school bus which is taken by about 1 per cent of pupils, and others bicycle or take cyclos. Some rural pupils ride bicycles, but none of the Kampot pupils in this sample did so.

Labour and materials

Particularly in rural areas, households are commonly expected to contribute labour and materials for construction and maintenance of schools. Some of this may be organized on a community basis; but parents with children in school are usually expected to contribute more than others. Parents also need to contribute time for supervising homework, attending meetings, and, for those who are on school committees, participating in management. Some communities in Ratanakiri and Stung Treng provinces, and perhaps also elsewhere, provide accommodation and contribute rice to teachers who would otherwise be in difficulty because of irregular payment of salaries.¹⁷

Appendix *Tables 1-9* provide many examples in which households have contributed to the construction of buildings. The contributions were mostly in the form of labour, but in some cases were in materials. One school in Kampong Cham indicated that each family had been taxed in rice to pay for a new building. Other schools recorded donations of

17 Information on Ratanakiri was obtained from the author's own visits to schools. That on Stung Treng was reported at the national workshop on community participation in education (Cambodia 1997c).

cement, wood, sand, bricks, furniture, and sports materials. In addition, respondents to the questionnaire provided information on contributions to maintenance. Forty out of 59 schools (67.8%) indicated that regular inputs were made, e.g. to cut grass and repair fences. The proportion of responses indicating inputs of labour was almost equal in rural (69.4%) and urban (65.2%) schools. The frequency and duration of inputs varied greatly. One school reported operations of an hour each day, while others said that parents and the community were mobilized for maintenance only once or twice a year.

The workshop in Banteay Meanchey recorded that NGOs and external aid agencies in that province commonly accepted contributions of labour for projects from poor families in lieu of cash contributions. However, this did not seem to be a systematic rule throughout the country.

Festivals

Festivals are the most common form of community fund-raising for schools. Especially popular are so-called flower festivals, during which bank-notes are arranged like flowers and attached to branches to resemble blossom on a tree. Among the 77 sample schools, 34 (44.1%) indicated that they had raised money through festivals during the previous year. The amounts raised ranged from 50,000 to 12 million riels. One school in Banteay Meanchey had held a harvest festival during which 13 tons of rice had been collected from 13 villages and sold to support the school.

The proportion of urban schools organizing festivals (45.5%) was slightly higher than the proportion of rural schools (43.2%). Incomes generated by urban schools ranged from 400,000 to 12,000,000 riels, whereas incomes generated by rural schools ranged from 50,000 to 8,600,000 riels. No festivals were reported in Ratanakiri Province,

possibly reflecting the less monetized nature of the economy in that province. Since elsewhere the festivals were commonly organized in conjunction with pagodas, the small number of Buddhists in Ratanakiri may also have been a factor.

Among the 34 schools which organized festivals, the average earned was 2,038,000 riels. Total earnings from festivals divided by the total number of pupils (including those in schools which did not organize festivals) gives a figure of 828 riels (US\$0.28) per pupil. This does not seem large when averaged out, but earnings were substantial in some individual schools.

Supplementary private tutoring

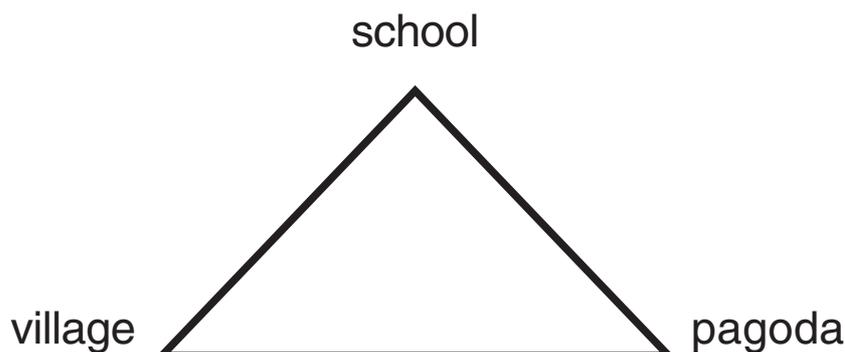
Supplementary private tutoring is a major additional cost to many Cambodian households. It is considerably more common in urban than in rural areas, but is found in many parts of the country.

Table 7 summarizes data reported by the schools on supplementary tutoring. Among the 77 schools, 24 (31.2%) reported that pupils received supplementary tutoring, though it was not taken by all pupils in all grades. The respondents were referring to tutoring provided within the schools by the pupils' normal teachers. Some pupils made private arrangements for additional tutoring outside the schools. Five schools in Phnom Penh reported that they used some of the income (between 3 and 35%) for school maintenance, thus implying that at least some money went to the institution rather than directly to the teachers.

The extent of the urban-rural imbalance is evident from the figures. Among the 33 urban schools in the sample, 20 (60.6%) reported that pupils received supplementary tutoring. In contrast, among the 44 rural schools only four (9.1%) reported provision of tutoring; and among those four schools, two reported tutoring to exist only at the Grade 6 level.

Box 3. School, Village, Pagoda – A triangular relationship

Wat Po school in Siem Reap is outstanding for the scale of its community financing and for the quality of its links with both village and pagoda. The school committee has conceptualized this as a triangular relationship, and uses this as a pictorial symbol.



The chief monk of the pagoda chairs the school committee. “The school and the pagoda help each other”, he says. “For example, before each class the teacher makes an offering and so instils a sense of discipline; and monks teach morals in the school for one hour each week.”

Each member of the School Association has an identity card, which is laminated and has a colour photograph. The committee operates transparently, and ensures that all members know the plans for the school. The committee includes villagers who are not parents, and agenda items include ways in which the school can contribute to the village as well as the other way round.

Members of the School Association are asked to make monthly contributions. A guideline is 300 riels; but variations are permitted according to income, and very few members do not pay anything at all. Every contribution is recorded in a register. Members are required to maintain monthly contributions, and are not permitted to make single lump-sum payments for the whole year. “This practice,” the headteacher explained, “is because we want members to take a real, ongoing and active interest in the school.”

Supplementary gifts are of course welcome. Donations of 10,000 riels or more earn certificates, and the names of the donors are inscribed in the school’s ‘golden book’. Donors are also encouraged to write their names on fans, cupboards, chairs or other durable items.

Table 7. Schools' estimates of percentages of pupils receiving supplementary tutoring, by grade

	----- Grade -----						Cost per session (riels)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
<i>Urban schools</i>							
Banteay Meanchey	5	7	7	7	10	15	100
	19	24	21	21	26	44	200
	20	20	40	10	30	50	150
Battambang	10	20	20	25	30	10	200
	0	9	10	14	11	19	200
	0	0	40	60	60	60	100
Kampong Cham	9	34	41	40	47	71	200-300*
Phnom Penh	50	60	60	70	80	90	100
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
	90	85	85	80	80	90	100
	15	15	15	15	15	15	
	30	40	60	50	50	55	100
	85	87	87	88	90	95	100
Ratanakiri	0	0	0	50	25	90	100
Svay Rieng	0	0	40	53	65	70	200
	5	10	25	55	55	70	
	0	0	5	5	10	12	
	2	2	5	5	5	10	200
	0	0	20	30	0	0	200
	0	0	30	40	40	50	200
<i>Average</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>51</i>	
<i>Rural schools</i>							
Banteay Meanchey	0	0	0	0	0	89	100
Battambang	38	60	65	79	68	91	100
Kandal	10	10	15	15	20	20	
Kampong Cham	0	0	0	0	0	60	200
<i>Average</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>65</i>	

* 200 riels in Grades 1 and 2, and 300 riels in Grades 3-6.

Within the urban and rural samples, the ranges were considerable. Whereas 13 urban schools did not report any supplementary tutoring, one school in Phnom Penh recorded that all pupils in all grades received tutoring. Tutoring was much less common in the lower grades, but made a steady progression to Grade 6. Among the urban schools which reported the existence of tutoring, the average was 22 per cent of Grade 1 students but 51 per cent of Grade 6 students.

While one might assume that in general the figures on private tutoring reflected the nature of demand, in some settings they may also have reflected the nature of supply. One school in Ratanakiri reported that no children received tutoring in Grades 1 to 3, and that proportions in Grades 4, 5 and 6 were 50, 25 and 90 per cent. When asked why the proportion in Grade 5 was lower than in the other grades, the headteacher replied that that class was taught by a woman who was busy with her family and could not provide supplementary tutoring on a regular basis.

Also worth remarking is that despite the fact that teachers have considerable power over semi-captive markets, the price of tutoring has relatively little variation. Teachers seem willing to abide by an informal code of pricing when determining their charges.

5. Other school-generated income

Some schools reported additional self-generated income. Among the 77 schools, 16 (20.8%) reported income from farms/gardens. Interestingly, the proportions of urban and rural schools reporting income from farms/gardens was almost exactly the same. Some schools also raised fish in school-owned ponds. Reported incomes, including the value of produce consumed but not sold, ranged from 10,000 to 1,000,000 riels. The average income among the 16 schools was 296,000 riels.

Box 4. The costs and consequences of private tutoring

Private tutoring has become an accepted part of life in Phnom Penh, even at the primary level. However, it has far-reaching consequences. The following vignettes illustrate patterns.

Sour Sitha has 10 children, eight of whom are in school. The teachers, he says, take private classes during normal public school hours. “In one day I have to give 600 riels to each of my children. My children say that if they don’t study in private they will not be able to answer well and will be beaten or blamed by the teachers.”

Ten-year-old Sourn Sereivoth, who studies in the third grade of Yamakiko primary school, reported: “I give my teacher 200 riels every day for private classes. The private class starts from 7 a.m. to 9 a.m. From 9 a.m. to 11 a.m. I study in the public hours. My teacher used to punish me by making me knock the brick ten times if I did not go to [private] study because I had no money to pay for [private] lessons.”

Mich Chan Thol, 13, from Tuol Kork primary school, said he was afraid to go to his class sometimes because he did not have the 100 riels fee for a private lesson. “The master always collects money but I can never afford it. I am very hungry and the 400 riels my mother gives me I pay for food. I am afraid of my teacher and I never understand the lesson, so I escape from school many times. My mother believes I go to school every day, but in fact I do not”.

Mich Chan Thy is 15 years old, and works in a wine factory. She is an ex-student from Toul Kork primary school and was always one of the brightest in her class. Her mother, however, had to take her away from school. “I hoped one day I would work in an office, any office, using my high knowledge and so I could one day wear pretty clothes. But everything is just a dream”.

