

RITSUMEIKAN ASIA PACIFIC UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ASIA PACIFIC STUDIES

**EDUCATION FOR ALL POLICY IMPLEMENTATION IN
CAMBODIA: ISSUES AND CHALLENGES**

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Dedication

Pursuing a doctoral degree is a long journey one could not travel alone. Other than adequate resources, it requires patience, motivation, encouragement, and support from people around you. I would like to sincerely thank my supervisor, Professor Dr. Francisco P. FELLIZAR, Jr., for his continuous advice and support. I also would like to thank Professor A. Mani and Professor Kimura Rikio for their guiding instruction and assistance throughout my research.

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Abstract¹

Education gained global prominence in the past two decades, leading to two major initiatives such as the Education for All (EFA) and Universal Primary Education (UPE). Cambodia is one of the countries that responded to the EFA initiative. This research is about factors affecting the EFA policy implementation in Cambodia.

This thesis is specifically concerned with the issues and challenges in the policy implementation in Cambodia. Internal and external factors affecting this implementation are also identified. Recommendations are given to address implementation gap.

The study used a descriptive, qualitative one-shot case study design. Triangulation and purposive sampling methods were used to identify key informants and respondents. There are 20 educational experts responding from various educational organizations, and 53 respondents from a community for a case study.

The findings suggest several issues within inputs and conversion stages of the Systems Framework. Three themes become apparent as internal factors. These are the state's unrealistic commitment in financial support, centralization, and limited education quality. Low income, food insecurity, and child labor engagement are external factors affecting children's school attendance and EFA implementation. The study concludes that the implementation is beset with weaknesses and inadequacies as shown in the issues/challenges associated with internal and external factors. Suggestions are recommended to provide sufficient budget, to raise all educational personnel's salary, to create an efficient monitoring system for professional misconduct, to decentralize and empower staffs in planning/decision-making, to look out for poor education services, and to improve gender equity at all levels. The government needs to provide considerable attention and commitment to tackle poverty-related barriers that hamper the poor from enabling the education for all for children.

¹ Word count: 271.

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List of Abbreviation

ADB	Asian Development Bank
DPE	Department of Primary Education
EFA	Education for All
ESP	Education Strategic Plan
ESWG	Education Sector Working Group
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GPI	Gender Parity Index
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KAPE	Kampuchean Action for Primary Education
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MOEYS	Ministry of Education Youth and Sport
MOP	Ministry of Planning
NEP	NGO Education Partnership Cambodia
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
NIS	National Institute for Statistics
ODA	Official Developmental Aid
PAP	Priority Action Program
PB	Program-based Budgeting
SCN	Save the Children Norway
TTC	Teacher Training Center
UNESCO	United Nations for educational, scientific, and cultural organization
VSO Cambodia	Volunteer Service Organization Cambodia

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Background of the Study

Education plays a critical role in economic development. Studies have repeatedly shown that the effects of education are more pronounced (or greater) in less developed countries (Petrakis and Stamatakis, 2002; Albatel, 2004). Due to its importance in economic development, education has been addressed in a number of studies. Some examples include the cross-country difference in per capita income depending on the level of saving, education and population growth by Mankiw and others (1992), and the impact of education on the total factor productivity by Pritchett (1996). Education was found to have significant and positive effects on economic growth (Harman *et al*, 2003; Khan, 2005). Several studies in Pakistan proved the positive role and impact of education on economic development (Abbas, 2001; Khan, 2005; Khattak and Khan, 2012). In particular, the study of Khattak and Khan concluded that education must be given top priority in order to sustain economic growth (Khattak and Khan, 2012, 150). The study argues that educated population is easier to train in new skills and technological competencies and is therefore more advantageous for a nation's development.

Although education has been recognized as a key factor in development, there are other factors of serious concerns. These are the issues of prevailing poverty and dependency in some developing countries. Long before the 2008 global economic crisis, households from lower socio-economic levels spent a large share of family income for basic necessities such as food, health, social services and education. Financial insufficiency limits their access to these services. In time of crisis, increasing food and commodity prices further exacerbated their poor condition (International Monetary Fund, 2008; The Oakland Institute, 2008; Asian

Development Bank, 2008a). As the world plunged into an economic decline, governments had to face the enormous challenge of massive unemployment. All the more the poor people's access to education was constrained and governmental services became inadequate (Son, 2008, 14-15). Education has become the privileged of the rich. Bray (2003) and Bray and Bunly (2005) found that many well-off Asian families and parents provide their children with private tutoring or after-school interest classes. On the contrary, these services are unimaginable for the poor where access to education is fraught with difficulties such as distance to schools and inadequate transport infrastructure. As a result, poor children are forced to drop out of school. This is a serious issue that responsible governments have to address. Education for poor children must be considered a national priority to break the cycle of inter-generational poverty (Mok, 2010).

The process of globalization has made the world a smaller place socially, culturally, and economically. Held and others described, it is "...a widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life, from the cultural to the criminal, the financial to the spiritual" (Held *et al*, 1999, 2). The foundation of economic growth is now defined in the global arena where the greater global connectedness of livelihoods and of the production of goods and services exist. Globalization brings about promising opportunities for the people, businesses and institutions. With globalization comes intense competition for human resources, prompting countries to give special emphasis to the role of education. Human capital includes education level, training, skill of labor force, health, and a few other indexes. Among all these, scholars argue that education is the most crucial factor that strengthens the human capital (Googe, 1959; Schultz, 1961). Education is therefore seen as a key strategy for poverty reduction even in the midst of intensifying globalization.

During the early 1990s, universal primary education has become a popular theme and a core developmental goal. Global education policies for children have started to appear in the first World Conference on Education For All (EFA) in Jomtien, Thailand. This initiative gained support from 155 countries and 150 organizations composed of governments, nongovernmental organizations, civil societies, bilateral and multilateral donors, and the media devoted to the promotion of basic education for all children, youth, and adults (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, 2011a). However, the initiative ended in the year 2000 before it could attain its objectives. Later, the concept was discussed and extended in another meeting in Dakar, Senegal, called the “Dakar Framework for Action”. The meeting reaffirmed the governments’ commitment to Education For All. The goal is to achieve quality basic education² for all by 2015, with the emphasis on girls’ schooling and a pledge from donors to provide necessary resources for countries regardless of their status (UNESCO, 2000). At the same time, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) emerged and sought to promote universal primary education for all children free of charge by the year 2015. Recognizing the importance of primary education through these initiatives, governments and several other organizations have aligned their commitments by developing plans, strategies, and practices in support of the primary education sector.

Below are the six EFA goals (Source: UNESCO, 2011a):

1. Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children.
2. Ensuring that by 2015 all children, in particular girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to, and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality.

²Basic education is a structure of the first two levels of general education, which consists of primary and secondary education. In the twelve-year system, it is a fragment of grade 1 to grade 9.

3. Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life-skill programs.
4. Achieving a 50% improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults.
5. Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality.
6. Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills (UNESCO, 2011a).

By adopting these goals, governments have incorporated and used these concepts to create a sector-wide development framework for primary education which is known as 'National EFA Plan'. In support of the national primary education policy, each national EFA plan will:

- “Be developed by government leadership in direct and systematic consultation with national civil society;
- Attract coordinated support of all development partners;
- Specify reforms addressing the six EFA goals;
- Establish a sustainable financial framework;
- Be time-bound and action-oriented;
- Include mid-term performance indicators;
- Achieve a synergy of all human development efforts, through its inclusion within the national development planning framework and process” (UNESCO, 2011b).

Overcoming poverty through education and enabling millions of children realize their full potential is a difficult and crucial task. It is thought that primary education has great power to overcome poverty and is fundamental for sustainable growth, good governance, and

successful institutions (McMahon, 1999; Bruns *et al*, 2003). Bedi and Marshall (2002) agree on this idea that a wide range of benefits will result from increases in both the quality and quantity of educational service delivery. These include reduced poverty and income inequality, improved health, enhanced productivity, and economic growth. Some developing countries responded to these challenges by formulating laws and policies, and infusing money into the education sector to increase school attendance rate. For example, Honduran government invested substantially in education up to 16.5% in public expenditure of the total government outlays between 1993 and 1996 (United Nations Development Program, 1999). UNESCO (1999) reports that these investments had provided coverage and access to Hondurans aged 6-23 (at all levels of education), which made the gross enrollment ratio rise from 47% in 1980 to 60% in 1995. Likewise, the Cambodian government has placed education at the center of its national development plan. As a war-torn country, Cambodia is in a developmental stage after recovering from many years of internal and external strife, between 1975 and 1989. Resettlement and landmines were among the most concerned issues during the Rehabilitation Period. Education was not given proper recognition as the government paid more serious attention to economic development. Later on, the Paris Peace Accord in 1991 unified Cambodia and ushered the first ever peaceful period after 40 years. Substantial attention was given to education as the global initiatives started to appear. Cambodia quickly adopted the EFA principles for basic education in 1990, and in 2000 it adopted the extended Dakar Framework for Action and the MDG's universal primary education goal. The policy-planning process has been revised to meet the needs and interests of Cambodians. A pro-poor agenda dealing with education, health, equality and gender was included in the policy. There have been mixed and contradicting opinions and perceptions among different sectors of Cambodian society about the effects of adopting the EFA principles. Some believe that there are some positive results. Others on the other hand see

that Cambodia is not yet ready and capable to implement the education for all. As a policy research, this study investigates how far this global initiative of promoting education for all is being implemented in Cambodia with the view of providing recommendations and alternatives for enhancing policy implementation.

Socioeconomic overview of Cambodia

Cambodia is located in Southeast Asia bordered by Laos to the north, Thailand to the west, Vietnam to the east, and the Gulf of Siam to the southwest. It covers an area of 181,035 square kilometers (km²) and has a population of approximately 14 million with an average population growth rate of 1.81% between 1998 and 2004 (National Institute of Statistic of Cambodia [NIS], 2005). Stated in the UNDP Human Development Report 2007, Cambodia ranked 131st out of 177 countries on the Human Development Index. Its life expectancy was 58 years as adult literacy rate of 73.6% were among the lowest in the region (UNDP, 2007). Cambodia is a transitional economy, but regained peace and stability at a later date. Low HDI is a result of many factors, including low-skilled population, lack of good governance, and political turmoil. According to ADB's report at the end of 2006, Cambodia reached a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita of 2,105,000 Riels³ (approximately US\$507 at the exchange rate of 4150Riels a US\$) (ADB, 2008b).

The post-Pol Pot regime left a huge population of poor people (about two thirds), low GDP, and inadequate human capital (UNDP, 2007). This led to the use of unskilled and illiterate workers in major economic sectors. Nonetheless, an average of 9% GDP growth rate in the last decade has changed both the economic progress and living conditions of urban and rural Cambodians. For example, the World Bank indicated, "growth continues to be driven by garment exports, tourism, construction, and agricultural expansion" (World Bank, 2007, 1). The garment sector expanded with exports rising by 20% in 2006 and began employing

³ Riel – Local Cambodian currency.

10% of the total workforce and accounting for 14% of GDP (ibid.). Because of its large share in the GDP, this made the garment industry the leading sector, providing more jobs and income for the rural population. Not only does this trend discourage youngster's continued education, but also encourages a labor shift to big cities. Nonetheless, the rural economy of the country is still based on agriculture, contributing to 32% of GDP. The urbanization process is an increasing trend, but around 70% of the population still lives in rural areas and is engaging in agriculture.

The agricultural sector provides 85% of total employment. In most parts of Cambodia, rice farming depends on rain-fed lowland areas. Additionally, apart from the emerging garment industry in the last two decades, all exports are virtually agricultural products including rice, maize, soya, rubber, and forestry products. In spite of its potential, a tradition of rice monoculture, poor soils in most parts of the country, and insufficient irrigation limit its prosperity. What is more, the recent changing weather pattern due to severe deforestation in the highland areas has made the region more vulnerable to drought and flood annually. However, agriculture is believed to play a leading role once more in development, as the current Prime Minister Hun Sen has announced and regulated agriculture-based exports starting from 2012 (The Phnom Penh Post, 2012).

Education

In the post-Khmer Rouge Cambodia, human capital is scarce. Most educated survivors tended to flee to the United States, Australia, France, Japan and to other countries to start a new life. As a result, illiteracy spread across the countryside. Life has become difficult for the poor and the uneducated as all infrastructures were destroyed. Until recently, literacy rate of the adult aged 15 and above is climbing from 74% in 2004 to 78% in 2008 (World Bank, 2012). According to the World Development Indicators, the amount of trained teachers in primary education is 99.5% in 2010. The urban and rural schooling differs greatly

in average. The average time span of being able to stay in school in rural areas is 3.2 years compared to 6.4 years in Phnom Penh (ibid. 2006, 99). In 2004, almost 75% of the rural labor force could not complete primary school and 36% of which never complete any grade in schooling (ADB, 2009, 10). These are rural adults whose education had not been provided properly between 1979 and 1999. For children, as the results of the policy implementation showed, a large share of approximately 96% of children has been admitted to school. In this case, most Cambodian children attend some schooling, but a number of students complete only a few grades-with 85% of 15 to 19 years old completing grade 1, while only 27% complete grade 7 and 20% of the population aged 5 and over never attend school (NIS, 2009, 45).

In the past five years, there have been remarkable improvements in the education sector (Gloserver global economics, 2012), specifically regarding primary net enrollment, the introduction of program based budgeting and the development of a pro-poor policy framework; nevertheless, many issues persist. There are 75% of rural residents on average who are unable to complete primary education. Also, the quality of education in Cambodia is still a stumbling block. “A father wondered about his sixth grade son because he could not still read his own name” (World Bank, 2006, 101).

Table 1.1 shows that Cambodia is among those of the lowest standard educational attainment indicators in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), with the lowest literacy rates of people aged 15 and above, and the net primary enrollment was second to last before Lao PDR in 2008. The five-year Educational Strategic Plan 2009-2013 is a policy document handed over by its predecessor of the same name used from 2006 to 2010. It recognizes challenges and inefficiencies that are burdens to the overall development resulting in reduction of private and social returns to schooling, and ultimately economic growth. The policy’s goal is to ensure that all Cambodian children have equal opportunity to access

formal and non-formal education regardless of their economic status, physical condition, gender, geography, and ethnicity. In this context, the government of Cambodia has responsibilities to enforce a reform, and to design a straightforward anti-poverty education policy, with others' assistance as well as the economy to support it. This design makes the elements of policy content theoretically acceptable in both rural and urban contexts.

Table 1.1 *Net primary school enrollment and literacy rates in 2008/2009 in ASEAN (in %)*

	Net primary school enrollment		Literacy rate	
	2008	2009	2008	2009
Brunei	93	93	-	95
Cambodia	89	95	78	-
Indonesia	96	95	92	-
Lao PDR	82	-	-	-
Malaysia	94	-	-	92
Myanmar	-	-	-	92
Philippines	92	-	95	-
Singapore	-	-	-	95
Thailand	91	90	-	-
Vietnam	-	-	-	93

Source: World Bank data, 2011.