Parents generally seem pragmatic rather than bitter about the system. Even secondary teachers earn only 50,000 riels per month, but have to pay at least 60,000 riels just for food. Most parents are in similar economic straits, and therefore sympathize with the teachers’ positions. Sour Sitha is a taxi driver. He feels that: “Teachers have to take private classes because they get only 60,000 riels per month. Their salaries are so low, so I think that if they exploit or cheat money from the students it is just to feed themselves and their families.”

Source: Soly and Chhun (1996), pp.16-17.

Another common source of supplementary income was rent. Income from rent was reported by nine of the 77 schools (11.7%). This was commonly from traders who wished to sell snacks to students during breaks. One school which was mentioned during the Banteay Meanchey workshop (but not included in the sample of eight for that province) rented its sports field for performances and for horse racing. Revenue ranged from 390,000 to 2,700,000 riels, and among the nine schools averaged 787,000 riels.

However, when the total value of these activities was divided by the total number of pupils, they appeared rather modest. The sum from this arithmetic (including schools which did not declare any income from these sources) was just 135 riels (US\$0.05) per pupil.

V. OPPORTUNITY COSTS

Opportunity costs are a function not only of the hours that children spend in or travelling to and from school, but also of the labour market and the nature of home production. The value of labour generally gets greater as children get older; but even young children can help care for their siblings who are younger still, thereby releasing adults to earn incomes outside the home.

The key question is what the households whose children attended school had to forgo because their children attended school. This question was less abstract in Cambodia than it would have been in many other countries because many children indeed did not attend school and did make economic contributions to the welfare of their families. During the workshops for this study, parents noted a gender difference. They estimated that a boy who worked in a provincial town on a construction site might earn 3,000 riels (US\$1) a day, 15 days a month and five months a year. This would give an annual income of 225,000 riels (US\$75). Alternatively, a girl might be hired to transplant and harvest rice. The income from this would be 2,000 riels a day for 70 days, i.e. about 140,000 riels (US\$47) during both rainy and dry seasons. Additional income could be earned from pig raising and scarf weaving, for example, though this element may be discounted since children who do attend school are still available to help their families outside school hours. The value of inputs of children who worked directly for their families without remuneration may be taken as comparable to those who were paid to work. As in other countries (see e.g. Juma, 1997, p.101; Zoungrana et al., 1997, p.13), girls were more likely to be withdrawn from school because they were perceived to be more suited to domestic duties. Girls are more likely than boys to assist their mothers in bringing up siblings and attending to household chores such as fetching water.

Conducting research in Thailand, Tsang and Kidchanapanish (1992, p.182) added an extra dimension to the calculation of opportunity costs. They defined opportunity cost as the number of hours a day that parents would have liked the children to help them if the children had not been in school. They then set the monetary value of one hour of a Grade 6 student's time at 25 per cent of the adult minimum wage. Although the rural minimum wage in Thailand (and most other countries) was lower than the urban minimum wage, Tsang and Kidchanapanish observed that the opportunity costs were higher in rural than in urban areas. This was because the urban parents were less concerned than the rural parents about their children being in school rather than in other activities.

Extending this observation, not all families are concerned about the fact that their children's labour is not available because of schooling, and therefore not all parents really suffer an opportunity cost. The families to whom the opportunity cost is largest are the poorest. In Cambodia, most of these live in rural areas, though some live in towns.

Further efforts to put a monetary figure on the opportunity cost incurred by Cambodian families with children in school would be artificial and would require many assumptions. However, it is clear from figures on non-enrolment and drop-out that schooling did have an opportunity cost which was heavy enough to become a significant factor in household decision-making (Fiske, 1995, p.50). For some families, the factors are so obvious that they do not need specific financial calculation (Box 5).

Box 5. On becoming the oldest daughter

Vann Rin knows how poverty can become an obstacle to education. A 15-year old resident of the village of Phun Thom in Kandal Province, Rin enrolled in school because she “wanted to have knowledge”. She attended school for five years and, after repeating twice, completed grade three.

Rin has three brothers and two sisters, and both of her parents have medical problems. She dropped out of school when an older sister died, leaving her as the oldest daughter. She herself made the decision to drop out because “I saw that my mother with a baby could not carry palm juice”. She helps in the fields, takes care of the family oxen, cooks and makes sure that her siblings get off to school.

Rin feels sad that she was forced to abandon her education, especially when she thinks of her classmates still in school. “I feel lonely”, she said. Perhaps, she added, she will be able to return next year. She is young and still has time.

Source: Fiske (1995), p.55.

VI. SCHOOL-LEVEL MANAGEMENT OF HOUSEHOLD AND COMMUNITY FINANCING

The study showed that some schools had good systems for management of donated household and community resources, but that others were not so strong. Two dimensions deserving particular attention are (i) the nature of school committees, and (ii) the strategies employed to mobilize resources.

1. The nature and operation of school committees

As many as 72 of the 77 schools (93.5%) reported that they had school committees. According to official data for the country as a whole, only 61.0 per cent of primary schools in 1996/97 had school committees.¹⁸ When asked about the roles of the committees, respondents clearly saw the priority as securing and managing resources for the schools.

Among the 70 schools which reported the number of committee members, the average was five and the range was from three to 11 members. Perhaps reflecting one shortcoming in representativeness, only 11 of the 70 schools (15.7%) had any females on their committees. Overall, females formed only 4.1 per cent of the total number of committee members. However, the size of these committees may generally be considered appropriate. Thirty-two of the 57 chairpersons for whom occupation was stated were farmers. This was by far the greatest category.

¹⁸ The figure was extracted from the data base for the official statistics book (Cambodia 1997b). However, some ambiguity exists in the matter. The English-language version of the survey refers to Parents' Associations. Although Parents' Associations presumably required committees which can be included in this category, some schools may have felt that they had School Committees but not Parents' Associations.

The average reported number of committee meetings during the previous 12 months was 4.4 with a range from one to 18. Fifty-two respondents (72.2%) indicated that written minutes of meetings were kept, and 55 respondents (76.4%) indicated that written accounts were maintained. Experience elsewhere (see e.g. Bray, 1996b, pp.27-28) has highlighted the importance of written records for promotion of transparency, avoidance of disputes, and generation of public confidence which in turn increases the willingness of households and communities to contribute resources.

In terms of revenue generation, Preah Norodom school in Phnom Penh was among the dynamic cases. It was probably no coincidence that its chairperson was an entrepreneur in the private sector (who was also one of the two women on the committee), and that the committee met eight times during the year. However, other types of people can also be excellent chairpersons. In most circumstances, the personalities of the individuals involved are more important than their occupations.

Also deserving note is the role of religious leaders. One school in Takeo was partly sponsored by the Assemblies of God church, gaining both financial and managerial leadership from this organization. More typical were the schools linked to pagodas. Among the 77 schools, 13 (16.8%) were partly or fully located in pagodas. This was less than the national average of 22.7 per cent recorded in official statistics (Cambodia, 1998, p.1), though another three schools in the sample were recorded as having previously been located in pagodas.¹⁹ The largest proportions of schools located in pagodas were in the samples for Kampong Speu (two out of two) and Kampot (five out of eight).

¹⁹ Only in the detailed case studies were respondents asked to explain the history of the schools, but others volunteered the information without it being requested. The number of schools among the 77 which used to be in pagodas may be much greater than the three indicated here.

Among the 77 schools, 16 (20.7%) had monks on the school committees; and in nine schools (11.7%) a monk was either chairperson or honorary chairperson. In a further five schools (6.5%), committees were chaired by laymen attached to the pagodas. In the Svay Rieng sample, monks were committee members in seven of the 10 schools. Interviews with parents commonly conveyed some general distrust of school committees, which at least some parents felt were liable to exploit their power and use funds for personal gain. When monks were involved, parents were much more likely to trust the committees.

However, schools located in pagodas did not necessarily have harmonious relationships with the monks. Indeed in two cases, relationships were stated to be strained. One of these cases was Wat Preah Put school in Phnom Penh. The school was resented by the monks, who wanted to push it out of the compound so that the space could be taken for other purposes. The school felt that it had a right to be in the pagoda grounds, and its headteacher pointed out that the school had recommenced operation in 1979, earlier than the pagoda. It seems likely that the composition of the school committee both reflected and maintained the antagonism between the school and the pagoda. The questionnaire completed by the headteacher stated only that the chairperson of the school committee had retired, without indicating what he had retired from; but it indicated that the other three members were employees of the Ministry of Transport. This does not seem a very balanced composition for the committee of a school of this type.

2. Strategies for raising resources

During the workshops for this study, some headteachers were rather dismissive of their communities, describing local inhabitants as ignorant of the purposes and value of education. Others challenged

this view. They considered their communities to be understanding but already heavily burdened with demands for road embankments, repair of sewage systems, and many other needs. They continued by highlighting the need for outreach, persuasion and transparency:

“We must demonstrate our efforts and let the people see our needs. Only by doing so can we gain sympathy from donors and gain more assistance”

“Contribution from the community is a routine matter, but the most important thing is to observe that it will rely on the good relationship and communication with parents”

“At the meeting with parents, we review the achievements in the past (for example the construction of fences). Only if they witnessed what we have achieved will they be willing to donate more”

The ways in which many schools co-operated with pagodas were evident in the remarks made during the workshops. For example:

“Monks go round the village to seek emergency funds to meet needs. Donation can be in the form of cash or rice”

“Usually, people, as Buddhist followers, in principle contributed 40 per cent to school and 60 per cent to pagoda. School and pagoda managed to apply 2 in 1 method to collect money by organizing many types of festivals depending on the case and occasion. At last they managed to transfer 60 per cent of available funds for school construction purposes and the rest to pagoda”.

“This school has a good relationship with the pagoda. The pagoda has assisted in school construction.... The monks helped in collecting money for school repair and purchasing school facilities.... The monks also help encourage children to come to school”.

Several participants also highlighted the usefulness of careful targeting, combined with persistence, planning and follow-up (Box 6). Many of their strategies appeal to individuals' desire for

Box 6. Targeting, planning and follow-up

The workshops demonstrated considerable commitment and ingenuity among school-level fund-raisers. Here are some of the strategies that they reported:

“We look for a list of wealthy families and government officials, and we try to contact them and then ask for donation. These efforts must be tireless”

“We must have thick-skin face if we want assistance, and we keep going out as many times as possible until we receive donation from that same person”

“We convince overseas Khmer to donate, either contacting them when they visit their native villages or sending photographs of damaged schools. This method is also applied to NGOs and international organizations, and to Second Prime Minister Hun Sen”

“Rewards will be granted to eminent teachers who successfully motivate pupils, and acknowledgement certificates [are presented] to parents who make donations.... Names of donors will be inscribed on the wall, which is a way to motivate people”.

One school devised a system of Appreciation Cards for donors and designed embellishments for cards with different monetary values. The card with the smallest value was priced at 7,500 riels, while the one with the highest value was priced at 525,000 riels. Another school persuaded community members to assist with a fence by permitting the donors to write their names on all pieces of wood donated. The organizer then agreed to donate the gate, again with his name on it.

public recognition, and have parallels with similar fund-raising events in other countries (Bray with Lillis, 1988; Tamukong, 1997).

Among the practical questions are whether funds that have been collected should be handled by the headteachers or by members of the school committees. Headteachers are perhaps easier to locate; but some committees prefer to have a separation of powers. One person in the workshops pointed out that invoices are sometimes viewed with suspicion and are in need of verification. The committee of that school has a sub-committee responsible for scrutiny of invoices and other transactions. At the same time, several participants underlined shortcomings in practices of financial management. For example:

“Sometimes, the school uses money from the wrong account, and sometimes we forget to record what has been spent. [We have] no safety devices or measures to safeguard money”

“We don’t know well what is financial management. Therefore, we request this workshop to arm us with knowledge and skills on financial management so that we can have a better financial management”.

Reflecting this, one school reported that it had lost money on a raffle because the value of the prizes was greater than the income earned. These and other workshop participants felt that sometimes the returns from hours spent on persuasion of potential benefactors did not justify the earnings ultimately gained.

Finally, some workshop participants highlighted the desirability of variety. People get tired of frequently-repeated flower festivals, they point out. The most effective school committees raise resources through combinations of strategies to maintain interest and reduce community fatigue.

VII. IMPLICATIONS FOR EQUITY, ACCESS AND EFFICIENCY

The existence and dynamics of household and community financing may have major implications for equity and access. Geographic and socio-economic dimensions deserve particular attention. Also important are implications for the internal efficiency of education systems.

1. Geographic equity and access

Societies with strong elements of household and community financing of education commonly face considerable geographic disparities. This is because households and communities which are already prosperous are in a much better position to help themselves than are households and communities which are poor. Disparities are therefore created and/or increased between different provinces, between different districts, between rural and urban areas, and between different schools.

In addition to factors of general income are broad cultural factors. This study has highlighted the links between financing of schools and financing of pagodas. In general, the links have been positive, though some schools and pagodas have found themselves in competition for scarce resources. One striking contrast is between the parts of the country where Buddhists, most of whom are Khmer, are the majority, and the northern areas inhabited by minority hill tribes, most of whom adhere to animist religions. Ratanakiri is in the latter category, and had much lower levels of household and community financing than other parts of the country investigated in this study. In part, this reflected the lack of traditions of community financing associated with pagodas. It also reflected general poverty. A 1996 socio-economic survey conducted by the government

showed Ratanakiri to have the lowest level of household expenditures among the provinces and municipalities studied.²⁰

Even more obvious is the difference between urban and rural areas. On the one hand the cost of living is higher in the urban areas since households are more likely to face demands for supplementary tutoring; but on the other hand, the availability of such tutoring extends the educational gap between urban and rural areas.

Since some people have more talent in raising and managing resources than do others, wide disparities exist between schools. In some places, the cluster system reduces disparities between schools. Zhang (1998, pp.40-1) recorded that in one cluster that he had studied, pupils in the five schools were asked to pay 200 riels for cluster purposes. The four satellite schools were permitted to keep 20 to 30 per cent of the revenue, but were expected to hand the remainder to the cluster committee for common activities. Among criteria for expenditure, Zhang indicated, were the needs of disadvantaged satellite schools. However, it seems likely that the bulk would support activities held in the central school. Moreover, such cluster-level financing is not found uniformly, and the sample for this study located only one cluster in which common policies were set for fees throughout the cluster.

2. Socio-economic equity and access

The fact that the demands for household and community financing favour the rich and discriminate against the poor is obvious. Children from prosperous backgrounds gain access not only to greater

²⁰ As noted above [footnote 11], the unextrapolated figures from the two rounds of the survey, available on the database, showed Ratanakiri to have average household expenditures of 157,378 riels. This compared with the national average of 262,410 riels and the Phnom Penh average of 601,523 riels.

quantity but also to better-quality education. Those in poor families face major difficulties staying in the system and even from enrolling in the first place. The questionnaires asked schools what special arrangements they made for poor children (and also for girls and handicapped). Only seven out of 59 (11.9%) replied at all, implying that the rest had no special arrangements; and even those seven only made general remarks about exemption from paying for supplementary tutoring or other charges, without setting out specific formulae. Thus policies at the school level did not appear very sympathetic to the problems faced by poor children.

The system of private tutoring seems particularly problematic, especially since much private tutoring is provided immediately after the end of the official school day by the same teachers for the same pupils. Often this involves an element of blackmail in which the 'real' teaching is reserved for the private sessions, and in which the children who do not pay are threatened with repetition of grades which could cost them more than paying the tutorial fee.

While this study did not investigate in detail the proportions of incomes consumed by the household costs of primary schooling, some indicative figures emerged which may be supplemented by data from other sources. During the workshops for parents in Takeo and Phnom Penh, participants were asked about their family incomes and the proportions allocated to schooling. Their responses are set out in *Table 8*. The table must be viewed with considerable caution because estimates of income are notoriously difficult to make. Respondents are commonly unwilling to declare their full incomes, and those people who are willing are not always good at estimating incomes and expenditures on an annual basis. Such estimation requires an ability to see beyond the fluctuations which arise from different seasons. Moreover, full allowance is not always made for income derived in kind as well as cash.

Table 8. Household expenditures on primary education per child (riels) and proportions of household incomes (%), Takeo and Phnom Penh

Grade of pupil	1	2	3	4	5	6
<i>Takeo</i>						
Direct expenses of educating child*	50,000	55,800	64,500	86,000	234,500	224,000
Estimated annual family income	420,000	650,000	890,000	1,500,000	2,340,000	1,100,000
School expenses as % of family income	11.9	8.6	7.2	5.7	10.0	20.4
No. of dependents	2	2	11	6	7	3
No. of children in family attending school	1	1	5	1	5	2
Estimated % of income spent on food	57.1	36.9	74.3	66.7		82.4
Estimated % of income spent on health	2.4	15.3	11.2	6.7		9.0
<i>Phnom Penh</i>						
Direct expenses of educating child*	255,500	420,500	445,600	500,500	834,600	507,600
Estimated annual family income	2,940,000	7,920,000	3,600,000	6,240,000	7,800,000	7,200,000
School expenses as % of family income	8.7	5.3	12.4	8.0	10.7	7.1
No. of dependents	3	11	3	3	1	3
No. of children in family attending school	3	5	1	3	1	2
Estimated % of income spent on food	74.3	68.2	60.0	59.2	8.6	66.6
Estimated % of income spent on health	0.3	3.0	5.0	1.9	15.4	8.3

* Figures have been reduced to allow for the facts that bicycles can be used for other purposes as well as for transportation to school, uniforms are a substitute for other clothes, and money is saved from the household's food budget when pocket-money is used to buy food.

Nevertheless, the figures do show some striking patterns. In Takeo, the reported percentages of total income consumed by direct costs of schooling ranged from 5.7 to 20.4 per cent per child. These are substantial proportions, especially since these parents were estimated

to be in the upper two income quintiles for the district. Moreover, in most cases the parents had more than one child in school.²¹ Also, these costs are for only primary education, and any child going on to secondary school would need even more inputs. For comparison, the table shows the estimated proportion of income spent on health. In three cases reported expenditure on health was lower than that on education, though in one case it was the same and in another case it was higher. In Phnom Penh, incomes were higher but schooling costs were also higher. In that setting the estimated proportion of total incomes consumed by these children ranged from 9.1 to 21.3 per cent. Even if these estimates were cut by half on the assumption that incomes were under-reported, the burden was clearly substantial.

These figures may usefully be compared with the findings of other surveys. None of these other surveys is fully satisfactory, but they do provide benchmarks for comparison. The first is a survey undertaken by Ledgerwood in 1992 (quoted by Tilak 1994, p.17). Her sample was small, but found that expenditures on education consumed 4.9 per cent of total expenditures in one community, 6.6 per cent in another, and 11.8 per cent in a third. These figures seem broadly in line with those reported in the present survey.

The second pair of estimates gave lower figures. Both were derived from household surveys conducted by the government. *Table 9* shows information from the 1993/94 survey, which reported households in Phnom Penh to have devoted 3.2 per cent of their total expenditure to education and recreation. The figure was 2.0 per cent in other urban areas, and was 1.6 per cent in rural areas. Expenditure on health and on transport appeared considerably higher

21 However, this point again highlights the need for caution in interpreting the figures. Parent 3 estimated that expenditure on the schooling of the Grade 3 child consumed 7.2 per cent of total income. That parent reported five children in school, which would imply (depending on the grade) about 36.0 per cent for all five of them. But this does not dovetail with the estimate that 74.3 per cent of income was spent on food and 11.2 per cent was spent on health.

Table 9. Average household monthly expenditures, by purpose, 1993/94

	Phnom Penh	Other urban	Rural	Cambodia (extrapolated)
% allocated to:				
Food, beverages, tobacco	48.2	57.4	67.1	62.9
Transport and communication	8.9	5.6	3.8	4.9
Education and recreation	3.2	2.0	1.6	1.9
Medical/health	5.8	5.8	8.7	7.6
Total	R781,201 (US\$312)	R439,517 (US\$176)	R238,772 (US\$96)	R290,556 (US\$116)
Average expenditures by percentile:				
Lowest 10%	R160,249 (US\$64)	R93,441 (US\$37)	R88,880 (US\$36)	R90,509 (US\$39)
Highest 10%	2,652,786 (US\$1,061)	R1,715,677 (US\$686)	R562,770 (US\$225)	R934,995 (US\$374)
Expenditure distribution by percentile:				
Lowest 10%	2.1%	2.1%	3.7%	3.1%
Highest 10%	34.0%	39.0%	23.6%	32.2%

Source: Cambodia (1995), pp.64, 67.

than expenditure on education. The second was a socio-economic survey conducted by the government in two rounds in June and December 1996. This survey provided a breakdown by income quintile, and showed an average of 3.8 per cent in rural areas and 5.3 per cent in urban areas (*Table 10*).