Health status

Like education, the health status of Cambodia reflects notable progress in the 2007/2008 Human Development Report (Ministry of Planning and UNDP, 2007). However, access to healthcare is highly limited up to this time, particularly in the rural areas. Poor people receive less care than the rich according to their social gap. This is truly a social issue concerning the extensive gap between the rich and the poor in terms of equality and welfare. In fact, access to healthcare for the poor is more or less 60% in total, while the rich enjoys up to 75%. The parity increases remarkably in Phnom Penh (ibid., 121-123). From the mid-1990s, because of flood of external assistance, many healthcare centers known as “Mundol Sokkhapheap” in Khmer, and many health-related services have been introduced, including public health campaigns for tuberculosis, vaccination, malaria, dengue fever, and diarrhea. Nonetheless, health problems such as stomach ulcers, high blood pressure, and mental illness

have increased due to malnutrition and massive imported chemical-filled foods. Likewise, the cost of healthcare has been increasing gradually in terms of average incomes comparing to current commodity and gasoline prices⁴ (World Bank, 2006, 111). The infant mortality rate (IMR) reported by the Demographic Health Survey 2005 suggests that this number has reduced from 95 to 65 deaths per 1,000 live births between 2000 and 2005 (MOP and UNDP, 2007, 30). This sharp reduction has been very encouraging, as this also may, in probability, trigger the rise in life expectancy, which was seen as 60 years for male and 65 years for female in 2004. On the contrary, over the past five years, the maternal mortality rate (MMR) still remains alarmingly high, taking 472 lives out of 100,000 births. A possible explanation for the discrepancy in progress between IMR and MMR, as described by the HDR, lies in the increase in attended births, oral rehydration, and other measures that have saved these infants. On the contrary, maternal mortality occurs because of internal hemorrhage, severe anemia, and additional complications for which health services and awareness are still scarce in rural areas.

Gender disparity

Gender disparity posts several controversial issues for socioeconomic development in Cambodia. Cambodia ranks among the lowest in Asia on the Gender Empowerment Measure, 68th among 75 countries (ibid., 34). It means Cambodia has a low level of representation of women in decision-making positions within the legislature, the executive branch, and the judiciary. Traditionally, women have played an insignificant role in development and it is believed that some people still discriminate against women, either at work or home. Women are still in the position below men after numerous attempts to promote women's rights and participation. Women accounted for 51.5% of the whole population, as men constituted just 48.5%. The unemployment rate of females to male, however, is 147%. Also, there is a large

⁴ The current gas price is at 1.34US\$ a liter, at the exchange rate of 1US\$=4,055Riels in February 2012.

difference for gender in education. Women received less educational opportunities than men. Indeed, female literacy rate is 20% compared to 80% of male. This means that females have less opportunity than males in terms of socioeconomic factors, particularly in rural areas.

Employment

Cambodia has a total of 9,038,000 labor force (15-64 year) as of 2011 (NIS, 2012), of which 12.6% are unemployed. Taking this problem into consideration, scholars worried that the situation of labor force would escalate, and needless to say, the collapse of the world economy in addition to the financial crisis in 2008 have resulted in closing down of hundreds of garment factories, and many unemployed Cambodians. This event caused a labor shift to service industries such as tourism and construction as substitute forms of income sources. Recently, the share of employment has gained popularity in three industries: garment, construction, and tourism. The ministry of planning and the UNDP (2007) assert that the distribution of income from garment exports has been noticed throughout rural areas nationwide even if it is still on a small scale:

“...employment increased significantly—to more than 300,000 mostly female workers from rural areas—this still presents a modest fraction of the underemployed rural labor force. While female garment workers remit a significant share of their earnings to their families in the countryside, this also represents a modest share of rural family incomes. In general, only 13% of rural households report receiving remittance from relatives working in urban areas, and such remittances accounted for less than ten percent of the recipients’ household incomes.” (MOP and UNDP, 2007, 10)

Transport and physical infrastructure

Public transportation primarily uses roads and rivers. It is imperative that rural Cambodia is connected by paved roads, and uses a transport system for modernization, industrialization and mobility of people (ibid.). The benefit of this aspect has brought forth rapid transport with cost cutting in productivity as well as living conditions for Cambodians.

However, even if national roads have improved lately, there are still limitations for improvement particularly for provincial roads. As a matter of fact, most remote regions are virtually inaccessible due to adverse road conditions. Occasionally, traveling by boats is more convenient to reach certain areas. Long-distance private buses are the only available means for travelling from one province to another, whilst the railway is exclusively being used to transport gasoline and cargos between certain destinations. Most of the population relies on private motorbikes and personal automobiles. Motorbikes and bicycles are popular among rural settlers, as more people can afford to purchase all kinds of vehicles in urban areas. This has recently caused troubling issues of traffic jams and accidents in major metropolitan areas. Rapid and cost-efficient transport for the masses requires an upgraded railway network to connect between key urban and peri-urban centers, from Phnom Penh to key towns such as Battambang, Sihanoukville, Siem Reap, Koh Kong, and Banteaymeanchey province. The government is considering bids from investing companies in order to upgrade and build up more railroads. As noted, Cambodia's existing railway system (750 km in total) already connects the capital city of Phnom Penh to Battambang and Sereysophon via Pursat, and Phnom Penh to Sihanoukville via Kampong Cham province. A trans-Asia rail route is planned to connect Singapore with Kunming in southern China. In this process, all cities and countries en route will be connected. Cambodia will enter at Poipet point of Banteaymeanchey passing through Phnom Penh to Kampong Cham, and then to the Vietnam border (ibid.). This effort will assure Cambodian transport and physical infrastructure to play a significant role of connectivity and economic growth in ASEAN.

Energy

Cambodia's power supply facilities were heavily damaged during the three-decade civil war. The country has begun the energy's progress under support from the World Bank, ADB, Japan, United States and European countries. At present, the electricity supply in

Cambodia is fragmented into 24 isolated power systems centered in provincial towns and cities. All are fully reliant on diesel power stations. Per capita consumption increased from 138.4kWh/year in 2009 to 159.2kWh/year by 2010, and 30% of households have access to electricity (urban %, rural 12.3%) (Cambodia Development Resource Institute, 2011). The amount of electricity consumption is as follows: public building 31%, administration 8.7%, and industrial sector 23.9%. Not only has renewable energy been introduced and practiced in recent years, crude oil and natural gas discoveries and hydropower plants are potential for Cambodia's economic development in the process of globalization, and play a significant role in long-term energy security.

Historical review of primary education in Cambodia

Cambodia's education system has a long and checkered history. The western educational structure was introduced by the French administration during the colonization period between 1863 and 1953. By looking at an overview of the socioeconomic development and a brief history of Cambodia, there is a certain flow of both educational and political changes in the country. With this knowledge, scholars are able to grasp the nature and extent that developmental aids affect the primary education sector of the country.

Education has been deeply embedded into Cambodian culture for centuries. "Cambodian people were among the first to adopt religious concepts and socio-political institutions from India, and to create a centralized kingdom occupying large territories in present-day mainland Southeast Asia, with comparatively sophisticated culture" (Chandler, 1988; Encyclopedia Britannica, 2001 cited in Dy, 2004). The Indianized leadership which regarded their religious heads as their intellectuals and *guru* (teacher) allowed the religious institutions to educate others. The so-called "temple education practice" was first broadly spread approximately during the twelfth century. Among its pioneers, the Buddhist institutional system played the role of developing the youth in individual life, family, civil

society, and some knowledge of basic literacy and numeracy. This schooling system continued to provide only knowledge at primary level at that time (Bit, 1991, 50).

These mentors were volunteered Buddhist monks (called *sangha* or *acharj*). The history of the traditional schooling system dated back as early as the seventh century, as it was provided to mainly elite members of society (Chandler, 1988). It advanced youth's education to the highest level in Buddhist philosophy known as pundit or the highest learning, as noted by Chou, a Chinese envoy to Angkor (former Khmer Empire's capital located in Siem Reap province) from 1296 to 1297 (Chou, 1953). Noted by Bray (1999), this temple schooling was financed mainly by local communities and villagers.

This formal temple learning was restricted to only men for one of the main reasons that the gurus were Buddhist monks, and the students were required to stay and work at the temple (which was carried out later in a Buddhist pagoda). In regards traditional education curricula, students were taught sacred Khmer texts such as the Sutra, which contains the precepts of Buddhism, literary traditions, and social life skills. The fundamental aim of the temple schooling system was to provide young men with the principles of life and society such as social conduct, moral ethics, and obviously a certain degree of basic literacy.

Early 1900-1968 (French system-6 grades)

From the early sixteenth century, the temple schooling system began to popularize among common peasants and farmers (the two lowest levels in society), as it transformed into pagoda schooling across Khmer territories. Until the post-colonial period, pagoda schooling gained substantial popularity and had provided knowledge and skills necessary for men traditionally to engage in the society. Nonetheless, the mentorship gradually reduced its value when an educational law was passed by the French colonial government in 1917, and for the first time it introduced a basic primary and secondary education system modeled loosely on that of France. The western-type education system was then favored widely in the late 1930s

as the first high school was opened in Phnom Penh. However, the system allowed only a single focused group of elites to receive education, an exceedingly small number of civil servant population serving throughout French Indochina. In the early twentieth century, the colonial administration began modernizing the traditional Khmer schooling system by inaugurating the French schooling system, arguing that Cambodia's progress and improved agricultural production would serve the colonial power better. The French colonial rulers paid no attention to educating low-class Khmer, another term referring to Cambodian people (Chandler, 1991). Chandler (1998, 156) commented, "before the 1930s, the French spent almost nothing on education in Cambodia." The French were reluctant to enhance the general population's education due to the idea that education would empower Cambodians and likely loosen France's grip (Clayton, 1995). Argued by scholars, the French purposefully withheld quality education from Cambodian people in order to control and then maintain power. French schools did indeed fail to enroll significant numbers of Khmer people until late in the colonial period. Many scholars (Chandler, 1991; Clayton, 1995; Ayres, 2000) saw the modernization of the traditional education system and the integration of the French-oriented curriculum into the traditional Khmer curriculum as French socioeconomic exploitation. Clayton argued:

"There were 160 modern [that is controlled by the French] primary schools with 10,000 pupils by 1925...but even by 1944, when 80,000 [Cambodians] were attending [some sort of] modern primary schools, only about 500 pupils per year completed their primary education...by 1944 there were only 1,000 secondary students...even by 1953 there were still only 2,700 secondary students enrolled in eight high schools in Cambodia." (Clayton, 1995, 6)

A low investment in modernizing Cambodian education could be a first act of writing system transformation process using French alphabets. However, the attempt to Romanize Khmer traditional language scripts was strongly resisted by several Cambodian intellectuals in the 1940s, especially the Buddhist monks, as the French had successfully done to the

Vietnamese (Osborne, 1969; Chandler, 1998). “Seeing their traditional culture of education on the verge of collapse caused by the French reform, the Cambodians resisted and actively opposed the French reform in rural areas“ (Clayton, 1995).

After gaining independence from France on November 9, 1953, a new era called *Sangkum Reas Niyum*, meaning “society for the people,” was initiated by Prince Sihanouk as a movement for developing post-colonial Cambodia. It was a period of rapid development in various sectors from agriculture to machinery, and industrial progression. Most people believed that it was the most prosperous period since the Independence’s Day. Prince Norodom Sihanouk’s government made substantial development in education during the 1950s and 1960s. By 1968, the government expanded coverage of elementary and secondary education to various parts of Cambodia. At the same time, higher learning institutions—vocational colleges, teacher training centers, and universities—were established. There was a network of vocational colleges nationwide: the School of Health (1953), the Royal School of Administration (1956), the National School of Commerce (1958), the College of Education (1959), and the National Institute of Judicial, Political and Economic Studies (1961). There was only one university during the 1950s, the Buddhist University (1954). In the early 1960s, the Khmer Royal University was established. This institution consisted of seven other affiliates across the nation—the Royal Technical University (1965), the Royal University of Agronomic Sciences (1965), the Royal University of Fine Arts (1965), the Royal University of Kampong Cham (1965), the Royal University of Takeo (1965), the Popular University (1965), and the Royal University of Battambang (1968).

For primary level, the education system in the post-colonial period was not so different from its current form; Sihanouk’s administration followed the French elementary structure by naming each grade in French and then translating into Khmer language. There were six classes in the system with French terminology. The primary education level

consisted of six grades respectively: Enfantin/Koma Thhan (grade 1), Préparatoire/Parevachanak Thhan (grade 2), Elémentaire/Aktika Thhan (grade 3), Moyen 1^{er} Anné/Machem Thhan I (grade 4), Moyen 2 Anné/Machem Thhan II (grade 5), and Supérieur/Udom Thhan (grade 6). The first three grades were called “*degré de complémentaire*” in French, which means foundation classes, teaching basic literacy and numeracy, reading and writing Khmer language. In the next three classes, French language was introduced as an addition to the curriculum for all learners. Inside the system, the tenure of primary level was set to a six-year timeframe, a three-year period for secondary level, and a three-year tertiary level. In the late 1960s, the same system was changed into numerical naming.

1968-1975 (Grade 12-7)

This period was politically known as the ‘Lon Nol’ regime, headed by General Lon Nol, the second commander in chief in Prince Sihanouk’s regime at the time. He came to power by successfully devising a coup d’état over the Prince, and converted the Kingdom into a Republic under his command after making himself President. However, some scholars noted the administration was short-lived and instable, which led to its downfall in April 1975.

Regarding education, the system survived the political changes. There was no significant change in terms of scale and policy, meaning even if political mainstream was modified to a new order, the education’s statute was under the same organization carried out by the same national and local administrators. Only did a slight revision on education take place during this period, which replaced the above French terminology from all grades. Oddly enough, primary level was counted backward from grade 12 (being the first grade when enrolling in primary school) to grade 7 (being the last grade of primary education). In order to pass on to grade 6 (secondary education), there must be strict examinations.

1975-1979 (Grade N/A)

The Pol Pot regime came to power after the fall of Lon Nol's reign on April 17, 1975. The communist party led by Pol Pot himself set out to demolish all kinds of capitalism in the country forming a communist-led state following Mao Zedong's ideology, which eventually was responsible for Cambodia's devastated state from 1975 to 1979. It strictly and violently prohibited western civilization, *i.e.*, the leader's ideology was that Cambodia could start from ground zero as an uncorrupted society of the West. No currency, entertainment, religious practice, societal gap or education system was allowed. Everyone must be equal in the communist movement under Pol Pot, Brother number one. This extreme belief resulted in a massacre of over three million people, making Cambodia's image in the international arena from the 1980s to the present as a "Killing Field."

As for education, like many other sectors, Pol Pot's communist administration disintegrated the area as soon as they gained control over Cambodia. Schools were closed, as were temples and pagodas. From personal experience of a key informant who was one of the regime's survivors, there was informal education for children aged 7-16 outdoors using trees and the ground between 1975 and 1976. Classes were taught by drawing on trees and the ground. This activity was last seen in 1977 just before the large-scale massacre started. After that, there was no education allowed or heard from. In addition, many educated men and women were taken away and disappeared based on a belief that these people became enemies of the revolution, and could spread resisting ideas against the communist dictatorship. The truth behind this senseless execution was fear of resistance. Hence, teachers were among the first victims of the regime's purging, as they radically prepared a massive indoctrination program for youth. In fact, about 90% of educators were murdered, and the rest fled the country or stayed in anonymity (NGO Education Partnership, 2012).