These figures are not easy to interpret by themselves, because they must be combined with enrolment rates. One reason why the percentage spent on education by the poorest group was low was

Table 10. Percentage of monthly household expenditure devoted to education, by quintile, 1996

	Rural	Urban
Poorest 20%	4.1	4.8
Second 20%	3.7	5.4
Third 20%	3.6	5.5
Fourth 20%	4.0	5.0
Richest 20%	3.6	5.9
Total	3.8	5.3

Source: Socio-Economic Survey of Cambodia, 1996.

that they were too poor to enrol their children in school at all. Moreover, these surveys were ‘snapshots’ of particular months rather than annual estimates, and thus subject to seasonal fluctuations. Also, although they requested information on expenditures in kind as well as cash, allowance for these items may not have been complete. Probably even more significant, they seem to have excluded some of the items covered in the present survey.²² Nevertheless, they do provide some useful information. The 1996 socio-economic survey added that the poorest quintile spent 53.0 per cent of their incomes on food, compared with 48.6 per cent for the richest quintile. The percentage of non-food income estimated to have been spent on education was therefore much larger – in the region of 9.5 per cent for the lowest income quintile, and 8.8 per cent for the highest income quintile.

Finally, it is useful to compare expenditures with the poverty line set by the UNDP (1997a, p.3) at 35,500 riels per person per month. For a family of six, this would imply a family income of 213,000 riels per month or 2,556,000 riels per annum. Even at half the average

²² The main items excluded were transportation and pocket-money.

cost portrayed by parents' reports in *Table 6* of this study, primary schooling for a single child would cost 177,000 riels per annum, or 6.9 per cent of the income of a family on the poverty line. Since poor families typically have more children than do rich families, the burden of schooling would be multiplied proportionately. A considerable literature indicates that investment in primary education can generate a substantial private rate of return. This literature is both general (e.g. Psacharopoulos, 1994) and specific to Cambodia (e.g. Tilak, 1994). However, even if poor families recognize this to be the case, they may not have the resources to make the necessary investment. Also, parents would have to recognize that the returns would accrue to their children rather than directly to themselves, and would need therefore to have broad and long-term perspectives which would be difficult to maintain in circumstances of acute poverty.

3. Internal efficiency

One determinant of internal efficiency in education systems is the proportion of students who complete designated segments in those systems. When drop-out rates are high before the end of the segment, then that portion of the education system is said to have serious internal inefficiency.

The scale of drop-out from Cambodian primary schools has been demonstrated elsewhere to be high (ADB, 1996a, p.128). Costs appear to be an important factor for many households when making decisions to withdraw their children from school. The present study has indirect evidence on this matter.

Table 11 summarizes information on the numbers of children in Grades 1 and 6 in the schools covered by the questionnaire, and on the proportions who were reported to be unable to pay the demanded contributions. Strictly speaking, the drop-out rate cannot be

Table 11. Enrolments and default rates on contributions, Grades 1 and 6

Province/ Municipality	No. of cases	Grade 1 enrolment	% female	% of Grade 1 students who default on contributions	Grade 6 enrolment	% female	% of Grade 6 students who default on contributions
Banteay Meanchey	8	216	45.9	22	108	53.7	12
Battambang	7	224	46.5	36	70	44.9	25
Kampot	8	206	42.8	48	40	43.7	13
Kandal	7	235	47.6	22	46	48.9	6
Phnom Penh	8	677	47.0	5	101	45.6	2
Ratanakiri	3	230	42.6	6	37	46.4	1
Svay Rieng	5	347	46.2	20	62	40.0	12
Takeo	7	230	47.6	40	38	35.4	8
<i>Average</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>296</i>	<i>45.8</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>63</i>	<i>44.8</i>	<i>10</i>

Note: The table excludes 16 cases in which either the school did not go up to Grade 6 or the default rates were not recorded.

calculated from the table because it shows different pupils in Grades 1 and 6 and is not a cohort analysis over time. Nevertheless the drop-out rate can certainly be guessed at. The average Grade 1 enrolments in the 53 schools were 296 pupils, whereas the average Grade 6 enrolments were just 63 pupils. At the same time, the reported percentage of pupils defaulting on payments was much higher in Grade 1 (25%) than in Grade 6 (10%). It may be assumed that the rate was lower in Grade 6 not because pupils had got richer, but because the pupils who could not pay had either dropped out or been pushed out.

Also included in *Table 11* are the proportions of girls in Grades 1 and 6. Patterns in this domain are not consistent. Takeo had a much smaller proportion of girls in Grade 6 than in Grade 1, implying that girls dropped out or were pushed out at a faster rate than boys. However, other provinces had higher proportions of girls in Grade 6 than in Grade 1. The overall average displayed a very similar proportion of girls in Grades 1 and 6.

Of course many other factors also affect the wastage rate. Phnom Penh appears to have a higher wastage rate than Takeo, even though the reported proportions of pupils in Phnom Penh unable to pay the contributions were substantially lower. Also, it may be assumed that the drop-outs/push-outs included many pupils who could afford the contributions as well as those who could not. Thus although the costs of education appear to have a clear correlation with drop-out rates, the complexity of circumstances must also be recognized.

CONCLUSIONS

As noted at the outset of this report, Cambodia is among the countries in the world with very high proportions of household and community resourcing of education. The majority of others are in Africa. They include such countries as Chad, Somalia and Uganda, which like Cambodia have suffered civil war and economic collapse. In these cases, governments have been unable by themselves to provide sufficient education, and households and communities have found that if they want to have schools they must themselves provide most of the resources. Rather different are the more prosperous societies, such as Singapore, where the government promotes community financing as a way to encourage communities to take a more active interest in schooling. Also different are countries such as Indonesia which have strong traditions of independent schools operated by religious bodies (Clark et al., 1998).

Household and community financing may have both positive and negative consequences. On the positive side, it can extend the quantity and improve the quality of education. Without the household and community inputs in Cambodia, some schools would have been unable to function at all. During the early and mid-1990s, education received less than 10 per cent of the total government budget, and national government expenditure on education was below 1 per cent of Gross Domestic Product, compared with an average of 3.1 per cent for other developing countries of Eastern Asia, 4.4 per cent in Southern Asia, and 5.7 per cent in Africa (UNESCO, 1995, p.109). At all levels, official salaries were so low that they could barely provide enough for a single person to live on, let alone a whole family. Without household and community financing, the school system would not have been able to function. Also, on the positive side, it may be assumed that household and community financing generated an

interest in schooling which might not have been so strong if everything had been provided free of charge by the government.

On the negative side, the most serious problems concern equity and access. Household and community financing maintains and exacerbates inequalities between regions, between rural and urban areas, between individual schools, and between socio-economic groups. Parts of the international development literature have strongly advocated decentralization of planning and administrative functions. For example, a UNESCO document (1998a, p.138) which explicitly focuses on empowerment of the poor, strongly recommends “decentralization of educational planning and management down to the village/habitation level accompanied by devolution of authority [and] financial and executive power”. It continues by stating that:

“Decentralization is advocated to make the community responsible for the basic education of its people and eventually build a sense of ownership of the educational arrangements made to extend basic education to the different clientele groups”.

Such statements should not be accepted uncritically. Studies in many countries (e.g. Opolot, 1994; Blasco, 1998) have shown that local decision-makers are not necessarily sympathetic to the poor and to other disadvantaged groups. School committees are commonly dominated by relatively prosperous members of society who may have little sympathy for others who are less fortunate. Further, the remarks by Bhatnagar and Williams (1992, p.4) may apply as much in Cambodia as elsewhere. Sometimes, they point out:

“resources for development can be captured by local elites and used primarily for their own benefit rather than [that of] the intended beneficiaries. This happens because local elites usually

have advantageous ties to national elites, because they have access to information about resource allocation procedures, and because they can use threats and force against the disadvantaged”.

Given these observations, it would seem most sensible for policy-makers to find an approach which recognizes complexities, which has flexibility to suit different circumstances, and which endeavours to balance different forces in order to maximize the positive sides of household and community financing and minimize the negative sides. This will require centralization of some functions, and decentralization of others. Central authorities need to have an overview of patterns and trends, and the ability to intervene as and when desirable. Such intervention should include encouragement of schools, households and communities which need encouragement, and sanction of schools, households and communities which move to excesses.

To be effective, such monitoring and intervention requires the central authorities to have skills and resources, both of which in Cambodia are in short supply. Two recent studies have highlighted a shortage of skills (UNESCO, 1996; Wheeler et al., 1997); and earlier sections of this report noted the shortage of resources. Skills can be developed through training and experience. The principal avenue for the government to gain greater resources is the taxation system. As already observed, Cambodia has a very low ratio of taxation to Gross Domestic Product, and a strong case can be made for increasing this ratio. Increased taxation would be especially desirable if it is progressive, i.e. extracting greater proportions from richer households than from poorer ones. A strong case can also be made for increased priority to education, and to basic education in particular, within existing government budgets.

Yet strong recommendation for increased government expenditure on education does not necessarily mean that basic education should be fully financed by the government. The world has seen a significant shift of general opinion on fees in education systems. Whereas international resolutions from the 1940s to the 1980s advocated fee-free provision of basic education, the 1990 World Conference on Education for All envisaged the possibility of fees and stressed the value of partnerships. The Cambodian constitution declares that the state shall provide free primary and secondary education to all citizens in public schools. This is clearly not a description of current reality; and it is arguable that it is not an appropriate aspiration for the future.

In most countries, community resourcing of education is less vigorous in urban than in rural areas. This is because geographic communities are harder to define, and because urban areas have many other focal points for social interaction. This study shows that patterns in Cambodia do to some extent match patterns elsewhere, with demands for contributions from parents of children being stronger than inputs from more broadly defined communities. However, vigorous elements of community involvement are still evident in many urban areas, again perhaps reflecting the fact that the need for self-reliance is strongly evident to most Cambodians.

Concerning the mechanics of community financing, the study has highlighted flower festivals as a common way to raise funds. A few communities have levies in cash or labour on households, but mechanisms are much less sophisticated than in parts of Nigeria or China, for example. Concerning the former, Igwe (1988, pp.112-4) has explained the ways in which persons in similar age groups are encouraged to compete with older and younger age grades to raise funds, and the ways in which sanctions are imposed on individuals and households who do not contribute to community projects.

Concerning China, Lewin and Wang (1994, p.73) give an example in which resources for education are raised at the local level through very detailed and systematic forms of taxation.²³ Like their counterparts in some Nigerian communities, however, some Cambodian committees are expert at targeting sons and daughters who are no longer resident but who retain close ties. This is particularly evident in the case of overseas Khmers, who may be approached systematically and persistently with photographs, letters and other forms of communication.

For further analysis of the specifics of the Cambodian situation, it is helpful to recall certain historical and cultural features. Among the historical features are the long traditions of reliance on households and communities to provide at least some resources for education. This was evident in the colonial era, and continued after the achievement of Independence. Many of the traditions were allied to religious practices. Although modernized pagoda schools of the type initiated in the early decades of the century no longer exist, many contemporary secular schools have close links with pagodas.

However, this study has shown that links with pagodas are not necessarily straightforward. Schools and pagodas sometimes find themselves competing for resources; and individual schools and pagodas do not always serve common populations. When forces work in harmony, schools and pagodas can be focal points for building of social networks and community identities; but schools and pagodas, both separately and together, can also be focal points for discord and division.

²³ The levels were 2 yuan from each farmer each year; 1 yuan from each government employee earning less than 70 yuan a month, and 1.50 yuan from employees earning 70-100 yuan; 0.5 per cent of the sale value from collective enterprises and private businesses; 2 yuan for each square metre of construction from the state and collective organizations that built apartments or offices with two or more floors for themselves; 1 yuan for each square metre used for production or business from the oil, coal and other industries; and 5 per cent of the maintenance and equipment fund of buildings in urban areas.

Also of continuing importance for comprehension of dynamics during the 1990s are the legacies of the Pol Pot era. The ADB (1996b, p.7) has highlighted the prevalence of a ‘survivor’s mentality’:

“Cambodians who survived the Khmer Rouge period were those who either fled the country or learned how to take care of themselves. They learned to keep their own counsel. Those qualities needed to underpin a democratic tradition – capacity for trust, willingness to seek common goals and to sacrifice one’s own immediate interests for the sake of these common goals – need to be reinforced. Many Cambodians still find it difficult to expect that tomorrow will be better than today. There is limited tradition of organizing and planning for a better future”.

Such factors must be taken fully into account by both government personnel and development agencies. Rehabilitation and reconstruction will require decades of effort. In general, physical infrastructure can be restored much more rapidly than human and emotional infrastructure.

Among the distinctive features of the mid-1990s was a strong role played by politicians in Cambodian education. Again, such activities can work either for unification or for division. Pich (1997, p.45) is not alone in the view that “schools are not the appropriate ground for political activities”. However, as he realistically observes (p.46), to some extent:

“The public use of school openings and events for political speeches and reward of school administrators who overtly or covertly support one party or another is unavoidable. This kind of political pressure within education systems is seen around the world, and Cambodia is no exception”.

Sociologists have highlighted the respect typically held by Cambodians for strong leaders, and the emergence of such leaders can certainly be a factor for mobilizing communities to construct buildings and contribute other resources. Many of the buildings constructed during the 1990s were funded jointly by politicians and communities, and it seems likely that the inputs by the politicians called forth matching community resources which would otherwise not have been contributed to the schools. However, according to Ovesen et al. (1996, p.65), the expansion of the market economy during the 1990s brought a reduction in willingness to collaborate in public works without payment. Also, with the abandonment of socialism the traditions of large village meetings at which collective work was organized had virtually ceased; and after 1993, Ovesen et al. state, life in the villages became less democratic than it had been. These observations highlight the complexities in the dynamics of changing circumstances.

On a more technical plane, household and community financing raises major issues about management and use of funds. One positive feature in Cambodia is the high proportion of schools which have functioning school committees. These committees act as a bridge between teachers, parents and other members of communities, and play a major role in both institutional and broader development. However, in Cambodia, as elsewhere (see e.g. Bray, 1996b, 1996c), many schools lack the institutional expertise to promote good planning and careful expenditure of resources. This leads in many instances to wastage, to suspicions of embezzlement, and to social disruption. An urgent need therefore exists to help schools with mechanisms to ensure that community and household resources are used sensibly, efficiently and fairly. Advice could also be provided on ways to raise resources. Some sharing of experiences has been achieved through national-level workshops, such as that held in

Battambang in 1997 (Cambodia, 1997c). Such events can help schools to gain ideas on best practice and to identify alternative models. School clusters may also be a vehicle for improving local and institution-level management.

As in most other countries, the household costs of primary education generally increase with the grades. This is because older pupils require larger uniforms, more exercise books, and, if available, more supplementary reading materials. Supplementary tutoring is also more common in the higher grades; and as children get older, the opportunity costs of school attendance are also greater. In contrast to patterns in most other countries, however, are the widespread demands in Cambodia of additional registration charges for pupils entering Grade 1. These charges are particularly problematic insofar as they discourage poor families from ever enrolling their children. In schools which levy registration charges for initial enrolment in Grade 1, the costs to households start at a fairly high level, then fall, and then rise beyond the initial starting point as children pass through the system.

Finally, considerably more policy focus is needed on the specific topic of private supplementary tutoring. This topic is under-researched in all countries, chiefly because private tutoring is a shadowy system considered beyond the control and responsibility of government. The comments in this report echo those made elsewhere (e.g. ADB, 1996a) in highlighting the fact that private tutoring consumes substantial resources, especially in urban areas, and has major implications for equity. In many cases it is questionable how much the students in these supplementary classes learn that is of value and that could not be taught in ordinary classes. Questions of regulation within the free market are also raised, because at least some forms of private tutoring appear to be exploitative. Among the managerial questions, given that private tutoring is likely to remain a

strong feature at least of urban schools, is how far institutions (as opposed to individuals) can control the provision of tutoring, the prices charged and the disbursement of revenues. It appears from this study that some schools are playing at least some institutional role in this, and scope probably exists for improvements in this domain.

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APPENDICES

Appendix Table 1. Summary data from schools represented at Workshop in Banteay Meanchey Province

Name of school	No. of pupils	Facilities and their financing	Annual contributions per pupil (riels)				Other income during 1997	Remarks
			Basic	Sport	Art	Other		
Au Ambel	1,374	3 buildings constructed 1980 by community with UNDP; 1 1981 by community; 1 1996 by Hun Sen with community; 1 1997 by UNICEF (\$2,500) with community (\$1,990). Furniture from community, NGOs and government; fences from community (1,500,000 riels); gate from individual (2,250,000 riels).	5,000	200	200	200	Festival 980,000 riels; CONCERN \$2,100.	Urban core School.
Anakut	752	3 buildings constructed by community 1982-90; 1 1993 by Netherlands aid. Furniture provided by NGOs and community.	6,000	300	200	200	Individual donations 8,000 baht (\$250).	Urban satellite school.
Tuk Thla	901	2 buildings constructed by community 1979, 1986; 2 by UNICEF with community 1993; 2 by Hun Sen 1996 (\$20,000 each); furniture provided by community, NGOs and government.	4,000	200	200	400	School farm 1,800 baht (\$56); rent 390,000 riels; church donation 360,000 riels; UNDP \$18,744; UNICEF \$4,200.	Urban satellite school. Appreciation Cards prepared for donors. Value of cards: 7,500 to 525,000 riels.

Keap	842	1 building constructed 1993 by UNDP; 1 1994 by New Family; 1 1996 by Hun Sen (\$24,000); 1 1997 by UNICEF (\$12,000) with community (\$790). Furniture by government, NGOs and community. Well and latrines by NGO; fencing by community.	3,500 grade 1; 2,500 others	300	300	700	School farm 10,500 riels; festival 400,000 riels; New Family \$6,000; UNDP \$5,000; PASEC \$2,000; UNICEF \$2,100.	Urban satellite school.
Au Prasat	642	2 buildings constructed 1981 and furnished by community.	3,000	100	0	0	School farm 3,000 baht (\$90); festival 10,000 baht (\$310).	Rural satellite school.
Sorya	493	1 building constructed 1994 by CONCERN; 1 1996 by Social Fund (1,050,000 riels); 1 1997 by Hun Sen (1,030,000 riels); 1 1997 by UNICEF (1,668,500 riels). Furniture from Hun Sen and Social Fund.	2,500	500	500	200	Festival 1,200 baht (\$40).	Rural core school.
Sophy	277	2 buildings constructed 1992 by UNDP; 1 1997 by UNICEF (\$12,500) with community (\$450). Furniture from NGOs.	2,500	500	500	200		Rural satellite school.
Rohat Tuk	851	3 buildings constructed 1958-87 by community; 1 1991 UNDP and UNHCR; 1 1995 Hun Sen (\$20,000) with community (\$280). Most furniture from NGOs.	3,000	2,000	0	0	School farm 1,040,000 riels; festival \$177; sale of rice \$400; donation from Australia \$1,380; PASEC \$2,000.	Rural core school; sold fruit from school trees to finance fence; school also has coconut trees and fish pond.

Appendix Table 2. Summary data from schools represented at Workshop in Battambang Province

Name of school	No. of pupils	Facilities and their financing	Annual contributions per pupil (riels)				Other income during 1997	Remarks
			Basic	Sport	Art	Other		
Kauk Ponley	160	1 building constructed and furnished by World Vision.	1,000	100	100	0	1997: 4 bags of rice from school farm, 300,000 riels raised along the road, 500,000 riels from provincial government.	Rural satellite school. World Vision also gives stationery, uniforms and shoes to some pupils.
Wat Kampheng	1,116	2 buildings constructed 1924 by government; 3 jointly by UNICEF and community 1987, 1994, 1997. UNICEF costs were \$5,000, \$11,849 and \$17,357. Community costs were \$1,103, \$1,773 and \$3,357. Community also provided furniture: 1997 value \$4,108.	3,400 gr 1; 2,400 others	100	100	grades 1-4: 300 grades 5 & 6: 500	1997: 4,688,780 riels from festival; 700,000 riels from rent from petty traders in school compound; 2,055,400 riels from community donation.	Urban core school; linked to pagoda, though no monks on school committee.
Samdech Euo-Samdech Me Phnom Sampoeur	1,138	1 building constructed 1957 by government; 1 1986 by community; 1 1996 by Samdech Euo-Samdech Me, \$18,000. Furniture jointly provided by community and government.	1,000 gr 1; 800 others	300	100	decoration 100	Rice from school farm earned 30,000 riels 1997. Clock (value 25,000 riels) donated.	Urban core school.