1979-1986 (Grade 1-4)

Post-Pol Pot regime was a period known as the “Rehabilitation Period.” After the demise of Pol-Pot rule, there were not many educated people left in the country; if any, most of them would have long fled to neighboring and foreign countries for asylum and refugee settlement. At that time, education was re-integrated but gained no popularity. There were two main reasons. Firstly, not all children had access to this education, only those of civil servant families. It was due to the fact that civil servants lived and worked in major metropolitan areas, the only places where education was properly re-integrated. The system was also spoiled by the introduction of Vietnamese culture and language curriculums for Cambodian children. Secondly, people were busy moving and returning to their own hometowns and other stable sanctuaries protected by the new State of Cambodia backed by the Vietnamese.

Floods of emergency aid and relief gradually increased the development in education as they flowed into Cambodia from overseas via multilateral and bilateral donors. At the same time, the ten-year educational system was re-introduced but called differently. Primary education was named “First study level” which took up to four years in addition to a prep class called “Special Class Four” which lasted around three months, for entering grade five of the next level. While “Second study level” was secondary level and consumed three years, tertiary level was known as “Third study level” for a period of three years. However, it did not seem to grow, as the political state was fragile and instable, and people’s concentration was not on education because they had bigger concerns such as resettlement and landmines. As a matter of fact, at that time Cambodia was divided and controlled by multiple independent military zones.

1986-1996 (Grade 1-5)

Since the 1991 Paris Peace Agreement, Cambodia has become a nation of rapidly growing stability and development. Regaining its monarchic status from 1993, light has shed upon Cambodia with the once-in-five-year national election supported by the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC), where reconstruction of all types of infrastructure, rebuilding schools and restoring education, and democracy began.

Not only did it bring definitive peace and unity to the country, it also resurrected the long lost education system. Since 1986, primary education had been reformed to a new phase in order to fit in the new communist environment. The educational system undertook a reform into the 11-year structure. The reform made primary education last for five years as influenced by Vietnam and the former Soviet Union when they once were highly influential donors to Cambodia economically and politically. The rest went to secondary and high school level for three years each. Despite the reform, political will of openness and monetary issues limited opportunity for educational development in Cambodia.

1996-Present (Grade 1-6)

After the first general election backed by UNTAC, not only has it returned to its original state of being a constitutional monarchy, but also Cambodia has enjoyed both rapid growth in the economy and development with constant foreign aid support for every development sector, including education. Both governmental and nongovernmental agencies have proved that the primary education sector is improving remarkably after it undertook a radical educational reform of using the 12-year system⁵, and the adoption of the Education for All principles in 1994, which aligned all national strategies with the EFA's objectives, enforcing access to education for all children free of charge.

⁵ The 12-year education system comprises of a mandatory 9-year basic education, and 3 years in high schools (See Appendix A for a thorough education system in Cambodia).

More specifically, it absorbed the western education system providing general education for 12 years (6-3-3) upon completion of high school. That is six years in primary level, three years in secondary school, and three years in high school. The reason behind educational development is the switch from implementing the same old traditional communist-led *teacher-centered* approach to *student-centered* approach (students as core concentration of the class). In spite of these, more concerns still persist. In reality, problems of quality, nonattendance rates in rural areas, salary for teachers, unattractive curriculums, and high dropout rates because of the financial burden are still lingering over primary education policy goal attainment in providing education for all children.

In summary, the reform embraced quite different models through the years, from a French six-grade system (1900s-1986) to a five-grade system (1986-1996), and then to a six-grade system (1996-present). It aimed at restructuring the entire education system in ways that provide the country highly intellectual human capital, and a variety of skills to attain sustainable socioeconomic development. It equally aimed at settling the problems of equity and external efficiency discussed above.

Rationale of the Research

Policy implementation varies drastically depending on planning and capacity. Conducting this research could be extremely useful as a mode to evaluate implementation of policy. It emphasizes on human and institutional factors that affect the implementation process. That is why the research examines the policy's performance on the basis of capability and commitment.

The study could also add a substantial academic literature to the disciplines of policy development, policy implementation, and implementation analysis. This research could be used as a model of measuring EFA principles embedded in education policies around the globe and its development based on implementation. The discussion focuses on capabilities

of the implementing agencies as input factors. Perspectives from these practitioners could reveal gaps that require full attention to re-consider about the current mechanisms. Given the intense prominence, implementation is expected to execute effectively and efficiently. Thus, in order to ensure educational values for all children, the policy implementation has to be investigated.

Research Problem and Questions

After three decades of civil wars and instability, Cambodia is among many developing countries, which have democratized politically, societally, organizationally, and administratively. The country adopted the EFA principles into its education system in order to provide quality education services for all young people. Given its importance in development as discussed above, the government of Cambodia has prioritized primary education (Supreme National Economic Council, 2008). Universal primary education is also one of the Millennium Development Goals. However, there are some apprehensions that Cambodia is not yet ready for this global initiative in terms of its implementation. For this reason this research focuses on the implementation of primary education policy in order to identify issues and challenges that need to be addressed for enhanced effectiveness. The success or failure of the policy's objectives depends on it. Therefore, this study is conducted to examine the nature of EFA policy implementation using the Systems Framework.

Research Questions:

1. What is the nature of EFA policy of Cambodia? (Chapter 4)
2. Using the Systems Framework, what are the issues and challenges associated with input, conversion, output and outcome elements of the implementation? (Chapter 4)
3. What are other internal and external factors affecting education policy implementation? (Chapter 4)
4. What are the recommendations for enhanced education policy implementation?

(Chapter 5)

Research Objectives

Therefore, this study aims to:

- Describe the nature of EFA policy of Cambodia,
- Describe EFA policy implementation issues and challenges using the systems framework,
- Identify other internal and external factors affecting EFA policy implementation; and,
- Recommend measures for enhancing EFA policy implementation.

Limitations of the Study

This is a policy research studying the implementation of primary education policies in Cambodia. It examines the nature of EFA policy and describes the issues and challenges of policy implementation using the Systems Framework. While using organizational capabilities and willingness (Peck and 6, 2006; Ingram, 1990) as input factors, the Systems framework analyzes the implementation transformation via structural assignment and organizational forms (Lineberry, 1977; Douglas, 1982), coordination (Lineberry, 1977; Hogwood and Gunn, 1984), allocation of resources (Nakamura and Smallwood, 1980), strategies (Bardach, 1980), implementation network (Hjern and Hulll, 1982), interdependence (O'Toole and Montjoy, 1984), and inter-organizational relations (Thompson, 1967; Sabatier, 1986). The outputs and outcomes are responses and changes in the society (Winter, 1990). In discussing the findings, internal factors are limited to dynamic features within the implementing agency generated from the Systems framework of the implementation (top-down), while external factors are those influential aspects found exterior the framework at local levels (bottom-up). Due to time and financial constraints, this study is designed as a descriptive and qualitative study relying mainly on key-informant interviews, observation, secondary data analysis and a local

case study. Another difficulty encountered in the study is the availability of relevant documents and the low level of cooperation and support from other officials and policy implementers.

Outline of the Thesis

In this chapter, the researcher described the background of the research. The importance of primary education is linked to development, as it is a key aspect to poverty reduction strategy. Global measures such as the EFA principles and the MDGs are two standard initiatives that the government of Cambodia adopted. A general socioeconomic background of Cambodia was discussed including population, education, employment, health, transportation, and energy. A brief historical review of primary education was presented. Lastly, the researcher described the rationale of the research, the problem statement, research questions and objectives, and limitations.

Chapter Two reviews related literature on the nature and definitions of policy in general, in addition to policy process and analysis. Educational policy is also defined in the context of Cambodia. Case studies about primary education practices from four other developing countries having similar status as Cambodia have also been reviewed. More importantly, it discusses literatures on policy implementation, its politics, and elements. Two conservative types of implementation theories are identified: top-down and bottom-up approaches. A combination of the two approaches also produces a third type. In addition, a Systems model is applied as a foundation for analyzing the policy implementation. Capabilities and willingness are key input factors for a successful implementation. Several scholars provide major attributes for analyzing the process including four ways of organizational forms and three types of interdependence. The research framework is built on the basis of these literatures with which the research theme is linked.

Chapter Three describes the methodology of the research, and the methods used to conduct it. The research and data collection techniques are designed based on the literature and the research framework. The research questions also affect this design. Interviews, observations and notes cover two target groups: the government and its partners in primary education development as collaborators. The study uses purposive sampling to identify the key respondents. Even though the number of informants is small, it is purposively and adequately qualified as a qualitative research based on the implementers' resources, involvement, and authorities in the implementation. A number of key informants from seven (7) institutions were identified and became valuable assets to the investigation of this research in order to ascertain the validity of responses. Materials from the national archives and online databases from the National Institute of Statistics, UNESCO, the World Bank and others could elaborate many stories in describing and discussing the systems framework. Perceptual information generated from semi-structured interviews helped discuss the implementations in a great detailed at local levels.

Chapter Four describes major findings of the study. On the basis of the research framework, it provides description of the EFA policy in Cambodia, resources available, and political commitment from all actors. It also shows how the implementation process is organized and coordinated, who are in charge, strategies used, and relationships between these actors. The results of the implementation describe changes and consequences in the society. This chapter further shows perceptions and experiences of the key informants in terms of issues and challenges encountered in the implementation at national level. A case study was selected to examine perceptions of the locals further in order to highlight factors affecting implementation. This study was conducted in order to confirm whether or not the changes affect local levels. The locals are household heads, children, elderly, local authority, educational personnel, and local nongovernmental organizations. Their perceptions play an

essential role in determining that the implementation affects their lives. A representative community was identified in Siem Reap province (being one of the poorest provinces of Cambodia). Finally, the internal and external factors affecting the implementation are presented.

Chapter Five summarizes main points of the research objectives, presents the findings, and makes recommendations. There are four sections. The first part introduces the nature of the EFA policy in Cambodia, while the issues and challenges of its implementation are presented in the second section using the systems framework. Internal and external factors are the third section. Recommendations are made in the last section to enhance the EFA policy implementation.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

This chapter presents a synthesis of literature relevant to the nature of policy and policy process, the attributes of education policy and related implementation issues; lessons and experiences of some countries in implementing EFA and UPE principles; and the nature of policy implementation. The Systems Framework is described including various elements of implementation. Operational definitions of terms are also provided.

Education Policy

Nature of Policy

Policy affects people's lives profoundly and pervasively. For instance, policy decides the kind of water people drink, food people eat, or the air people breathe. It influences all aspects of human lives. 'Policy' is defined as "a course or principle of action adopted or proposed by a government, party, business, or individual" (New Oxford American Dictionary, 2011). Stated by Patton and Sawicki (1993), policy is defined as "a settled course of action to be followed by a government body or institution." They assert the term is often used as a synonym for a *plan* and *program* throughout funding agencies across the world in order to execute a certain *course/purpose* and *value* (ibid.). In this case, the policy on primary education in Cambodia refers to an agreeable course of action to be followed by the government's educational body, the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sport. Likewise, governments always view policies as the principle that emphasizes the actions that will take place to solve public issues considering its value, interests, and resources (Codd, 1988). Codd further explains, fundamentally, policy is all about exercising political power and the language used to legitimize that process. These are likely administered through state or federal action such as legislation, regulations and administrative practices. This is when the

government exercises its authorities on the concerned issues by taking responsibilities on implementation and creating rules and regulations to practice these plans and programs. They impose the principle-based guidelines for all levels. Certain policies are created in response to the existence of particular problems or opportunities. They never exist without a cause. The context of these perceived problems is extremely crucial because it will reflect the kinds of actions considered for those purposes. Healthcare and environmental-friendly policies are examples. In the light of this research, the educational problem arises as a crucial concern by the government, from whom the responsibilities and authority are distributed to its educational body to create and implement plans and programs.

The uses of public policy and social policy are sometimes confused and mostly considered similar. In fact, public policy has a broader sense, which includes social policy. Particularly, social policy consists of a wide range of studies of social services and welfare. It shows the idea of social welfare, and its relationship to politics and society. More particularly, it considers detailed issues in (i) policy and administration of social services, including policies for health, housing, income maintenance, education and social work, (ii) needs and issues affecting the users of services, including poverty, old age, health, disability, and family policy; and (iii) the delivery of welfare. The term 'social policy' is used to apply to policies that governments use for welfare and social protection, to the ways in which welfare is developed in a society, and to the academic study of the subject (Spicker, 2008). In the first sense, social policy is specifically concerned with social services and the welfare state. In the second and broader sense, it stands for a range of issues extending far beyond the actions of the state—the means by which welfare is promoted, and the social and economic conditions that shape the development of welfare.

Hawker, Smith and Weller (1979) provides a concept that the starting point for any policymaker is to realize that there need not always be consistency in policies. The authors

elaborate the inconsistent nature of policies based on the fact that “the values of society are steadily changing and policies being the depiction of society’s preferences and ideals must change with them.” Therefore, it is at this broad sense that the policy becomes an intricate interaction of various factors that affect stakeholders in the society, creating a new policy. With this new policy, moreover, the impact that it makes matters; it is the one policy that applies to the masses and discloses their social values. In this manner, it can be simplified in a way that the policies that give positive social effects the most to its society are likely to be adopted for longer. Hence, the government is taking an action through this concept to eventually affect the public. In the case of Cambodia, the current primary education policies are being adopted as a result of the degree of its social value disclosure.

However, the state is not the only one who will translate the principle into action. There are others who are involved and represent the people in society for common interests. These non-state actors are likely to have positioned themselves for so long as bodies within society, if not as partners, that could understand social issues better. This view of the non-state actors creates a reliable thought to depend on other parties rather than the state, which helps shape policy and expedites its practices. For instance, in most cases where governments lack of resources to implement policy, international organizations are non-state players providing assistance in order to support the policy’s practices. “Lobby groups, political parties, single-issue coalitions, industrial councils, unions, and pressure groups play a highly active role in this, mainly because their vast size through social support which allows them to context issues” (ibid.). However, it must be recognized also that not all influential groups such as people’s unions are given whatever they want mainly if it is going to be a problem to the rest of the people. When issues caused by these groups arise, the state interferes by exercising their elected authority. Ultimately, the aim of the state is to increase value to people’s livelihood it serves, and it can be achievable through quality policymaking. Policies

should convey and incarnate societal needs. Together, it is achievable via inclusive use of both one's politics and ambition involving collaboration from others—various bodies beside the government's. In this instance, the role of one policy has extended to not only current but also future boundaries beyond the state's sole involvement. Hence, Cambodian EFA policy is operated not only by the state but also with other non-state actors devoted to the principles of education for all with specified boundary and authority.

As part of a public policy, the educational policy is implemented to cause some changes in the behavior of a target population and normally it can be assumed that this change will ameliorate some public problems. Therefore, it stands to reason that unless the stipulations of a given policy are actually carried out, the problem will persist. As such, as soon as the tenets of the EFA policy are implemented, a detailed implementation evaluation can be conducted to determine if this act brings positive changes to the intended population and if not, why not and what needs to be changed.

Policy analysis and its process

In the discipline of policy studies, policy process is a sequential, circular series of three main stages: policy creation, policy implementation, and policy evaluation, while policy analysis is part of the smaller policy evaluation.