Anlong Tamei	708	1 building constructed by monks 1965; 1 by community 1984; 1 by UNDP 1994 (\$3,050, plus 2 million riels from community). Furnishings from UNDP and community.	4,000 gr 1: 1,500 others	0	0	decoration: grades 1-3: 200 grades 4-6: 300		Rural core school.
Kanteu 2	885	4 buildings constructed 1993 by CARERE (\$14,600) with community inputs (600,000 riels) and repaired by UNICEF (\$10,800). 1 built 1996 by CARERE (\$12,000) plus community (2,500,000 riels). Furniture jointly community, CARERE and UNICEF.	1,500	200	100	decoration: grades 1-2: 100 grades 3-5: 200 grade 6: 300	Festival 3,000,000 riels;.	Rural core school.
Dambok Kpuos	369	2 buildings constructed by community (1992, 1,025,000 riels and 1997, 2,424,250 riels); 1 by CARERE (1993, \$5,745) and 1 by CARERE with community 1997 (\$19,585 plus 1,500,000 riels). Furniture by CARERE.	2,500 gr 1; 2,000 others	100	100	0	Provincial governor \$600.	Rural satellite school.
Kampong Chhang	624	1 building constructed by community 1983; 1 by CARERE with community 1993 (\$11,500 plus \$3,500); 1 1997 by AFS with community (\$20,150 plus \$2,900).	2,740 gr 1; 1,740 others	80	80	100 for miscel- laneous items	Festival 800,000 riels; \$1,700 from an overseas Khmer; IRC \$740.	Rural satellite school.
Norea	1,294	2 buildings constructed by community 1981, plus 1 in 1989. 1 built 1996 by Cambodia Social Fund \$18,300. Furnished jointly by government and community.	3,000 gr 1; 2,000 others	100	100	500 for miscel- laneous items	School farm grew rice worth 85,000 riels. Income used to repair furniture.	Rural core school. Monk is chairperson of school committee.

Appendix Table 3. Summary data from schools represented at Workshop in Kampot Province

Name of school	No. of pupils	Facilities and their financing	Annual contributions per pupil (riels)				Other income during 1997	Remarks
			Basic	Sport	Art	Other		
Hun Sen Nareay	842	3 buildings constructed and furnished 1996 by Hun Sen in conjunction with community.	700	300			Festival 210,000 riels.	Rural core school located in pagoda. Monk is head of School Committee. Three teachers are paid by the community.
Ank Chak	941	1 building constructed 1995 by government (half) with community (half); 1 built 1997 by Hun Sen. Furniture by NGOs, community and other donors.	700	300		100	Festival 2,468,000 riels; individual donations \$800.	Rural core school located in pagoda.
Pror Phnom	512	3 buildings constructed and furnished by community 1988, 1992, 1995; 1 1997 by PASEC (\$2,000) with community (800,000 riels). Water supply 1997 by NGO (\$60).		800		500	Festival 57,000 riels.	Rural core school located in pagoda.
Auk Tul	658	2 buildings constructed 1996, 1997 by Social Fund with community inputs worth 500,000 riels. Furniture from community, latrines from NGO.	1,000	300		200		Rural satellite school located in pagoda.

Khnoch Romeas	851	1 building constructed 1981 by community, 1 1997 by Hun Sen. Furniture by community, water supply by NGO.	2,000 grade 1; 1,500 others	300 grades 3-6	100	200	Festival 90,000 riels; rice 75,000 riels.	Rural satellite school.
Wat Ankor Chey	662	4 buildings constructed and furnished 1980-96 by community. Cost of 1996 building: \$11,500.				800		Rural satellite school.
Prey Khley	634	1 building constructed 1983 by community, 1 1997 by Hun Sen (\$24,000). Furniture jointly provided by community and other.	800	200				Rural satellite school.
Yuos Montrey	231	3 buildings constructed and furnished 1980-81 by community.		800				Rural satellite school located in pagoda.

Appendix Table 4. Summary data from schools represented at Workshop in Kandal Province

Name of school	No. of pupils	Facilities and their financing	Annual contributions per pupil (riels)				Other income during 1997	Remarks
			Basic	Sport	Art	Other		
Prek Tanup	607	1 building constructed by community 1982; 1 by Hun Sen 1996, \$20,000. Furnished jointly by Hun Sen and community 1996.	2,000	500	0	200		Rural satellite school.
Heng Samrin Chhoeu Teal	675	1 building constructed by community 1984; 1 by CAPE-USAID (\$7,500) and community (\$1,200) 1997; 2 by Hun Sen 1997. Furnished jointly by Hun Sen and community 1997.	1,800	500	0	200		Rural core school.
Kampong Svay	715	1 building constructed by community 1989; 1 by NGO (year not stated), \$20,000. Furnished jointly by NGO and community.	2,000	500	0	100	Festival 8,600,000 riels.	Rural satellite school.
Hun Sen Sophy	942	3 buildings constructed and furnished by Hun Sen 1995.	2,500	500	100	100	30,000 riels from farm; 150,000 riels rent; 150,000 riels sale of mangoes.	Rural core school.

Vathanak Chhoung Leap	1,304	5 buildings constructed by community 1994, \$97,000. Also furnished by community.	3,000	500	0	0	Festival 800,000 riels plus \$1,205.	Urban core school.
Kporb	786	5 buildings constructed and furnished by community 1979-94. Most recent (1994) cost \$14,500.	1,000	200	300	0		Rural core school.
Ve Lovoan	955	3 buildings constructed and furnished by community. 1 constructed 1997 by UNICEF/Sida (\$12,500) in conjunction with community (\$3,500).	2,000	500	0	0	Festival 2,035,000 riels.	Rural satellite school located in pagoda.
Prek Samrong	295	1 building constructed by TOPS (Taiwan) (\$10,250) with community (300,000 riels) 1998; 1 building by Sida (\$12,500) with community (\$3,500) 1998. TOPS furniture \$1,468 1996; community water supply and toilets \$1,920 1996.	1,500	400	0	0		Urban satellite school.
Prek Thmei	1,285	3 buildings constructed by community 1981, 1983, 1991; 1 by Sida and community 1988; 1 by Hun Sen 1997 \$20,000. Parents spent 520,000 riels to improve compound 1997.	2,500	250	250	1,000	Festival 1,000,000 riels.	Urban satellite school; good relationship with pagoda.

Appendix Table 5. Summary data from schools represented at Workshop in Phnom Penh Municipality

Name of school	No. of pupils	Facilities and their financing	Annual contributions per pupil (riels)				Other income during 1997	Remarks
			Basic	Sport	Art	Other		
Bak Touk	7,727	6 built in 1980s: 2 government, 4 community. 3 built by government 1992(\$17,000); 1 built by community 1995 (250,000 riels).	2,000	500	500	Brooms 100 Teaching aids 100 Decoration 100 Identity card 100	Festival 1,360,000 riels.	Urban core school. Identity cards only for Grades 4-6. Previous year, each pupil contributed 5,000 riels for festival.
Wat Preah Put	2,092	6 buildings constructed 1966-88. 2 built by pagoda, 2 by parents, 1 by charity individual, 1 unstated.	1,800	500	50	Building construction 3,000		Urban satellite school, located in pagoda. School has poor relationship with monks.
Vatanak Vichea	1,080	1 built by government 1965; other built by government 1993. Cost: 55 million riels government, 6 million riels community.	2,000	500	500			Urban satellite school.
Sampoeuv Meas	1,130	2 built by government 1993 (\$108,800).	2,000	500	500		850 bricks, 12 chairs, 2 concrete seats donated. Also 1,600,000 riels for construction and 627,000 riels for art and sport.	Urban satellite school. 50% of compulsory contribution goes to repair; 20-30% to sport and art, and the rest to teaching aids.

Tuol Sleng	7,034	3 built by government 1968-80.	2,000	500	500	Classroom 100 Decoration 100	Festival 100,000 riels; Redd Barna 500,000 riels.	Urban core school.
Wat Tuol Toumpoung	3,619	2 built 1950 (source of funds not stated); 2 built by community 1980s; 1 built by community 1997, 5.3 million riels.	2,000	500	500			Urban core school located in pagoda.
Preah Norodom	3,854	3 built by government 1935; 1 in 1973; 1 built 1993, political party in conjunction with community.	2,000	500	0	Unspecified 1,000	Festival 3,200,000 riels; \$20,000 1st Prime Minister; PADEK \$4,850 furniture and basketball ground.	Urban core school. 1 ton of cement and garden financed by a government official; \$2,445 tables from Phnom Penh Vice-Governor.
Phnom Daun Penh	2,657	4 buildings constructed 1950.	2,000	500	500		Festival 5,000,000 riels; rent \$100 per month; 50 chairs and 20 trucks of sand individual donation.	Urban core school.
Beung Salang	2,291	6 buildings, all joint with community: 1988 UNICEF; 1995 Redd Barna and government.; 1996 R. Barna and CPP; 1997 Social Fund (\$10,373), Social Fund and CPP (\$22,820), Sida (\$7,800).	1,000	500	500	Brooms, pictures, decoration etc. 1,000	Festival 1,235,100 riels; desks, chairs, white- board and well financed by Social Fund.	Urban core school.

Appendix Table 6. Summary data from schools represented at Workshop in Ratanakiri Province

Name of school	No. of pupils	Facilities and their financing	Annual contributions per pupil (riels)				Other income during 1997	Remarks
			Basic	Sport	Art	Other		
Labansiek	1,182	2 buildings constructed by government 1985, 1990; 1 by Chea Sim 1996 (\$36,000); 1 by government 1997 (\$7,000); 2 by Hun Sen 1997 (\$30,000 each). Community provided fencing and other inputs 1997 value \$3,200.	0	300	200	0		Urban core school. The following 2 satellite and 1 Appendix schools are in this cluster.
Samdech Krom Preah Norodom Ranariddh	540	1 building constructed by community 1993, \$11,800; 1 built by Samdech K.P. Norodom Ranariddh 1994, \$12,000. Furniture by community in conjunction with Samdech K.P. Norodom Ranariddh and a Scandinavian NGO.	0	300	200	0		Urban satellite school.
Hun Sen Yak Lorm	146	2 buildings and furniture provided by Hun Sen, 1995, \$36,000. CARERE (UNDP) gave water supply 1995, \$750. Community fenced 1995, 3,000,000 riels.	0	0	0	0		Urban satellite school.

Hun Sen Phoum Thmei	177	1 building constructed 1996/97 by Hun Sen, \$30,000. Also provided furniture, in conjunction with government. Community provided fence and pond, value \$150.	2,000 gr 1; 1,000 others	300	200	0		Urban annex school.
Borei Kamakar	421	2 buildings constructed by government 1964, 1987; 1 by community 1991; 1 PASEC 1997 (\$3,000); 1 Hun Sen 1997 (\$36,719). Community provided furniture in 1997 worth 1,810,000 riels.	0	300-500	200-700	0	Allowance from rubber plantation: 55,000 riels per teacher per month.	Rural satellite school. Plantation gives housing and an allowance to teachers which doubles their incomes. No teachers give paid extra tuition.
O-Chum	279	1 three-room building constructed 1997 (value not stated). Furniture worth \$1,700 provided by Sang Kheng (Vice-Premier) 1997.	0	0	0		Parents give rice to teachers.	Rural core school.
Cha Song	82	1 two-room building and furniture constructed 1997 by PASEC with community inputs. Community assisted with construction and with fencing.	0	0	0	0		Rural core school.
Sangkum Meanchey	213	1 constructed by Hun Sen 1997, \$3,700. Government provided furniture.	0	0	0	0		Rural core school.