In the case of policy analysis, the book "*Basic methods of policy analysis and planning*" by Patton and Sawicki (1993) indicates there is merit in systematic analysis even though there are several rational models of analysis. However, like any other policy analysts, the authors admit that in reality people do not act as the models say they should do. When explaining how analyses are conducted, they are reporting how they should be conducted. They do not suggest that the policy analyst should rigidly follow the steps in the rational model. Often it cannot be done. The authors do think that in the beginning analysts can use a

process outline as a guide or framework for analysis and that they ought to work through each step in the process. Therefore, a policy analysis process displayed in Figure 2.1 is suggested. Others have also made similar arguments for the rational model (or a compromise of it) and have suggested furthermore that it allows others to evaluate the analysis (Stokey and Zeckhauser, 1978, 6), cuts problems down to a manageable size and reduces subjectivity (Quade 1982, 11-12), and informs citizens (MacRae and Wilde, 1979, 4-5).

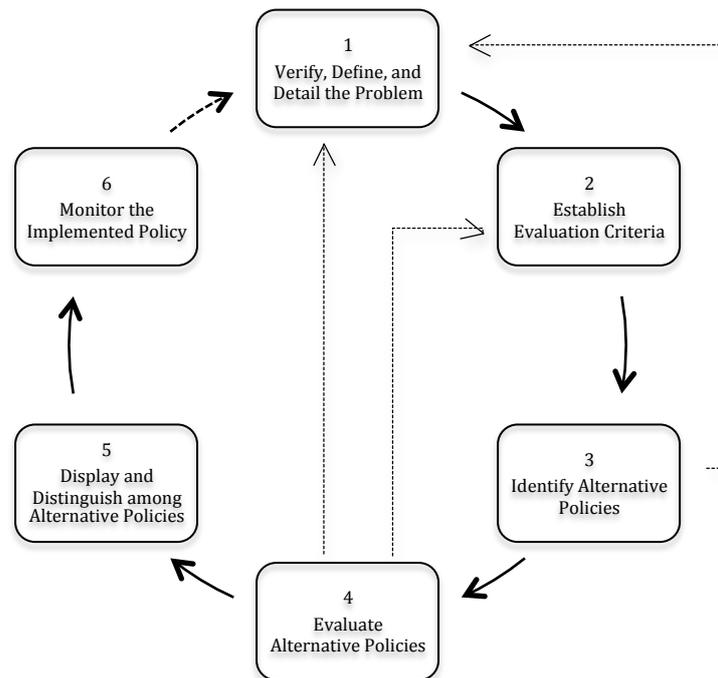


Figure 2.1. A basic policy analysis process
Source: Patton and Sawicki, 1993.

The concept that Patton and Sawicki have incorporated from a number of overlapping descriptions of policy analysis with their own experiences creates the six-step process shown in Figure 2.1: (step one) problem definition, (step two) determination of evaluation criteria, (step three) identification of alternatives, (step four) evaluation of alternatives, (step five) comparison of alternatives, and (step six) assessment of outcomes (Patton and Sawicki, 1993, 53). The last step would be incorporated in the impact analysis process where factors in the policy’s objectives are compared to the outcomes that policies produce. These are the main steps in the process.

In analyzing policies, most analysts first approach a problem by using the methods and outlook of their discipline, depending on factors of time, training, the complexity of the problem, resource availability, and organizational affiliation. For example, economists often first see the problem in terms of economic costs and benefits, persons trained in sociology may first look at the differential impact on groups of citizens, and an attorney may first look at the legal aspects of the problem. Inadequacy of the above factors may require performing tasks in-house rather than out in the field (ibid., 54). Analysts will likely have access to their respective support depending on the sizes of organizations they belong to. As for this study, the author is analyzing the EFA policy implementation instead of the policy alone in order to identify issues and challenges during this process.

What is education policy?

Education policy can be defined as a public principle created by governments and institutions based on the interest of the people in order to address issues and uncover social values in education. For instance, the policy of free-of-charge primary education helps disclose children's social value to education by allowing every child to go to school without paying fees. This means the policy is intended to solve the issue of a specific group of the general population who carry the burden. In this sense, education policies have been used as reform based on the shifts of the most alarming public attention or issue. As a reform strategy, elected politicians capture broad, systemic complaints about the performance of education and then translate them into new policies (Elmore and McLaughlin, 1988, 7). The authors also mention that this often happens during election period when policymakers want to get political credit. Policy consists of authoritative decisions on the purposes of education, on the responsibilities of individuals and institutions, on the money required to run the system, and on the rules required to make it operate effectively and fairly (ibid., 5). Hence, these decisive factors loosely connect education policy with administration and

implementation. In this respect, educational policies have been translated into *programs* and *projects* in order to solve common educational issues that prevent a sound educational value to the masses with adequate administrative support and implementation.

Heyneman's concept (1990) revealed that educational issues were genuinely international issues in either developed or developing countries and could not be taken single-handedly:

“In the 1960s, it was popular to believe that education was a local endeavor: that it was heavily influenced by local culture and by local political objectives. To a large extent this was correct. But since the 1960s we have learned that there are also universalistic issues and dilemmas in the field of education, characteristics which transcend country categories” (Heyneman, 1990, 467).

The issues are universalistic and so persisted that one had to formulate certain rules and transmit them in a certain universalistic manner. In other words, educational issues are universally recognized. The concepts of EFA originated from this view of the international issue of inaccessible education by children around the world. Hence, it needs considerable attentions from multiple parties to deal with these issues together in a universal manner. In this manner, the non-state inclusion is inevitably and importantly a driving force for education development in such cases.

According to Codd (1988, 236), “the orthodox liberal view of education and society emphasizes the role that schooling plays in promoting social mobility.” From this view, the state has an obligation to protect the interests of all citizens in society by introducing a system of universally prevailing rules and regulations, i.e. a policy, in education. Therefore, the state will promote policies that serve the public interest and every individual can take full advantage of them. The aim of educational policies is to offer an equitable means for the distribution of education services on the basis of their needs regardless of their status and backgrounds (ibid.), ultimately and effectively. However, according to Claus Offe (1984), it

leads frequently to the failure of policies in areas such as education by contradicting the state's functionality in the process of capital accumulation. Thus, policies are made responsive to that failure of other policies leading to what Offe refers to as crisis of crisis management (Codd, 1992). Such remaking of policies in education can be pointed to assessment and credentialism, decentralization of curriculum control and transition education.

Implementing education policy

It should be noted that educational practices are in-class activities addressing teaching methods and student achievement. The idea is based heavily on classroom-teacher performance. Elmore and McLaughlin (1988, 5) shows that it consists of the instructional decisions necessary to teach the contents, manage a classroom, diagnose and treat individual learning problems, and evaluate one's performance and the performance of one's students. On the other hand, education policy implementations are political practices of mechanisms to solve educational issues in a form of process. The effort requires skills and commitment from practitioners at all levels, as reviewed above. If successfully implemented, not only does it fulfill the public interest on education, but also it may be a good chance to get the elected officials to be re-elected. Since educational practice at the classroom level is so particularistic, administrators cannot judge implementation of the policy easily based on the actions of teachers about the whole educational issues. To grasp the extent that implementation produces changes, there need to be enough information to see the changes. There are case studies, which focus on education policy research at single institutions and cross-site comparisons.

Spours and others (2007) described the implementation of education policy initiatives in the learning and skills sector in England by considering three features: (a) policy-drivers and levers, (b) the 'bigger blacker box' (the processes of policy implementation within the organization itself), and (c) targets and outputs (mechanisms used to measure the success of a

policy). Each of these features can be associated with the System model mentioned below. Policy drivers and levers can be interpreted as input factors depending on the policy's various intentions at different levels of the sector. Extending Black and William's (2002) 'black box' metaphor as a 'bigger blacker box' draws attention to the huge range of institutional forms and the myriad of forces of the organization that shape individual responses to policy initiatives. Lastly, evaluating success in terms of a predetermined set of outputs leaves much unmeasured and might actually neglect the most significant impacts of an education policy initiative. The lesson here is to warn practitioners about the importance of implementation in the 'the bigger blacker box' feature and about the complex processes that connect policy to local contexts and local contexts to outcomes. It truly is helpful considering this study.

In a different study, Edwards and others (1989) worked on the Assisted Places Scheme study, established in 1990 in the UK after the General Election. The Scheme catered top scored children, who could not afford to go to schools, in the school's entrance examination. The authors give a descriptive narrative upon implementation by reporting on the administrative details and strategies used after negotiations had taken place between the policy's advocates, civil servants and bodies representing the independent school sector. The study also contains a 'meso' level analysis of institutional change, and a 'macro' level investigation of cultural capital, family arrangements, occupational background and their articulation with school choice. The framework used is a 'top down' model which aims at evaluating the process of implementation and impact of a policy which was previously created. The study's more general concern emphasizes on its top down qualities, while the detailed local studies of parents' and pupils' choice of schools are consistent with key feature of 'bottom up' implementation research. At this point, the Assisted Places Scheme study is a referential work, having a similar two-level investigation: a mid-level study on the implementing institutions and a perceptual study at local levels.

Raab (1992) has construed the principle of education policy implementation as political science. Despite of the importance of the literature on capabilities and willingness in the implementation process, understanding actions and motives from the inside (ibid., 12) is locked only into the discourse of participants in the policy process (Ozga, 1990). It disregards or underplays larger economic, political and administrative factors which also share policy development (ibid.). This study intends to identify these as the defined internal and external factors.

Education policy and poverty realm

Acting as a global initiative to education policy, the universal primary education is a notion of an idea of being able to access primary education for all children of all ages regardless of their financial, racial, and regional status. Having a common objective as the “Education for all” concepts, it is one of the eight millennium development goals to be met by the year 2015. The main idea of the universal primary education is to get children around the world having access to their respective educational system *free of charge*. Distinguishably, the EFA and UPE are different from one another due to their separate institutional mandates. As UNDP exercises UPE to offer free of charge primary education dealing with the social challenges of substantial illiterate children, UNESCO has a leading role in addressing EFA as an initiative to purely promote basic education for all children.

It is widely believed that indicators such as levels of educational attainment and human capital are paramount ingredients to overall economic growth (Deininger, 2003). Countries with low levels of numeracy and literacy are difficult to reach and maintain high levels of growth (Birdsall, 1998; Appleton, Hodinott & Mackinnon, 1996). Kim and Kim (2000) assert that it will be more difficult to take advantage of the opportunities offered by a globalized economy where liberalization and educational expansion can either, in a virtual

cycle, reinforce each other or lead to a low level equilibrium. It means globalization may give advantage for a society with low literacy to increase growth through knowledge based development, or may decrease growth as the knowledge is low. Uneducated society may also be more sensitive to political manipulation, corruption and poor governance, as well as civil strife and violence, phenomena that undermine human as well as economic development (Gupta, Davoodi, and Alonso-Terme, 1998; Ranis, Stewart, and Ramirez, 2000).

Since obtaining education is a significant and indivisible investment, poverty can be an obstacle to acquiring education, for instance because of the presence of credit constraints (Banerjee, 2000). Likewise, public subsidies for human capital formation will be appropriate if the social benefits from education exceed the private ones (Dutta, Sefton, and Weale, 1999). This has caused virtually all developed economies to provide free education at basic levels (Hoenack, 1996). This notion has been implemented in the ‘Universal Primary Education’ in Uganda as a program, which practiced and aimed at eliminating the cost of primary education for up to four children per household. In that case, Deininger (2003) proves that reduction of fees for primary education, together with a massive program of dissemination, decentralization, awareness building and mobilization at the local level, has been effective in increasing attendance for poor children and eliminating gender gaps in primary education especially for girls. In particular and extended analysis, he found an issue that school fees paid by parents decreased at the primary but not at the secondary level. At the same time, in order to lead to sustained improvements in attendance and to transform these into higher levels of human capital, the decline in the quality of education suggests that the policy needs to be complemented by improvements in school quality and accessibility of secondary education. In another chapter of looking at policy relevance beyond the case of Uganda, human capital and its distribution have always been viewed crucially among different groups in the entire population for the sake of the economy’s longer-term growth

potential, and, in return, such growth will be distributed among those groups in the population.

Similarly, a study on impacts of the universal primary education policy in rural Uganda found relative results to Deininger's scholarly work. Nishimura, Yamano, and Sasaoka (2008) found that the policy has decreased delayed enrollments and increased grade completion rates at least up to grade 4 for boys and grade 5 for girls, and its effects are especially large among girls in poor households. In this regard, economic livelihood of poor households is a serious problem for primary education in rural areas. Household assets also positively contribute to the economic burden of education. In contrast, the age of the head of household and having only female children are negatively associated with the economic burden of education. Those families with only female children spend less share of the whole expenditure on education than those with mixed and all-male children, which suggests a low priority placed on girls' education. Unless the universal primary education policy is introduced in Uganda, then there will be economic constraints of education for poor families and gender gaps. In this notion, the universal primary education policy is an effective tool to promote primary education, but at the same time there are influences within such as economic constraints and traditional gender issues which prevent children from access to equal education, especially girls. Therefore, these factors affect the decision of adults greatly between education of their children and the barriers, unless proper solutions are provided simultaneously to the affected groups. This study would verify such factors in the context of Cambodia considering them as lessons learned.

A glimpse of global EFA and UPE policies in developing countries

Côte d'Ivoire

Table 2.1 *Enrollment ratios*

	Abidjan		Other urban		Rural	
	1993	1998	1993	1998	1993	1998
GERP	1.04	1.04	0.79	0.99	0.49	0.67
NERP	0.69	0.69	0.52	0.63	0.32	0.45
Girls-ratio	0.47	0.49	0.47	0.45	0.37	0.41

Notes: GERP/NERP: gross/net enrollment ratio in primary school.

Source: Household surveys called *Enquête Prioritaire of 1993*, and *Enquête de Niveau de Vie of 1998*⁶; computations by Grimm (2005).

The current Côte d'Ivoire's education policy focuses principally on three objectives (INS, 2001): (a) to achieve universal primary school enrollment, according to the aim fixed at the "World Conference on Education for All", held in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990; (b) to reduce gender inequality in terms of education; (c) to ensure adult population literacy. In other words, the Ivorian authorities attempt to focus on the supply side. Among other things, the programs to be implemented are the construction of primary schools and education centers for adults, reorganization of education management, pre-service and in-service training for teachers, larger distribution of schooling materials such as textbooks, and the revision of curriculum content and implementation (Grimm, 2005). Glancing at the implementing tools and issues as well as the actual results in primary education in Côte d'Ivoire, the model of implementation is set to attain the esteemed EFA and the MDGs on primary education. It is more or less a practical lesson for Cambodia when adopting these concepts too. Indeed, through these implementations, an effort without real commitment from the government could not realize the real value of the UPE for every Ivorian equally and efficiently. Lessons to be learned for Cambodia are dealing with high enrollment rate and preventing later dropout in the last two years of primary school, as well as creating measures for quality checks at each stage. The issues and challenges give caution to Cambodian

⁶ Both carried out by the Institut National de la Statistique de la Côte d'Ivoire (INS) and the World Bank.

education policy implementation with attention to access and quality programs. They can be adopted into precautionary measures learned from Côte d'Ivoire.

Tanzania

As many African countries are trying to achieve the UPE by 2015, “Tanzania is one of the most pertinent examples of a country where earlier efforts to get all children into primary schools yielded little apparent benefit in the long run” (Wedgwood, 2007). It has been seen elsewhere that there is an ominous sense of *déjà vu* about this free-education rush (Williams, 2005). Many nations have come close to attaining the UPE in the past half-century and yet the hoped-for benefits have not been very feasible in terms of social and economic development. Tanzania came close to realizing the UPE in the early 1980s but by the end of the year 2000 less than 60% of primary school-aged children were in schools (Wedgwood, 2007). Also, even though a quite high percentage of the adult population passed through primary level, Tanzania remains one of the poorest nations in the world. Hence, “after the start of the 21st century, Tanzania embarked on a new drive to achieve the UPE through a heavily donor-supported Primary Education Development Program (PEDP)” (Wedgwood, 2007, 384). This national education policy is making good progress toward the 2015 goal by firstly achieving the main quantitative aim of the UPE, and secondly reducing teacher pupil ratios to 40:1 qualitatively, providing teachers with training and a US\$10 grant per student to be spent by the schools on teaching-learning materials. This system has been used by the Cambodian government in recent years in primary education to achieve the EFA and UPE goals as well. Likewise, using the child friendly school program, Cambodia sets forth a national education policy which aims at giving access and equity to educational services for all children quantitatively, and in terms of qualitative expectation, training is provided regularly with the same program-based budgeting to primary schools of about US\$2 per student (See *Program-based Budgeting* in Chapter 4). Furthermore, it was claimed

Tanzania's NER has reached 95% in 2005, up from 59% in 2000 (Mungai, 2005). As a result, the amount of enrolled children has reached over 3 million since 2000. It is thought that the impact of this achievement is due to the dropping of the primary education fee in 2001, and the instigation of the PEDP in 2002. This major breakthrough marked a positive kick-off in the primary education sector for Tanzania, even though the balance for improving quality has seen no evidence of efforts (Sumra, 2003, 3). Nevertheless, the pupil teacher ratio worsened from 46:1 to 59:1, and was as high as 74:1 in some regions (United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Education and Culture, 2004). Some classes have up to 200 or more students (Sumra, 2003), while many schools have adopted double shift teaching to cope with the increased enrollment. This reflects the same practices of Cambodian primary education having up to double or triple teaching/learning shifts per day. To some extent, Tanzania enjoys high enrollment rates but dropout rates still exist, nearly 40% in some areas. In 2003, over 20% repeated class IV, the year of the first public examination (URoT MoEC, 2003). Wedgwood (2007) argues that the increased repetition rates may be in part due to the removal of school fees, leading to parents being more willing to put their children through an extra year of schooling, but it is also indicative of falling quality and results.

Another issue regarding quality of teachers is rushing to train teachers, which leads to lower minimum qualification requirements of those being admitted for teacher training. The education and training policy states that the minimum admission requirement for the teacher education certificate course is division III at 'O' level (URoT MoEC, 1995, 48)⁷. For instance, according to Wedgwood (2007), taking the 'O' level candidates in 2000 as a basis, there were 47,389 candidates of whom 12,226 scored division III and above. In the following year 13,090 students joined form V. Assuming that the form V students came from the higher achieving 'O' level candidates, it seems highly unlikely that many of the 6,768 trainees

⁷ Division III is 22-25 points where A is scored as 1, B=2, etc., scored for the best 7 examination results, so represents an average grade of C/D.

enrolled in the first year of the certificate teacher training course in 2001 had division III or above in their 'O' levels. For teachers working in remote areas, it is thought that there should be incentives to encourage them. Until recently, there was no incentive package and slow progress on the construction of teachers' houses is a disincentive. Wedgwood (2007) indicates that the method used to fill rural posts is to send fresh trainees to these areas hoping that they will stay. In fact, the strategy has many disadvantages: (1) the trainees find lack of resources for supporting them, which leads to either poor professional development for teachers or teachers resigning their profession; for instance, in 2003, there were 11,651 new teaching recruits approved by the President's Office, but only 9,711 of them reported to their workplaces (URoT, 2004); "In some regions 20% of trainees absconded from their placements" (Mushi *et al*, 2003, 46); (2) rural schools are filled with large inexperienced trainees with a high turnover, thus reducing quality of education in these schools and increasing a large difference between rural and urban schools. This has also been noted in Cambodia by the MOEYS regarding teachers' assignments to rural posts. However, for Tanzania, the qualitative improvements may have been slower than had been hoped for but this has partly been due to the time needed for the new delivery systems to develop. Wedgwood elaborates that the quality aspect of teaching is likely to be much more gradual than the UPE of the 1980s; hence it is still relatively early to evaluate the Primary Education Development Program's impact on quality.

In fact, Tanzania gives a relatively good example for Cambodia in terms of access and equity programs. However, the issue of quality has not been ascertained due to incompleteness of the program to demonstrate its effect on this aspect. This gives a cautionary warning to the pitfalls of global education for all that has led many to believe that all actions carried out in the name of the EFA and UPE promote primary education for all children.

Uganda

Uganda is among several SSA countries to have abolished tuition fees to apply to universal primary education or free primary education policy (Avenstrup *et al*, 2004). This policy has also been followed by other SSA nations such as Malawi, Lesotho, Kenya, and Tanzania. Cambodia is also adopting the universal primary education, which produces positive results quickly. However, the principle of this policy has not been used single-handedly, but instead has been broadly incorporated with the EFA concepts. Beyond the impacts of the UPE policy effectiveness on school enrollment, Uganda supplies a case of multiple-facet solutions in primary education for poor households. The concept of EFA has brought primary education in Uganda to a degree of decreased delayed enrollments, and increased grade completion rates up to the fifth grade and its implications on girls in poor families. However, challenges remain in terms of low internal efficiency and unequal quality of education. Scholars like Nishimura, Yamano, and Sasaoka (2008) have wondered and decided to investigate the issues by conducting door to door surveys and interviews with poor families regarding the effect of the UPE. There has been a setback on evaluating the impacts of the UPE policy on the overall educational attainments in primary education due to ongoing schooling difficulties such as untimely early entries of children into primary school, repetition, and low in-class performance. On the contrary, an evaluative method used for measuring delayed enrollment of children in Uganda can be done by looking at the distribution of the age that pupils started primary school. As a result of the investigation, after the adoption of the UPE, the age of entry into primary school has become younger, indicating that the delayed enrollment has decreased for both boys and girls (*ibid.*). The significant reductions in delayed enrollment were caused not only by the abolishment of school fees, but also by additional school building, up to 4,000 schools after the adoption of the UPE (Ministry of Education and Sports of Uganda, 2005). It creates easy access for young

children who might have delayed due to security issues and physical distance. However, a number of early entries in primary school prior to age six remain, making untimely entries only a transitional phenomenon (Deininger, 2003). Hence, the UPE policy has not yet established timely entries into primary school. Secondly, the UPE has both positive and negative impacts on repetition. Nishimura and others (2008) state that the UPE may reduce the number of dropouts, but encourages low-score students, who would quit non-UPE schools to repeat grades. They elaborate more on the issue by mentioning the GER and NER by grade. Noting these proportions of children, they notice that the percentage in each grade is gradually reducing and becoming less than 10% at the 7th grade in primary school. Most surveyed students have repeated the same grade at least once in primary schooling and others have repeated at least twice. This is due to internal inefficiency in the UPE.

Hence, practices of the UPE in Uganda lead to an understanding that, besides its multi-solution dimensions for pro-poor policy, the implementation lacks of measurement in dealing with untimely early entry of children aged five and below in addition to the negative impacts on repetition. A quality component to solve this pressing issue needs to be devised in order to reduce repetition.

Vietnam

Vietnam is the leading country in growth among the three Indochinese nations, which include Cambodia and Laos. It provides a similar background and geography of a former French colony as Cambodia. It rather enjoyed more rapid economic growth due to the Doi Moi Policy in the last two decades. Having adopted the EFA concept, Vietnam presents considerable achievements in its education policy with convincing figures in the UNESCO 2008 EFA Global Monitoring Report, even if its primary education system is 5-3-3 (5 years for primary level) (UNESCO, 2008). However, the government reformed the primary education program into two phases: phase 1 including grade 1 to 3 with 6 subjects

(Vietnamese language, mathematics, morality, nature and society, arts and physical education), and phase 2 including grade 4-5 with 5 subjects (Vietnamese language, mathematics, morality, science, history, geography, basic techniques, music, arts and physical education). These reforms upgraded resources such as textbooks, teaching methodologies and assessment methodologies with respect to quality.

According to the ministry of education and training, the government of Vietnam is proud of its current performances both in terms of quantity and quality. It is thought that the network of primary schools and classes has reached out to almost every corner of the nation even in remote, mountainous, island and border areas (Ministry of Education and Training, 2012). The number of enrolled children increased to 10.5 million students in academic year 1997-1998. The non-attendance rate reduced year by year. The main reason for the reduction was due to a campaign of universal primary education compulsory for everybody, and from the family planning campaign. Nonetheless, even if the net enrollment rate in 2005 reached 80-89% nationwide, the number of out-of-school children still jumped to over one million (UNESCO, 2008). There were also difficulties and issues for primary education. A number of children could not attend school or complete schooling, as some schools were under universal standards. There were gaps of imbalanced quality between regions. Teacher rates were inconsistent geographically. In some areas, a teacher rate of 15% was noted, while higher rates in the North West and Tay Nguyen jumped up to 30-40%. There were insufficient classrooms. Only 50% of the demand was met as more than 2,000 classrooms delivered three shifts. Curriculum, teaching methodologies and performance assessment were quality concerns. Additionally, the use of a private tutor popularized among well-off families remained a major setback for quality issues in public schools. Lastly, the system of education and financial management were still weak, producing a problematic implementation of the UPE policy.

Indeed, through implementations, there are lessons to be learned from Vietnam's case that are relevant to support this study. Likewise, it provides applicable lessons from a communist-led background in Southeast Asia as a whole on policy implementation of the UPE in the access and quality aspects. Along with its economic-centered Doi Moi Policy, education and its policies are also major concerns. Even though implementation issues such as inaccessibility, school incompleteness, and low standard schooling still exist, there are positive progresses of enrollment and survival for children across Vietnam, especially in remote regions, islands, mountainous regions, and along the border.

Education policy in Cambodia

The education policy in Cambodia started to appear clearly after adopting the education for all initiative in 1990. Since then, a series of education policies were drafted, enacted, and implemented by the government of Cambodia in order to complement the overall EFA policy. These policy documents include the Education For All National Plan 2003-2015 (MOEYS, 2003a), the Education Strategic Plan (ESP) 2009-2013 (ibid., 2009a), the Education Sector Support Program 2006-2010, the Law of Education (Royal Government of Cambodia [RGoC], 2007), the Policy of Non-formal Education (NFE) 2002, the Policy for Child Friendly School (MOEYS, 2007a), and the Policy for Curriculum Development 2005-2009 (ibid., 2004). These are the current policies that Cambodia has ratified.

The first major document that affects the entire operations of primary education in Cambodia after the 1990's adoption and the Dakar Framework for Action in 2000 is the current Cambodian National EFA Plan 2003-2015. There are six inter-dependent dimensions mentioned in the documents: early childhood care and development, basic education, learning achievement, adult literacy, training in essential skills, and education for better living (ibid., 2003a). The second policy document is the 4th ESP which is set to run for a course of four

years, and gives the clearest education reform in Cambodia. This document is also the product of a collaborative process between the government and the Education Sector Working Group (ESWG)⁸ (ibid., 2005). This gives a confirmation that these multinational organizations were actively involved in the policymaking process. The third policy document is the Cambodian Education Sector Support Program 2006-2010 which was named after the World Bank's policy directive used to create the Cambodian version. The ESSP was created to complement the objectives laid out in the ESP. As the policymakers designed it, this is very much the practical element of the education reform process (ibid., 2005, 1). These are priority programs that reflect from the 4th ESP. The contents of the programs are broken down into objectives and jurisdictions, indicators and targets, strategies and coverage, main programs and activities, program management and monitoring, financial plan and capacity development needs (ibid.). The Royal Government of Cambodia stated that the implementation of the programs in the ESSP would be underpinned by a new Education Law (ibid.). The law is expected to comply its principles with the education for all in order to add value to the existing mechanisms. the Law states that "education refers to the process of educational development or training for physical, mental and spiritual development through all activities that allow learners to obtain a set of knowledge, skills, capacity and values to become individuals who are useful to themselves, their families, their communities, the nation and the world" (RGoC, 2007, 2). Additional policies were added to supplement a number of micro action plans in specific areas such adult illiteracy and non-skilled manpower. Likewise, the government passed the policy of Non-formal Education in 2002. In the policy, the government states that non-formal education is as important as the formal education system. NFE is necessary within a global context as it aligns with the EFA mandates, in that NFE leads to a lifelong learning environment. This is highly significant for a society such as

⁸ Education Sector Working Group—the official forum of development partners created in 2001.

Cambodia where illiteracy rate among adults and youths is high (ibid., 2002). In addition to the policy of the NFE, the MOEYS also created and adopted a National Policy for Curriculum Development 2005-2009 and a national Child Friendly School Policy. Each of the policies relates to the education reform agenda regarding universal access and quality. Hence, these policies and their components were created to complement the objective attainment of the EFA policy. The implementation of these tools shall be observed carefully for issues and challenges, considering concepts and lessons mentioned above.

Policy Implementation

“The need for sustained oversight in the implementation of important public policy cannot be underscored... Politicians and senior bureaucrats become distracted and lessen their focus on the nitty-gritty. They move on. They move out. They pursue higher priorities. They pursue headlines. They get bored. This is unfortunate, because it is the great middle of public policy that is implementation, and it is often left on its own.” – Andrew Graham, School of Policy Studies at Queen’s University

When policy is a principle/course of action for an issue in society, policy implementation is “what develops between the establishment of the principle by governments to do something or to stop doing something, and the ultimate impact in the world of action” (O’Toole, 2000, 266). In another way, “implementation is the carrying out of a basic policy decision, usually incorporated in a statute which can also take the form of important executive orders or court decision” (Mazmanian and Sabatier, 1983). Ideally, that decision identifies the problem(s) to be addressed, stipulates the objective(s) to be pursued, and in a variety of ways, structures the implementation process. In fact, the EFA policy is implemented in this way by governments and agencies around the world. “The process normally runs through a number of stages beginning with passage of the basic statute, followed by the policy outputs (decisions) of the implementing agencies, the compliance of

target groups with those decisions, the actual impacts of agency decisions, and finally important revisions or attempted revisions in the basic statute” (ibid., 20-21). Hence, implementation is simply a step of putting the crafted policy or principle into action to produce deliberate impacts for the issue. For example, a forestry policy guides the director of forestry on how to implement the objection of contained in the policy for forestry management and administration (Faleyimu and Arowosoge, 2011). Forestry policy can help protect the nature from degradation and the imbalanced supply and demand. For this purpose, policies that press for incremental changes are more likely to engender a positive response and be implemented (Wildavsky, 1974; Cuban, 1988). In fact, when policy directives pair a clear implementation goal with tractable procedures, they are more likely to be implemented because their agents’ behavior could be monitored more effectively and efficiently (Mazmanian and Sabatier, 1983). Upon completion, the implementation is where the decision to modify the statute begins regarding what is best for the people within its next encounter. That is why there are periodical meetings to gather data on how far the implementation has produced and what to do next. This often happens in social policies such as welfare and education as they create the most problems for the masses.

Implementation as service delivery

Service delivery simply means an act of distributing services to intended consumers. By contemplating policy implementation in this way, it is a process of delivering a certain set of planned services (inputs) to the intended group in order to address changes (outputs) to the group’s problems. In fact, service delivery can be the framework of implementation.