Appendix Table 7. Summary data from schools represented at Workshop in Svay Rieng Province

Name of school	No. of pupils	Facilities and their financing	Annual contributions per pupil (riels)				Other income during 1997	Remarks
			Basic	Sport	Art	Other		
Banteay	823	3 buildings constructed 1979-84 by community; 1 1996 Hun Sen \$20,000; 1 1997 UNICEF (\$15,100) plus community (\$1,500). Government furniture 1995, 1,000,000 riels. Community water supply and others 1996, 1,414,000 riels.	1,000 gr 1; 500 others	300	200	100		Urban core school.
Preah Sihanouk	2,904	9 buildings and all furniture provided by community 1986-92.	500	200	300	200	Festival: 5,047,000 riels; rent 1,446,000 riels; vegetables in garden.	Urban core school. Also in 1997 gained 2,330,000 riels from PTA and \$13,000 from UNICEF.
Chambak	856	1 building constructed 1993 by community; 1 1998 UNICEF (\$14,535) with community (\$1,350); 1 1998 Social Fund (\$17,515). Furniture from NGO.	9,000 gr 1; 13,000 gr 6	3,000 gr 1; 5,000 gr 6	300		Festival \$950; provincial government 500,000 riels.	Rural core school. School committee chaired by monk.
7 January Po Ta Ho	643	3 buildings constructed 1979-90 by community; 1 1998 UNICEF (\$8,700) with community (\$1,500). Furniture provided by community.	500	200	300	200		Urban satellite school. School committee chaired by trader, with monk as Honorary Chairperson.

Samrong Pich	928	1 building constructed 1989 by community; 1 1997 Japanese aid with community; 1 1997 UNICEF (\$14,000) with community (\$1,265). Furniture by community.	1,000	200				Festival \$210; provincial governor 1 million riels.	Rural satellite school, located partly in pagoda.
Sala Kruos	624	1 building constructed 1986 by community; 1 1995 CIDSE; 1 1996 Social Fund; 1 1997 UNICEF (\$16,000). Furniture provided by NGOs and community.	1,000					Festival 700,000 riels; donations 1,200,000 riels.	Rural core school.
Bavet	1,708	5 buildings constructed 1958-94 by community. Cost of 1994 building: \$20,000. Furniture provided by community.	1,000 gr 1; 500 others	300	200	200-300		Festival \$4,000; UNICEF \$13,000.	Urban core school. Some income (amount not specified) from rent.
Ta Nou	684	3 buildings constructed 1980-96 by community. 1 1997 by UNICEF with community (\$2,800 plus 1,600,000 riels). Furniture provided by government and community 1996-97.	500	200	0	0		Festival 50,000 riels; Social Fund \$2,494; Hun Sen 1,000,000 riels.	Rural satellite school. Also received 650,000 riels from PTA.
Samaki Raingsei	341	1 building constructed 1987 by community; 1 1997 by NGO \$2,769. Furniture provided by community and government.	1,000 gr 1; 500 others	300	200	100			Urban satellite school.
2 December	1,135	4 buildings constructed 1983-90 by community; 1 1992 UK embassy; 1 Japanese aid with community. Furniture provided by government and NGOs.	500	500	0	300-1,000		Festival 4,280,000 riels; some crops grown in garden.	Urban satellite school. Pupils who are newly admitted to any grade are charged 500 riels.

Appendix Table 8. Summary data from schools represented at Workshop in Takeo Province

Name of school	No. of pupils	Facilities and their financing	Annual contributions per pupil (riels)				Other income during 1997	Remarks
			Basic	Sport	Art	Other		
Bun Rany Hun Sen Neang Khmao	794	2 buildings constructed with UNICEF help, 1993 and 1994 (\$27,500 from UNICEF, \$16,000 in cash and kind from community); 2 built from Hun Sen funds 1995, 1996 (\$48,000).	1,500	500	300	700	Festival 1,000,000 riels; farm 240,000 riels plus 20,000 riels value of crops consumed (not sold).	Rural core school. Contributions for pupils standardized throughout the cluster. The following 5 schools are in the same cluster.
Phnom Chiso	1,010	All 6 buildings constructed by community. Three built in 1990s cost \$7,000 (1993), \$12,000 (1994) and \$20,000 (1995).	1,500	500	300	700	\$712 from an overseas Khmer; crops 48,000 riels plus 20,000 value consumed.	Rural satellite school.
Sla Rorm	968	1 built with UNICEF help 1991 (\$11,250 from UNICEF, \$7,000 from community); 1 built with Mong Rithy funds 1993 (\$12,000); 3 built from Hun Sen funds 1996 (\$40,000).	1,500	500	300	700	Festival 300,000 riels.	Rural satellite school.
Ang So Klaing	679	2 built with UNICEF help, 1993 and 1994 (\$27,100 from UNICEF, \$150 in cash and kind from community); 2 built from Hun Sen funds 1995, 1996 (\$40,000).	1,500	500	300	700		Rural satellite school located in pagoda. Monk chairs school committee.
Ta Yeung	619	All 5 buildings constructed by Assemblies of God church. Value \$66,400.	1,500	500	300	700	Church \$410 per month.	Rural satellite school; church donations supplement salaries plus other recurrent costs.

Orm Sophat	163	1 built by charity individual 1989 (\$13,000); other by Hun Sen 1996 (\$20,000).	1,500	500	300	700	Overseas Khmer 190,000 riels per month for teachers.	Rural satellite school.
Cham Bak	832	1 joint UNICEF and community 1987; 1 (largest) community 1989; 1 WCC 1991; UNICEF and community 1994 (\$26,000).	1,000	0	0	0	130,000 riels from rice grown.	Urban core school.
Phnom Cha Chak	755	4 by community 1965-82; 1 joint UNICEF (\$15,000) and community (\$800) 1995.	0	1,000	500	0	Festival 130,000 riels; rice crop 160,000 riels.	Rural core school.
Trapaing Thom	869	1 community 1979; 1 UNICEF 1991 (\$15,000); 1 UNICEF (\$4,000) and community (\$128) 1993; 2 Hun Sen (\$32,000) 1997.	0	0	0	0	Festival 340,000 riels.	Rural core school. Some classes in pagoda. Compulsory contributions abolished on a trial basis; seeking money in alternative ways, but now discussing with some parents if they can pay 100 riels per month.

Appendix Table 9. Summary data from case-study schools in Kampong Cham, Kampong Speu, Kampong Thom and Stung Treng Provinces

Name of school	No. of pupils	Facilities and their financing	Annual contributions per pupil (riels)				Other income during 1997	Remarks
			Basic	Sport	Art	Other		
Kampong Cham								
Dey Doss	1,248	All 5 buildings constructed and furnished by community, 1975-96. The 1996 building cost 35 million riels plus \$1,488; 2 latrines from SAVA.	6,000 gr 1; 5,000 others	300	0	various	Pagoda 5,000; tax from canteen 60,000; coconuts 30,000; politicians 23,770,000; festival 4,036,300; individual donation 158,000 riels.	Urban core school. Moved out of pagoda. Retains good relationship, but income via pagoda less than before. Miscellaneous charges: class support 1,300, books 600, teaching aids 300, office operation 200, support to district 100, repairs 500 riels.
Angkuonh Dey	1,132	3 buildings constructed by community 1987-97; 2 by UNHCR 1987. Furniture from community. Well from UNHCR, latrines from UNICEF. Hun Sen contributed two thirds of cost of 1996 building.	3,000	300	0	various	Rent land for farming 100,000; oil company 850,000; festival 315,000; former principal now in USA \$100; pagoda 250,000; politicians 2,010,000.	Rural core school. Good relationship with pagoda, which allocates 30% of its income to the school. Miscellaneous charges: class support 1,000, registers 500, teaching aids 300, office operation 200, fence 100 riels.

Kampong Speu									
Chambak	883	World Bank provided 5-room building; UNICEF provided \$1,500 to renovate 2-room building. SIPAR supported library. Most community resources go to reconstruction of pagoda rather than to school.	5,000	0	0	0	Intend to request resources from politicians.	Rural core school which serves 9 villages; located in pagoda, but has poor relationship; compound also has a pre-school.	
Ank Pneat	562	4 buildings, of which 2 are newly constructed in stone. 1 building financed 1997 by UNICEF (\$12,500) and pagoda (3,700,000 riels). 1 building financed 1997 Samdech Euo and Samdech Me.	2,000	0	0	0		Rural core school which serves 6 villages; located in pagoda, with which it has good relations.	
Kampong Thom									
Kok Nguon	430	1 old building constructed by community; 2 buildings, 2 latrines and well financed by Social Fund \$17,700; 1 building financed by UNICEF. WFP provided 8 tons of rice to dig a pond. Parents' Association constructed office.	3,000	0	0	500 for office supplies	Some money received from pagoda.	Rural school.	
Panhna Chy	586	1 building constructed by community; 1 built and furnished by Social Fund (\$11,434). Social Fund also gave \$418 and 3 tons of rice for construction of latrines, pond and access road, and \$296 for well. Also paid for renovation of one building. Office, fence, gate and signboard from community (1 million riels). Parents' Association gave 5,120,000 riels for furniture and school supplies.	6,000	750	0	750 for office supplies	100,000 from pagodas and local authorities; kiln owner donated bricks and tiles.	Rural satellite school serves 12 villages; used to be in pagoda, but moved out. In the past, the 2 nearby pagodas provided 30-50% of school budget, but now they are building new temples so only provide 3-5%.	

Stung Treng								
Thala Borivath	477	3 buildings constructed by community 1960-90; 1 1995 UNICEF (60%) with community (40%). Furniture provided 1997: 60% government, 30% NGO, 10% community. UNICEF gave well 1995. Community provided flag-pole worth 150,000 riels. Children provided wood for fence, but stolen by soldiers. Community provided new fence worth 100,000 riels, and deputy district governor provided wire worth 300,000 riels.	2,000	0	0	2,400 per family	Monks organize festivals and donate 30% to school. Red Cross pins sold for 500-1,000 riels for school. Teachers permitted to collect 100-200 riels per year per pupil for stationery.	Urban core school. Community has a plot of land worth \$300 on which district education office plans to establish an annex school.
Stung Treng City	2,083	5 buildings constructed 1988: 2 by government, 1 by community, and 2 joint government and community. 3 buildings 1989 by sawmill. Furniture also joint government and community. Social Fund built and furnished 2 buildings. PASEC gave library; CAPE resource centre; UNICEF floors and help with repairs. Prince Norodom Ranariddh 1995 gave \$1,000 for fence and 1,000,000 riels for furniture.	5,000 gr 1; 3,000 others	1,000	0	2,000	PASEC \$1,000; CAPE \$7,500; rent from stalls 5,000 riels per day; 2 million riels from CPP politicians.	Urban core school. Originally in pagoda. Moved out, but still has good relationship: school and pagoda help each other. Each new teacher given 50,000 riels and other teachers 20,000 riels by CPP politicians 1997.