The success of a public administration and its policies depends on how services are delivered. To execute a certain course of action of a policy, implementation is an extraordinarily critical task for the success of a government/institution. Hence, the human and organizational factors are major inputs. Implementing agents and agencies are often

inadequate for the capacity, including knowledge, skills, and other resources, necessary to implement ways that are consistent with policy (Firestone, 1989; McLaughlin, 1990; Fullan, 1991). This directs the implementation aspect as a concerning key element in development strategy around the world. In this sense, this EFA policy implementation considers the importance of these input elements to be factors of success or failure of those who implement the principle. Moreover, as implementation means putting rules and regulations into actions, Elmore and McLaughlin (1988) warned that, to be effective, rules and regulations only can set the standards of fairness and they do not prescribe solutions to practical problems. They also associate policy, administration, and practice as institutional capacity in order for implementation to be large-scale or long-term. This research also touches upon these rules and regulations in order to prove them useful for the course of implementation. Within the body of the implementing agency in Cambodia, these have been set to ensure putting the principle into action could produce results in the long run. It is by this nature that responsible organizations need to be created to foster and encourage reforms of practice. It simply means organizations are accountable for changing the ways they run these policy mechanisms because sooner or later it needs proper changes befitting best practices for long-term implementation. Therefore, the role of implementing bodies is crucial in translating and disclosing the true value of a policy in benefiting its society. In most cases, institutionally there rarely need new organizations or departments to carry out the process; in this particular study, the implementing organization is an existing government entity that has the privilege of translating educational legislation into rules of actions and assignments. The agency has all the tools needed to foster and encourage practices with partners' assistance in the set rules and regulations. The organization has its own specialists/consultants to help assist the planning process of implementation provided by donors who in return put in a condition that they be involved in the decision-making body.

Implementation approaches

In the period between 1960 and 1970, a series of studies and reports started to appear, indicating that policy designs should pay attention to the capacity to implement. These studies reveal implementation is important, yet it is the most neglected aspect. In fact, well-regarded literature about implementation cites exclusively from the 1970s and 1980s. From the mid-1980s, there have been a few major theoretical innovations on policy implementation. Within the sphere of political science, scholars began their intense interest in policy implementation beginning with Pressman and Wildavsky's (1984) now-canonical work. With a critical debate that was accounted for in the 1980s, theoretically there were two groups of actual and desirable policy implementation theory: the "top-down" accounts and the "bottom-up" narratives. Each group provided their own descriptive and normative version of theory (Hill and Hupe, 2002). It was accepted that *top-down* approaches, by considering normatively, produced all the usual distortions of central planning and, by considering empirically, overestimated the coherence of policy formulation (Peck and 6, 2006, 10; Sabatier, 1986). This method constructs models around stages in the policy implementation process in order to map 'veto points' or 'decision points' involved in policy development (Mazmanian and Sabatier, 1981). The idea disregards the importance of frontline staff, service users and others in developing the nature of the policy to be implemented. Normatively, not only did they fail to identify the true authority of the democratic mandate, but, empirically, they overgeneralized about the choice available to professional public servants in the implementation (Ham and Hill, 1993). However, on a non-skeptical stand about top-down approach, it is more useful to implementing public policies as goals and objectives are clearer where policies are designed in a comprehensive way. It is also believed to be an excellent exercise in both academic and practical purpose which detaches mistrust and corruption within policy implementation. In its hierarchical and linear nature, 'top-down'

studies had clear divisions between the top (policy formulators) and the down (public servants who implement policy). In this notion, it is rather interesting to identify the approaches of the EFA policy implementation carried out by agencies, as it affects the normative actions of the ones who practice them.

On the other hand, '*bottom-up*' was largely discussed as a non-singular approach (Hill, 1997; Hill and Hupe, 2002). Firstly, '*bottom-up*' was best known for its concept of highly formal and structural approach to inter-organizational relations (Porter and Hjern, 1981). This tradition (Hjern and Hull, 1982; Porter and Hjern, 1981) argued the implication of the idea that the preferences of elected representatives should not be decisive with all given democratic authority. They suggested that a wide range of interests of both producers and consumers should have significant and even equal influence. This gives a clear understanding of the original concept of the tradition in recent decades that how bottom-up approach should be. Within this multiple domain in implementation, bottom-up method is used when objectives of policies are not clear. Secondly, it analyzed the dilemmas and incentives facing street level (local) bureaucrats (Lipsky, 1980). For this tradition, '*bottom-up*' was a code for changing the question suitable for street level practitioners; as quoted:

[Instead of asking, "How can this central policy be implemented?" they wanted to talk about the quite different question: "What are the best ways of running services and initiatives following central decisions, whether or not the result reproduces anything reminiscent of the central policy makers' original ideas?"] (Peck and 6, 2006, 9-10)

This method has given the practice of EFA policy implementation its collaborative and collective nature considering the inter-organizational association between parties, and limited authority of the veto points. By turning the question of eccentricity away from elected institutions, many bilateral and multilateral engagements have helped prove that educational issues are universal and only solvable via decentralization. Peck and 6 (2006) also thought of

a third group in bottom-up tradition, but later argued to disregard it as being neither theoretically knowledgeable nor empirically justified. They can be referred as the fatalists. 'Bottom-up', to them, means a claim that so many unanticipated and unintended consequences of trying to pursue a policy in practice exist, and so many difficulties in putting policy in place (Bovens and 'T Hart, 1996). One of the reasons was because of the street bureaucrats' limited authority given to carry out the implementation.

By the mid-1980s, there was a trend in combining both top-down and bottom-up approaches (Sabatier, 1986) as both perspectives are linked (Peck and 6, 2006, 15). The combination resulted in a product to the '*bargaining and negotiation models*' approach (Barrett & Fudge, 1981; cited in Kearns & Lawson, 2008) which joined the two approaches in reciprocal power relations. As the top may structure the implementation and constrain the power of local bureaucrats, "lower level actors also take decisions which effectively limit hierarchical influence, pre-empt top decision-making, or alter policies" (ibid., 25). In the theme of this work, the author observes the use of the reciprocal approaches in the policy implementation and those who give and take orders. Sabatier's argument says from bottom-up perspectives the important focus on the network of actors engaged in local strategic behavior should be observed, and from top-down approaches the legitimacy of central definitions of the policy problem and the policy solution imposed should be retained. This is what the study tries to find out about the combined approach. Rather it should be based on every aspect discussed above in a form of questioning:

"How can general strategies and practices be developed and institutionalized for coming to settlements between rival but asymmetrically legitimate conflicting interests, which recognize their legitimacy, the inequalities of such legitimacy and the empirically known constraints on achieving effectiveness (either by simple demands for faithful compliance or by allowing

indefinite freedom) and which cultivate long term organizational and inter-organizational capabilities among service-providing organizations?” (Peck and 6, 2006, 15)

By contemplating the idea of implementation as service delivery, the issues are how to do it and what are used. The mainstream of delivery rests on the capacity to deliver, or implement, and the approaches used to deliver. Scholars concentrate on organizational capacity as a core element of implementation networks (Peck and 6, 2006; Mullins and Rhodes, 2007). The focus, then, shifts to organizational orientation requiring two input factors: organizational capability and willingness (Peck and 6, 2006) for the EFA theme. Sufficient *capabilities* within and between organizations are necessary in order to carry out social-based policy implementation such as education. This also recognizes and includes the contribution of external interventions to support implementation (Cummings and Worsley, 2001). It includes capabilities for coordination of each of the organizations involved. Enough *willingness* among key players contributes to the use of the capabilities mentioned.

The Systems Framework for Policy Implementation

In a critical discourse of structural service delivery, systems theory could be used to frame implementation as a dynamic service delivery process. Originated in the 19th Century by Hegel and widely used by Marx and Darwin, the system theory was used and later developed into the ‘General Systems Theory’ by the biologist von Bertalanffy (1968) as a multidisciplinary field. The general systems theory aims to understand and investigate the world as sets of systems. Particularly, the theory is viewed as the transdisciplinary study of phenomena, independence of their substance, type, or spatial or temporal scale. Because of its sophisticated nature in biology, however, the discipline has been understood abundantly as those of ecosystems. The Systems theory exists in many different forms referred to as ‘General Systems Theory’, ‘Systems Approach’, and ‘Cybernetics and Operational Analysis’.

The Systems approach is a methodology in which problems are solved wholly from a holistic perspective, as the latter is a field largely known in applied science (Luhmann, 1976).

According to the theory, a system is believed to have four aspects (Midgley, 2003). Firstly, there are objects within the system, either physical or idea or both. Secondly, a system has attributes, representing the qualities of the system and its objects. Thirdly, there are always internal relations among objects in a system, an ecosystem as an example. Fourthly, there are contexts that systems exist in, called 'environment'. By combining the aspects, system is a set of things that affect one another within an environment and constitute a larger pattern distinguished from any of the parts. For instance, marine ecosystem consists of marine species, living in a quality habitat and having interrelationships among each other in the ocean. Through this, policy implementation system involves the concerned policy and its contributors, operating in a particular policy community or network that allows actors to interact and communicate with one another in the concerned principle.

The Systems theory has been criticized and debated by scholars on its emphasis of certain perspectives ignoring other perspectives. It is worth considering the consequences brought by limited focuses only in the systems without studying other unanalyzed factors/perspectives. In sociology, it is warned social and systemic integration should be joined in any certain uses (Ryan & Bohman, 1998). In this notion, this work attempts to recognize the unanalyzed perspectives, and incorporates them into a bigger picture of the system. This includes the recipient communities, norms, and contexts.

Suggested by Littlejohn (2001), a simple system model features the continual steps of inputs, process, and outputs in an environment with looped feedback. Defined by Ramaprasad (1983), feedback is information about the gap between the actual act and the reference act of a system parameter used to alter the gap. He mentioned the information itself is not considered feedback unless it is translated into action. In this notion, regarding the

System model, feedback is a closed-loop process of information-translated actions applied to close gaps. In terms of policy implementation, feedback is comments and criticism on all steps of the implementation process, from inputs to outputs. The research framework is built based on these literatures considering two possible environments: internal and external.

Capabilities and willingness as inputs of policy implementation

To evaluate policy implementation, as discussed above, the scope of implementation needs to be identified. As literatures on systematic approaches to analyzing implementation feasibility are under development, Harty and others provide a checklist of a dozen factors that should be considered in assessing the feasibility of implementing alternatives. Their points include such items as the number of agencies involved, threats to officials and jobs and groups, changes in behavior of government employees, availability of funds, legal issues, and level of public support (Harty, Blair, Fisk, and Kimmel, 1976, 100-101). Such factors, also provided by Nakamura and Smallwood, include questions about the political climate (key actors, their beliefs and resources), the resource base (leverage or inducements to move actors), mobilization potential (sources of opposition, support, and compromise), and assessment indicators (criteria for measuring success) (Nakamura and Smallwood, 1980, 177). The scholars provide valuable variables as bases for the discussion in terms of capabilities: financial and human resources.

Noting that most of the implementation literature rejects a uni-dimensional approach to implementation, Ingram (1990) has proposed using a broad framework for such studies. She suggests that scholars view implementation as a politically seamless web of policy formulation, implementation, and outcome. Depending on the characteristics of the policy being implemented, she believes two types of implementation challenges emerge: the implementing agency must have the will, competence, skill, or resources to carry out implementation (as agreed by Peck and 6, 2006), and the agency must be able to succeed in

constituency politics. The first challenge could be more critical than the later in addressing such social problems as education, as those qualities reflect the extent the implementation could achieve and hence the decision to be re-elected. Ingram has developed a flexible framework for analyzing implementation that recognizes components such as negotiation and information costs, clarity of goals and procedures, the level at which decisions are made, the type of evaluation criteria used, and the types of variables affecting implementation (ibid., 475-477). Likewise, Winter developed a model of the implementation process in which he identified four key variables affecting implementation results: The policy formation process, organizational implementation behavior, the coping behavior of street-level bureaucrats, and target-group response and changes in society (Winter, 1990, 31). He states that their relative importance varies according to the type of policy being implemented, noting that the role of the street-level bureaucracy is probably most prominent in human and social services, and the target-group response is probably more valuable in the implementation of regulatory policies. Organizational implementation behavior and the coping behavior of street-level bureaucrats are integrated into organizational capabilities and willingness, while target-group response and changes in society are two output's expectations. Political will is extremely crucial for implementing the policy. Both Ingram and Winter note, however, that some works need to be done before a set of rules can be prescribed.

Overall, the policy implementation process itself can be looked at two basic ways. Firstly, they may be seen as structural process. Through this lens, organizations are viewed as vectors of resources and flows of information and policy implementation appears as a set of arrangements or social structures—such as the creation of inter-organizational networks—for channeling these vectors and flows. This is where the flow of inputs (resources, assistance, trainings, and organizational capacities) is directed into this process. Secondly, they can be seen as cognitive processes. Through this lens, organizations appear as sites of the making

and remaking of meaning and policy implementation as a process of intervening through talk and text in sense-making. It means implementation process is carried out and understood through sense-making of perceptions having organizations as subjects of the study. The work of Spillane, Reiser, and Reimer (2002) shows an example of developing grounded cognitive framework to characterize sense-making in the implementation process involving: individual cognition, situated cognition, and role of representations. For this study, it simply pays attention to the policy implementation as an organizational process to deliver education services to children using the first lens. The reason is education policy implementation in Cambodia centers at capabilities and structure of the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sport and its local networks, which are viewed as structural process as Ingram, Winter, and others have mentioned. The capabilities and willingness (structure, network, types of interdependence, and money) and organizational forms will be identified. The structural description of the implementing organization is important to one's evaluation on the subject.

Policy implementation conversion

Structure and coordination

In implementation analysis, some analysts employ a method of policy implementation card (PIC), which gauges the extent to which a policy instrument is implemented (Pintér, Swanson and Barr, 2004, 42-44). It is done in the form of table matrix having six components represented by six columns. The method is drawn upon analyzing policy categories with certain instrument (economic, expenditure, regulatory and institutional components) to check the overall policy implementation score which is calculated through the above categories. However, the authors warn that this method does not evaluate the effectiveness of policies. It only reveals a scoring showing the level of implementation of policies directed at a topic.

In the same fashion as the above so-called checklist, Lineberry views implementation indicators as a platform of comprehending implementation effectiveness by looking at three basic steps of the implementation process:

1. "Creation of a new agency or assignment of a new responsibility to an old agency,
2. Translation of policy goals into operational rules and development of guidelines for the program,
3. Coordination of resources and personnel to achieve the intended goals" (Lineberry, 1977).

As far as operationalizing what implementation and its capable elements are, the researcher also identifies identical aspects of the above process indicated by Dye.

"...implementation involves all of the activities designed to carry out the policies enacted by the legislative branch. These activities include the creation of new organizations and departments, agencies, bureaus, and so on and/or the assignment of new responsibilities to existing organization. These organizations must translate laws into operational rules and regulations. They must hire personnel, draw up contracts, spend money, and perform tasks. All of these activities involve decisions by bureaucrats and decisions that determine policy" (Dye, 2005, 52).

One critical aspect of policy implementation is the problem with high degree of discretion afforded to the bureaucrats and agency procedures to transform laws into action. This administrative decision-making has a significant impact on the determination of who receives benefits as a result of the implementation of a policy. Administrative decision-making also has a far-reaching impact on society as a result of the promulgation of agency regulations, contracting, licensing, inspections, enforcement, adjudication, and the actual discretion for agencies to interpret their own agency rules. This aspect is also covered in the study regarding the methods used expressing the organizational forms.

Hogwood and Gunn (1984) undertake a more rigorous study on policy implementation and disclose that all implementation processes should have a ten-step model as following:

- i. Policies must not have insurmountable external constraints. It means the policy must not exceed the jurisdictional or constitutional limits of the agency.
- ii. There must be an adequate time frame and resources. The policy may be appropriate but may fail because its implementation took longer or was more expensive than budgeted.
- iii. The implementing agency must have adequate staff and resources to carry out the policy.
- iv. The premises of policy and theory must be compatible. At one time public ownership was seen as a valid policy alternative. Today it may be a valid option in theory in some circumstances but is not politically acceptable in most cases such as free market.
- v. Cause and effect relationships in the policy must be direct and uncluttered. It has to be based on clear and unambiguous relationships in order to be understood clearly and executed effectively.
- vi. Dependency relationships should be kept to a minimum.
- vii. The basic objectives of the policy need be agreed upon and understood. All actors in the policy process must possess a clear understanding of the policy and what is required to carry it out. They must know what their roles are, which include information and training as essential elements in the policy process.
- viii. Tasks must be specified in an appropriate sequence. Implementation is a process with connected steps from conception to the end. If not carried out in the current sequence, the policy may fail.
- ix. Communication and coordination need to be on the same wavelength. Those implementing the policy have to possess the same information base, interpret it in the same way, and to communicate well with each other.
- x. There must be compliance. Those agencies involved in implementing the policy must work towards total compliance.

These scholars provide an identical process consisting of two common variables for the research framework: assigning responsibilities to implementing agency and coordination.

Within organizational structure, there are four social organizational forms (Douglas, 1982) that determine one's strengths and weaknesses for implementation. Social organizing affects implementation due to different strengths and weaknesses involved in each form. Firstly, *hierarchy* is not the same as domination or tyrannical system. In a hierarchical order each rank has its place and it contributes to the functioning of the entire system due to the appropriate respect of the role (Dumont, 1980). Social ties, which are the connections between participants in the system, are more likely to run vertically through the authorization system. Status derives from this rule-based authorization, and power follows status. Running a power plant with sophisticated technologies and nonlinear interaction is an example. Secondly, *individualism* is characterized as a system in which individuals can act with relative freedom in certain settings as they can exploit their own skills or luck. In other words, those who can exploit gaps in the social structure as brokers and achieve greater on the basis not of their formal role but because of their own achievement are in this category. Usually their power comes from controlling resources, and status follows power. Such brokers operate in sparse social ties, creating structural holes (Burt, 1992). Stock-broking practice in investment is a case. *Enclave* (the club, the clan, or the sect), thirdly, refers to the voluntarily entered collective held together only as long as shared commitment to some principle is maintained. It supports the type of individual's fragile and weak leadership (Rayner, 1988). This group lacks of the authority of authorized status (hierarchy) and the ability to be able to broker for control of resources (individualism). Power is deliberately weakened by the internal rules that limit status differentiation and ensure the control of resources for principles agreed and under collective surveillance. A group of consumers of public services is an instance. Last but not least, *isolate*, being weakly bonded to others, lacks

capabilities for collective action that all other forms possess. Therefore, isolates are peculiarly abided by systems of domination, which centralize control and consequently result in totalitarian systems. The system of power and status has simply given it little to none. It is by this sense that not only is communication in this system difficult but also rich narratives are hard to sustain. Banfield's (1958) study about short-termism and coping strategies in which each family/individual looked out only for themselves is an example. Peck and 6 (2006) categorize these forms in Figure 2.2 below by summarizing their main strengths and weaknesses. By identifying the types of social organizing of an organization or agency, it leads to an understanding of how the implementing organization performs, manages, and leads in the implementation. This could be applied with the main theme of this research by analyzing the implementing agency's organizational capabilities to seek its strengths and weaknesses.

<p>Isolate <i>Strengths:</i> Enables valuable coping behavior and survival during adversity, prevents excessive aspiration during periods when this might be destructive <i>Weaknesses:</i> Limited ability to sustain collective action or tackle complex problems</p>	<p>Hierarchy <i>Strengths:</i> Enables clarity and complex divisions of labor <i>Weaknesses:</i> Limited ability to generate prosperity, ability to generate prosperity, the system of rule and role can become so Byzantine as to be illegible, risks demotivation of the "lowerarchy" through denial of access to superior authority and denial of sufficient validation</p>
<p>Individualism <i>Strengths:</i> Unleashes powerful motivations of aspirant self-interest, enables focused instrumental activity <i>Weaknesses:</i> Limited ability to define the basic goods and services, rights and duties around which self-interest and instrumental activity are oriented, may eventually undermine the capacity to do so, risks demotivation through insecurity</p>	<p>Enclave <i>Strengths:</i> Empowers passionate principled commitment and supports integrity, unleashes powerful motivations of protection <i>Weaknesses:</i> Focus on distribution can undermine production and prosperity, risks schism, principle of internal equality can undermine level of authority necessary for efficacy, risks demotivation through exhaustion and burn-out, or through schism</p>

Figure 2.2. Strengths and weaknesses of the four ways of organizing

Source: Peck and 6, 2006, 32.

Establishing implementation strategy

According to scholars, policy implementation represents the stage where government executes an adopted policy as specified by legislation or policy action. At this stage, a variety of governmental agencies responsible for the respective area of policy are officially made responsible for implementation (Theodoulou and Kofinis, 2004). In fact, implementation means translating stated goals and objectives of the policy into an operating and ongoing program. Once the government has legitimized some forms of public policy such as a law, statute, edict, rule, or regulation, the stipulations of that policy must be put into action, administered, and enforced to bring about the desired change sought by the policymakers. This task defaults to the government executive and necessitates the designation of a government agency as having the responsibility for the new policy. Theoretically the responsible agency is granted the requisite resources and authority to ensure that the new policy is carried out as intended, but in reality, this rarely happens.

Bardach (1980) sees the implementation process as a set of games in which many actors maneuver to get what they want, using such well-known games as spending more to get more, foiling monitoring mechanisms, renegotiating goals after programs begin, and adding new elements to existing popular programs. Recognizing this, he suggests steps the policy analyst can take to design policies that have a better chance to be implemented:

- i. “Ensure that the social, economic, and political theory behind the policy is reasonable and sophisticated.
- ii. Select an administrative strategy that relies on actual or simulated markets rather than on bureaucratic processes.
- iii. Identify program elements and those who might provide them.
- iv. Identify relevant actors and the games they play.
- v. Identify facilitative and re-tracking mechanisms.
- vi. Determine how to phase in a program so as to maximize support” (Bardach, 1980, 143-154).

These steps constitute the qualities that a policy should have in planning in order to favorably be implemented and supported.

Implementation strategy is how implementation is exercised. The questions of *how* raise concerns upon strategies used, and programs and projects designed to work in this process. Action plans need to be drawn strategically with specific guidelines. Implementation seeks to determine whether an organization can carry out and achieve its desired objectives. It includes developing and pursuing a strategy of organization and management to assure that the policy process is completed with the minimum of delays, costs, and burdens. More particularly, the task of implementation, whether conducted by government activities or others, is to form a bridge allowing the objectives of any public policies to be realized. It involves the creation of a policy delivery system in which authentic mechanisms are designed and pursued in the hope of reaching particular ends. So public policies in the form of a statement containing goals and objectives are put into action. As expected, this study attempts to uncover strategies laid out for the implementation of the EFA policy.

Network and inter-organizational relations

Hjern and Hull (1982) argue to look at policy network involving expanded numbers of organizations, groups and individuals considered as participants in the policy process. They assert:

“The methodological imperative for describing policy system is to identify the policy makers who populate it in order that its goals, environments and resources become determinate.”
(Hjern and Hull, 1982, 106)

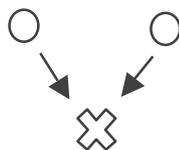
This network of participants allows members at a particular organization or level to know their own and their organization’s role in implementing a policy or program. However, they cannot see the larger pattern of interactions within the network, making it difficult for

individuals or single organizations to fully identify where barriers to implementation are occurring (Senge, 1990). Examining the network within which policies and programs are implemented is critical to identifying where barriers arise in the network. It is worth noted that the recognition of relationships between actors within these networks entail different levels of interdependency (O'Toole and Montjoy, 1984). They think that improving implementation may not require large scale efforts throughout the entire network but rather well-focused actions that create small changes among a few actors of interdependence. In this study, a group of specialized organizations and participants are educational experts. They constitute an implementation network with diverse levels of resources and commitment devoted to primary education, which needs to be investigated.

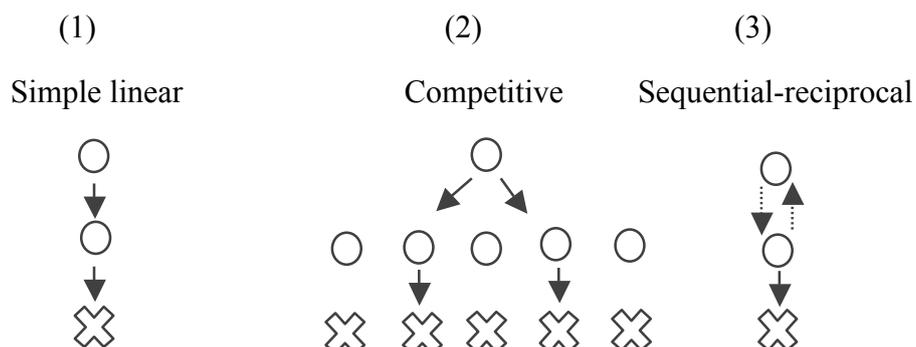
Three forms of inducements influence how organizations could work together: authority, common interest, and exchange (Gerth and Mills, 1947, 325). Authority is cooperation deriving from a sense of duty, while common interest is cooperation because each participant values the goal. Exchange is cooperation to receive in return something other than achievement of the goal. Selection and training are acquiring personnel who tend to share, or accept common goals and views. This is a form of sustaining cooperation, formal organization (Barnard, 1938). Additionally, routine or standard operating procedures are always the case of this form of organization by which personnel interact to solve regular and predictable problems (Simon, 1976). Setbacks are found with organization that bound by its own goals, views and routines which limited its ability to respond to or to cooperate with another organization. However, there is an answer to the limitation when the new mandate is coincided with each organization, or new resources are provided (O'Toole & Montjoy, 1984). It does not mean the other organizations are there to interfere with the authority given by the mandate to the implementing agency but to act in a coordinated fashion. The type of coordination or cooperation is inevitably different by organization with considerable high or

low coordination costs, however, Thompson (1967, 54-56) places a simple typology for the inter-organizational context: pooled, sequential, and reciprocal interdependence. Pooled interdependence occurs when the agencies involved are asked to provide their own contributions but do not have to deal with each other in doing so. With sequential interdependence the output of one unit is the input of another (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1984). Organizations linked in this manner are arranged in assembly-line fashion. Two units are reciprocally interdependent if each poses contingencies for the other. The author adds the level of interdependence increases across a continuum from pooled at one end to reciprocal at the other. These differentiations imply different expectations for implementation. O’Toole and Montjoy show a refinement on Thompson’s typology through the creation of interaction patterns in the absence of authority (Figure 2.3). They refer to the type of interdependence involved in the setting up of an inter-organizational program as formative interdependence and to an existing interaction as operating interdependence. Based on these literatures, interdependence is an organizational factor that influences capabilities of the implementation; hence, based on the types of interdependence, this work pinpoints the degree of inter-organization relations in implementing the primary education policy regarding key players’ involvement.

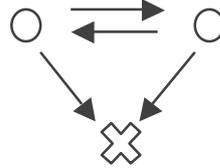
A. Pooled:



B. Sequential:



C. Reciprocal:



Legend:

- = agency
- ⊗ = target
- = operating interdependence
- ...→ = formative interdependence

Figure 2.3. Types of interdependence

Source: O'Toole and Montjoy, 1984, 493.

Sabatier (1986) also includes 'inter-organizational relations' as one of the conditions for effective implementation involving key actors and partners of development from nongovernmental members of the policy network. Inter-organizational relation is an organizational capability to communicate and coordinate among agencies. The degree of relationship depends on the types of interdependence that exist between these organizations. This is particularly true when considering the amount of support from interest groups and other key actors, the degree of respect and trust between actors, and the level of action management of primary education policy network. The reason is due to global initiatives such as EFA and MDGs that bring about a universal devotion of the world's stakeholders to provide necessary support. Hence, by and large the role of non-state actors in contemporary primary education development could not be excluded from the implementation process in order to produce intended results. In this sense, in addition to analyzing the capabilities and willingness of the state as inputs, the research requires important information from other institutions about their interventions in the field of primary education.

Policy implementation outputs

Output is defined as the act, product, material, or result produced in a given time (New Oxford American Dictionary, 2011a). In the logical framework analysis (Rosenberg &

Posner, 1979)—a tool originally developed for the United States Agency for International Development to help conceptualize a project and analyze the assumptions behind it—output is a direct product of the program or project implemented. Expected output is assumed and then evaluated on the basis of assumptions (with positive conditions). For instance, agricultural policy will be changed to favor grain crops; farmers will have access to credit. Outputs are measured whether the project or program achieves its outcome which is the effect of the outputs. For example, the outcome could be expected that crop yield will increase from the agricultural policy. In this particular study, the policy implementation outputs are determined by the EFA policy’s components and indicators such as the number of schools built, students enrolled, and students discontinued. The outcome is the consequence of the resulting outputs in the policy.

Research Framework

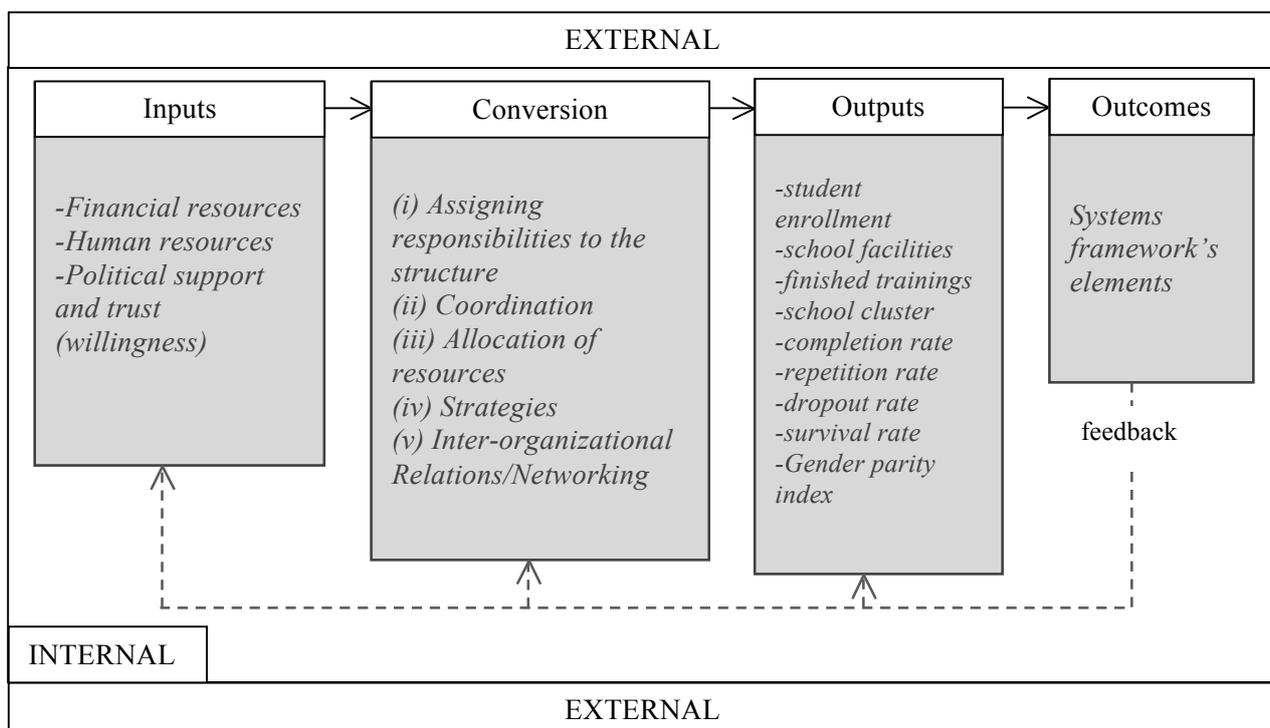


Figure 2.4. The research framework (By the author)

The research framework (Figure 2.4) is constructed based on the literature review. In the context of education policy in Cambodia, two environments exist: internal and external.