Appendix Table 10. Parents' annual expenditures on primary education, Banteay Meanchey Province (riels)

Grade of pupil	1	2	3	4	5	6
School contribution	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500	2,500
Individual donation	0	0	0	0	0	0
Registers etc.	1,400	1,400	1,400	1,400	1,400	1,400
School maintenance	200	200	200	200	200	200
Uniform	24,000	24,000	45,000	51,000	60,000	75,000
Other school equipment	23,000	23,000	27,000	32,600	33,500	33,500
Private tutoring	0	0	56,000	56,000	56,000	70,000
Transportation	210,000	210,000	210,000	210,000	210,000	210,000
Pocket-money	140,000	140,000	140,000	210,000	210,000	210,000
Accessories, including stationery	9,100	9,100	9,600	9,600	10,000	10,000
Personal gift to teacher	1,500	1,500	2,000	2,000	3,000	4,000
<i>Total</i>	<i>411,700</i>	<i>411,700</i>	<i>493,700</i>	<i>575,300</i>	<i>586,600</i>	<i>616,600</i>

Note: Workshop participants considered this to be a fairly typical pattern of expenditures for rural areas. Urban areas would have higher expenditures than 1,400 riels for registers etc., and for maintenance and transportation. In remote areas, transportation costs would be lower because most pupils would walk to school.

Appendix Table 11. Parents' annual expenditures on primary education, Battambang Province (riels)

Grade of pupil	1	2	3	4	5	6
School contribution	3,500	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000
Individual donation	14,000	0	0	0	0	0
Registers etc.	500	500	700	800	900	1,000
School maintenance	0	0	0	0	0	0
Uniform	24,000	36,000	36,000	60,000	90,000	200,000
Other school equipment	3,000	3,000	7,000	7,000	12,000	22,000
Private tutoring	20,000	20,000	7,000	7,000	14,000	21,000
Transportation	180,000	180,000	200,000	200,000	200,000	200,000
Pocket-money	90,000	90,000	90,000	126,000	126,000	126,000
Accessories, including stationery	500	500	700	850	900	1,000
Personal gift to teacher	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,500	3,000	4,000
<i>Total</i>	<i>337,500</i>	<i>334,000</i>	<i>345,400</i>	<i>406,150</i>	<i>448,800</i>	<i>577,000</i>

Note: This estimate was for middle-income families in an urban area. The individual donation by the parent of the Grade 1 pupil was a special case for a teacher in financial difficulty.

Appendix Table 12. Parents' annual expenditures on primary education, Kampot Province (riels)

Grade of pupil	1	2	3	4	5	6
School contribution	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500
Individual donation	0	0	0	0	0	0
Registers etc.	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,200	1,200
School maintenance	0	0	0	0	0	0
Uniform	30,000	36,000	45,000	68,000	68,000	90,000
Other school equipment	6,200	8,500	10,500	11,500	25,500	25,500
Private tutoring	0	0	0	0	0	0
Transportation	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pocket-money	36,000	36,000	90,000	90,000	90,000	90,000
Accessories, including stationery	7,500	9,500	11,300	14,300	14,300	14,300
Personal gift to teacher	0	0	0	0	1,000	1,000
<i>Total</i>	<i>82,400</i>	<i>92,700</i>	<i>159,500</i>	<i>186,500</i>	<i>201,500</i>	<i>223,500</i>

Note: This estimate was for a rural/remote area. All pupils were reported to walk to school.

Appendix Table 13. Parents' annual expenditures on primary education, Phnom Penh Municipality (riels)

Grade of pupil	1	2	3	4	5	6
School contribution	3,500	3,500	3,600	3,600	3,600	3,600
Individual donation	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000
Registers etc.	0	0	0	0	0	0
School maintenance	0	0	0	0	0	0
Uniform	90,000	60,000	100,000	90,000	100,000	80,000
Other school equipment	25,000	25,000	25,000	25,000	40,000	80,000
Private tutoring	14,000	72,000	70,000	300,000	286,000	90,000
Transportation	210,000	270,000	270,000	0	300,000	300,000
Pocket-money	90,000	270,000	270,000	135,000	540,000	180,000
Accessories, including stationery	6,000	8,000	15,000	45,000	20,000	45,000
Personal gift to teacher	7,000	7,000	7,000	10,000	10,000	4,000
<i>Total</i>	<i>450,500</i>	<i>720,500</i>	<i>765,600</i>	<i>613,600</i>	<i>1,304,600</i>	<i>787,600</i>

Note: This calculation was for an urban municipality. Parents were estimated to be in the upper two income quintiles.

Appendix Table 14. Parents' annual expenditures on primary education, Ratanakiri Province (riels)

Grade of pupil to which	2	3	4	6
data refer				
School contribution	0	0	4,000	0
Individual donation	0	0	0	0
Registers etc.	700	400	1,500	0
School maintenance	0	0	0	0
Uniform	18,000	24,000	24,000	96,000
Other school equipment	12,500	8,500	16,500	28,000
Private tutoring	0	0	70,000	0
Transportation	39,600	0	0	39,600
Pocket-money	84,000	84,000	84,000	84,000
Accessories, including stationery	4,000	4,000	17,000	22,000
Personal gift to teacher	0	0	3,000	1,000
<i>Total</i>	<i>185,200</i>	<i>120,900</i>	<i>220,000</i>	<i>297,000</i>

Note: These figures are for a mix of rural and urban parents. They were estimated to be in the upper two income quintiles.

Appendix Table 15. Parents' annual expenditures on primary education, Svay Rieng Province (riels)

Grade of pupil	1	2	3	4	5	6
School contribution	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500
Individual donation	0	0	0	0	0	0
Registers etc.	300	300	300	300	300	300
School maintenance	400	400	400	400	400	400
Uniform	15,000	15,000	15,000	30,000	35,000	40,000
Other school equipment	6,400	6,400	6,400	11,500	11,500	11,500
Private tutoring	0	0	0	40,000	40,000	40,000
Transportation	140,000	140,000	140,000	140,000	140,000	140,000
Pocket-money	70,000	70,000	70,000	70,000	112,000	112,000
Accessories, including stationery	6,300	7,900	9,900	9,900	12,000	12,000
Personal gift to teacher	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500
<i>Total</i>	<i>241,400</i>	<i>243,000</i>	<i>245,000</i>	<i>305,100</i>	<i>354,200</i>	<i>359,200</i>

Note: These estimates reflect costs in a provincial town.

Appendix Table 16. Parents' annual expenditures on primary education, Takeo Province (riels)

Grade of pupil	1	2	3	4	5	6
School contribution	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500
Individual donation	1,000	0	1,000	0	1,000	0
Registers etc.	500	500	500	500	500	500
School maintenance	0	0	0	0	0	22,000
Uniform	10,000	10,500	16,000	18,000	43,000	12,000
Other school equipment	11,000	11,000	11,000	12,000	18,000	0
Private tutoring	0	0	0	0	0	0
Transportation	0	0	0	0	260,000	260,000
Pocket-money	45,000	54,000	54,000	90,000	90,000	90,000
Accessories, including stationery	4,500	6,500	15,500	15,000	17,000	19,000
Personal gift to teacher	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Total</i>	<i>77,500</i>	<i>88,000</i>	<i>99,500</i>	<i>137,000</i>	<i>431,000</i>	<i>405,000</i>

Note: These estimates are for a rural district and for the upper two income quintiles of that district.

Appendix Table 17. Estimates of per-pupil unit costs, Cambodia, by component, 1997 (US\$)

1. Government	
Teachers' salaries	US\$6.48
Administration, training, etc.	2.00
Textbooks	1.06
Furniture, etc.	0.10
Local/provincial governments	0.04
	<i>sub-total: 9.68</i>
2. Politicians	
Buildings, furniture and grants	8.00
	<i>sub-total: 8.00</i>
3. NGOs and external aid agencies	
Buildings, furniture and grants	7.00
Textbooks	2.86
Administration, training, etc. at central, provincial and cluster levels	4.00
	<i>sub-total: 13.86</i>
4. Households and communities	
School-levied contributions: \$0.83 (based on <i>Table 4</i>) less default (25% Grade 1, 10% Grade 6), noting that 35% of all primary pupils were in Grade 1 but adding the initial registration charges demanded from 18% of them (average 1,000 riels)	0.67
Stationery, accessories, registers and books (based on <i>Tables 5 and 6</i> ; weighted for the high proportions of children in lower grades in the system as whole, but recognizing that the figures for purchase of books in upper grades are probably underestimates since at the time of the research the government was not providing books for those grades)	3.49
Uniforms: \$13.50 (based on <i>Tables 5 and 6</i>) less 50% since (i) not all parents actually buy uniforms, and (ii) children need clothes anyway, and further weighted	

for the high proportions of children in lower grades	3.90
Donations, registers, personal gifts to teachers (based on <i>Table 6</i>)	1.38
Transportation: based on <i>Table 6</i> less 50% since (i) the sample has an urban and income bias, and (ii) bicycles can also be used for non-school activities; and further weighted for the high proportions of children in lower grades	16.41
Pocket-money: based on <i>Table 6</i> less 50% since (i) the sample has a bias towards middle and upper-income families, and (ii) pocket-money is partly spent on food which therefore saves on other parts of budgets; and further weighted for the high proportions of children in lower grades	12.82
Labour: 2 days a year @2,200 riels	1.47
Supplementary tutoring: based on <i>Table 6</i> but less 60% to adjust for sample's urban and income bias, and further weighted for the high proportions of children in lower grades	5.08
Festivals	0.28
	<i>sub-total: 45.50</i>
5. Other school-generated income	
Farms/gardens, rent, etc.	0.05
	<i>sub-total: 0.05</i>
Summary:	
Government	9.68 12.5%
Politicians	8.00 10.4%
NGOs and external aid agencies	13.86 18.0%
Households and communities	45.50 59.9%
Other school-generated income	0.05 0.1%
Total:	US\$ 77.09 100.0%

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