Using the top-down approach, the internal environment leads the study to use the Systems Framework: Inputs, Transformation/conversion, and Outputs (Littlejohn, 2001). The first step gives focus on two key input factors: capabilities and willingness of the implementing agency (Peck & 6, 2006). The aim of analyzing these inputs is to initiate identification and analysis of institution, human resource, and the degree of skills and commitment for the implementation. Like Ingram suggests, the input components are also the types of evaluation criteria for analyzing implementation from within and between organizations. These factors include: financial and human resources, and political will and support (Harty *et al*, 1976; Nakamura & Smallwood, 1980). The second step goes through the transformation of implementation process. In this stage, analysis is carried out using structural assignment and organizational form (Lineberry, 1977, Douglas, 1982), coordination (Lineberry, 1977; Hogwood and Gunn, 1984), allocation of resources (Nakamura and Smallwood, 1980), strategies (Bardach, 1980), implementation network (Hjern and Hull, 1982), interdependence (O'Toole and Montjoy, 1984), and inter-organizational relations (Thompson, 1967; Sabatier, 1986). It is in this stage that programs and strategies are created and put to practice. The last step is to observe results and changes brought by the implementation (Winter, 1990). 'Outcomes' is an additional stage created to review consequences of implementing the EFA disciplines. The systems framework's elements are used to produce this outcome. Feedback (Ramaprasad, 1983) is provided in forms of comments, criticisms, and gaps. In terms of the external environment, a case study of a community is conducted to understand perceptions of local people outside the internal system (Ryan and Bohman, 1998). This case aims to generate perceptions of street-level practitioners and end-users (the people) regarding factors affecting attendance in primary school (bottom-up method).

Operational Definitions

Systems framework is a model constructed based on the concept of the General Systems Theory (von Bertalanffy, 1968) which refers to a system used for analyzing policy implementation. Littlejohn (2001) provides a simple model of the framework consisting of: inputs, transformation, and output.

Inputs are physical or non-physical resources and finance necessary to perform the planned implementation. They can be human resources, materials, equipment, time and money.

Financial resources are monetary inputs financing an operation or organization.

Human resources are individuals or workforce of an organization necessary for the implementation.

Political will is an exercise of political authority to enforce particular act to successfully achieve its intention. It is sometimes referred to as political commitment.

Transformation/Conversion is a processing procedure of inputs using particular tools and strategies to produce results.

Structure is the organizational arrangement and relations between individuals in an organization or level.

Coordination is the synchronization and integration of activities, responsibilities, and command and control structures to ensure harmony. Coordination is made vertically and horizontally.

Allocation of resources is an act of dividing available resources such as human resources, financial resources, skills, and power to perform certain tasks.

Strategy is a method or plan chosen to bring about a desired future: achievement of a goal or solution to a problem.

Inter-organizational relation is the linkage between two or more organizations used to coordinate and cooperate with each other.

Network is a group of connected individuals and/or institutions that have the same goals and objectives.

Outputs are the deliverable/tangible results established directly as a result of implementation activities.

New facility/building is a new establishment, school, or education center.

Net Enrollment Ratio (NER) is the percentage of enrollment of the official age group for a given level of education expressed as a percentage of the corresponding population.

School cluster is a governmental program created in 1993 to help schools gather in a common geographical area in order to meet, communicate, and share all kinds of issues, good practices, and experiences with each other including management, leadership, technical coordination, and mutual lessons learned. School cluster is categorized into two types: Core school (leader) and Satellite school (member).

Primary Completion Rate/Effective Transition Rate (CR) measures the likelihood of a student moving to a higher level of education. It reflects the real transition of students regardless of repetition. It is defined for a given year as the number of new entrants to the first grade of the higher level of education in the following year expressed as a percentage of the students enrolled in the last grade of the given level of education in the given year who do not repeat that grade the following year.

Repetition Rate (RR) is the proportion of pupils from a cohort enrolled in a given grade at a given school year who study in the same grade in the following year.

Dropout/Discontinued Rate (DR) is the proportion of pupils from a cohort enrolled in a given grade at a given school year who are no longer enrolled in the following school year.

Continuing/Survival Rate (SR) is the percentage of a cohort of pupils enrolled in the first grade of a given level or cycle of education in a given school year who are expected to reach successive grades.

Gender Parity Index (GPI) is the ratio of female to male values of a given indicator. The GPI measures progress towards gender parity in education participation and/or learning opportunities available for women in relation to those available to men.

Outcomes are the intended situation and consequences as a result of changes after the implementation's lifespan.

Feedback is the information about gap used to improve phenomenon in a process or project.

Chapter Summary

This is an education policy research looking at how policy is being implemented. The research framework adopted the systems model in order to analyze the policy implementation. Theoretically, the systems theory has three elements: inputs, transformation, and outputs. Outcome is added for this study. The input factors focus on capabilities and willingness which include financial and human resources, and political will and support. The transformation consists of organizational structure, organizational forms, coordination, allocation of resources, strategies, networking, interdependence, and inter-organizational relations. Outputs are results that create changes in the society, as outcomes are consequences of the results. Lessons and experiences of some countries in implementing EFA and UPE principles were presented. Operational definitions of terms were also provided.

Chapter 3

Research Methodology

This chapter outlines the research design and data gathering methods employed in this research. The methodology is based on the research questions posed in Chapter 1 and the research framework in Chapter 2. This section presents how the research was designed and how respondents were selected and interviewed. The informants' profiles are also shown. The framework used for analyzing the data is also discussed.

Research Design

This research is a descriptive, one-shot case study design. It is a qualitative study using both primary and secondary data. The study focuses on policy implementation as the key variable. Fitz (1994) indicated that implementation research on education policy has greater preference for qualitative than quantitative methods of inquiry.

The study employed qualitative research techniques and analysis, as “it attempts to explore and describe, explain and predict” (McQueen and Knussen, 2002, 27). Qualitative study is used to learn about people and events in their own context (Weiss, 1998, 252). The study could capture stories and perceptions of people involved in the thematic context, not just by looking at numbers. Descriptive data reflecting experiences and ideas of people lie at the center of a qualitative research (Patton, 2002, 4-5). While qualitative methods are often considered as less rigorous than quantitative approaches qualitative studies provide different rigors on its own and should not be disregarded (Flyvbjerg, 2007, 398). Qualitative researches can be just as rigorous as quantitative designs with appropriate design and diligent implementation (Flyvbjerg, 2007, 398; Patton, 2002, 14; Seale, 2007, 3).

A case study was conducted to determine external factors affecting children's attendance in primary school in a rural community. It involved study of perceptions of

education actors and the local community. A representative community was selected for this purpose. Purposive sampling was used in choosing both respondents in the case study and key informants in this research. This case study is defined as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context” (Yin, 2003, 13), for this instance, the EFA policy implementation in this community. According to Becker and Ragin (1992, 121), cases have a tendency to be “*situationally* grounded instances” that imply a family of relationships and circumstances. Cases are selected on the basis of the information they are expected to generate. It is noted that case studies are not generalizable (ibid., 391), but rather are intentionally planned to generate specific knowledge about a specific place and time. For this work, it means the case is best for identifying hypotheses (ibid.) and continually rich data for intellectual investigation as a policy research. Although case studies can be somewhat limited in focus, Yin suggests they can offer a fuller understanding of a concept, particularly when a concept is heavily influenced by its context (Yin, 2003, 13). It is particularly true to provide a clearer understanding for the policy implementation as it is highly influenced by several factors. Case studies demonstrate causal arguments about how general social forces take shape and produce results in a specific setting (Ragin, 2000, 122). Since policy studies affect and change the lives of people in society, this study is suitable when considering the causal interrelationships between people, institutions, and events (Weiss, 1998, 261).

Data Collection

Implementation research usually involves documentary and archive research, followed by interviews with policymakers, implementers and recipients, combined with observation of groups making and taking decisions over extended periods of time (Brehony and Deem, 1991). This practice could also be applied in this study.

Secondary data

Secondary data were collected from national policy documents, annual and short-term reports. Data related to primary education policies and their implementation was gathered from governmental agencies such as the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport (MOEYS) and the National Institute of Statistics archives (policy documents, implementation mechanisms, and results/outputs of the practices). Data and relevant documents were also sourced from other educational institutions, international organizations, donors and education-related NGOs such as World Education, UNICEF, UNESCO, NGO Education Partnership Cambodia, Save the Children, Kampuchean Action for Primary Education, and VSO Cambodia.

Table 3.1 *Kinds and sources of the secondary data*

Items	Kinds	Sources
Caminfo	NIS database (Education)	NIS
UNESCO Statistics Institute	Education database	UNESCO
World Bank Databank	Database	World Bank
Education indicator 1998-2012	Annual statistical reports	MOEYS, NIS
Education for all national plan 2003-2015	National plan	MOEYS
The ESP 2009-2013	Strategic master plan and policy	MOEYS
Education congress 2012	Periodical report	MOEYS, NIS
Cambodian socio-economic survey 2009	Finding report	NIS, Ministry of Planning
National census 2008	National census	NIS
Primary education indicators	Web-based data bank	World Bank, UNESCO&NIS
District Training and Monitoring Team (DTMT) ⁹	Report	MOEYS

Primary data

Primary data was acquired in two ways: key-informant interviews and field case study.

⁹ The DTMT is a key instrument for supporting schools in a need-based fashion. All DTMTs at provinces have two functions: control (inspection) and support (advice). Ideally the DTMT is created as a training and monitoring unit in child friendly school implementations to decentralize local levels (MOEYS, 2008a, i).

Profiles of key informants

Key informants are top government officials, donors, and related NGOs' officers, who play major roles in implementing and monitoring the policy. Seven (7) key organizations in the primary education sector have been chosen (Appendix B). They consisted of 20 interviewees. Among the 20 informants, eleven (11) officials were from the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sport (Appendix C), while the other nine (9) were from six organizations (Appendix D): UNESCO (1), Save the Children Norway (3), NGO Education Partnership Cambodia (1), World Education (1), Kampuchean Action for Primary Education (2), and VSO Cambodia (1).

Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sport (MOEYS)

One of the key players in primary education is the MOEYS. This government's agency is responsible for making plans and carrying out implementation nationwide.

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

The United Nations for Education, Science, and Culture Organization is a lead international agency specialized in education, science development, and cultural promotion. As a collaborator, it assists and translates the "Education For All" principles for the MOEYS. Realizing the primary education policy is among the ultimate objectives of UNESCO for education.

World Education

World Education organization is an international actor/catalyst in primary education in Cambodia. The organization conducts several programs and projects linking with other donors (multilateral and bilateral) in many provinces.

NGO Education Partnership (NEP) Cambodia

NEP is a key nongovernmental organization consisting of local and international NGOs. They integrate under NEP's partnership to promote active collaboration between NGOs. NEP Cambodia advocates on behalf of its members in policy meetings, support, and discussions with the lead government agency, the MOEYS. They provide resources and effort in the development of primary education to achieve equal and timely access to high quality education for all Cambodians, especially in rural areas.

Save the Children Norway (SCN)

This is an international organization working in primary education and children's affairs. Its current active program is "Child Friendly School." Beside the MOEYS, they work closely with several other organizations such as UNICEF and KAPE, who are also implementers of the child friendly school program. They use their own resources to support the coverage of the program in different geographical areas.

Kampuchean Action for Primary Education (KAPE)

KAPE is a local NGO working primarily in the education sector in over 300 schools across seven provinces. In primary education, KAPE implements projects with both locals and authorities to see the best results. As it is a partner of the MOEYS, KAPE implements the child friendly school program, which impacts thousands of children across the country.

VSO Cambodia

Volunteer Service Organization Cambodia is a branch of VSO International working in development fields such as education, reproductive and child health, and livelihoods.

Data were collected using the triangulation technique involving note-taking, semi-structured interview and actual observation. There were two types of observation used: direct observation and participatory observation. Direct observation takes place when the researcher simply describes what he/she witnesses; it allows him/her to study phenomena in their natural

setting and unveil things that informants are unable and/or unwilling to provide (Kumar, 1987). Participatory observation is one in which the researcher takes part in the activities and events that he is describing (Weiss, 1998, 257). This type of observation can be used in concert with collaborative inquiry and any other types of researches that require high levels of engagement by the researcher. The technique has been used extensively by Douglas Harper (2001) and Richard Fenno (2003). Direct observation and participatory observation were extensively employed in this study. The author was allowed to stay and observe actual planning, monitoring, and communication activities with teams and other involved agencies.

Interview is a common research tool which was used in this study as well. Interviews are social encounters where parties collaborate in producing retrospective and/or prospective accounts of their past and/or future actions, experiences, feelings, and thoughts (Rapley, 2007, 16). Narrative interviews were used to tell an oral history (Bornat, 2007, 35) regarding primary education in Cambodia. More specifically, semi-structured interviewing took place in formal and informal setting as follows. The unstructured interview technique does not employ a strict question guide and is often carried out in a conversational setting between interviewer and informants (Weiss, 1998, 258). It is very important to listen to the speakers as they tell stories in their own words when used open-ended questions in either formal or informal interview setting (ibid., 166 & 259), asking some questions and prodding without bias, with little interpretation on the part of the interviewer (Rapley, 2007, 22).

Observations covering events, information, thoughts and reflections of the researcher after every field observations and interviews were immediately noted down. Rapley and Weiss use note-taking to jot down trajectory of the dialogue, other non-verbal expressions of the speaker, and the whole content of the interviews for analysis (Rapley, 2007, 16; Weiss, 1998, 259). Key indicators measuring the effectiveness of policy were also identified, noted down, and double-checked during the interviews. "Field notes should cover the researcher's

perceptions of the relationship formed with the respondent, thoughts on what is to be said and how it is to be said, thoughts on the quality of the interview, and reactions and mental notes” (McQueen and Knussen, 2002). In addition to note-taking, voice-recording device was used almost entirely during the interviews.

Data collection methods by objectives are shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 *Data collection methods by objectives*

	Interview	Note-taking	Observation	Secondary
Nature of EFA policy	O	O	-	O
Issues/Challenges	O	O	O	O
Internal/External factors	O	O	O	-
Recommendations	O	O	O	-

Profile of Thnol Bandy Village (case study)

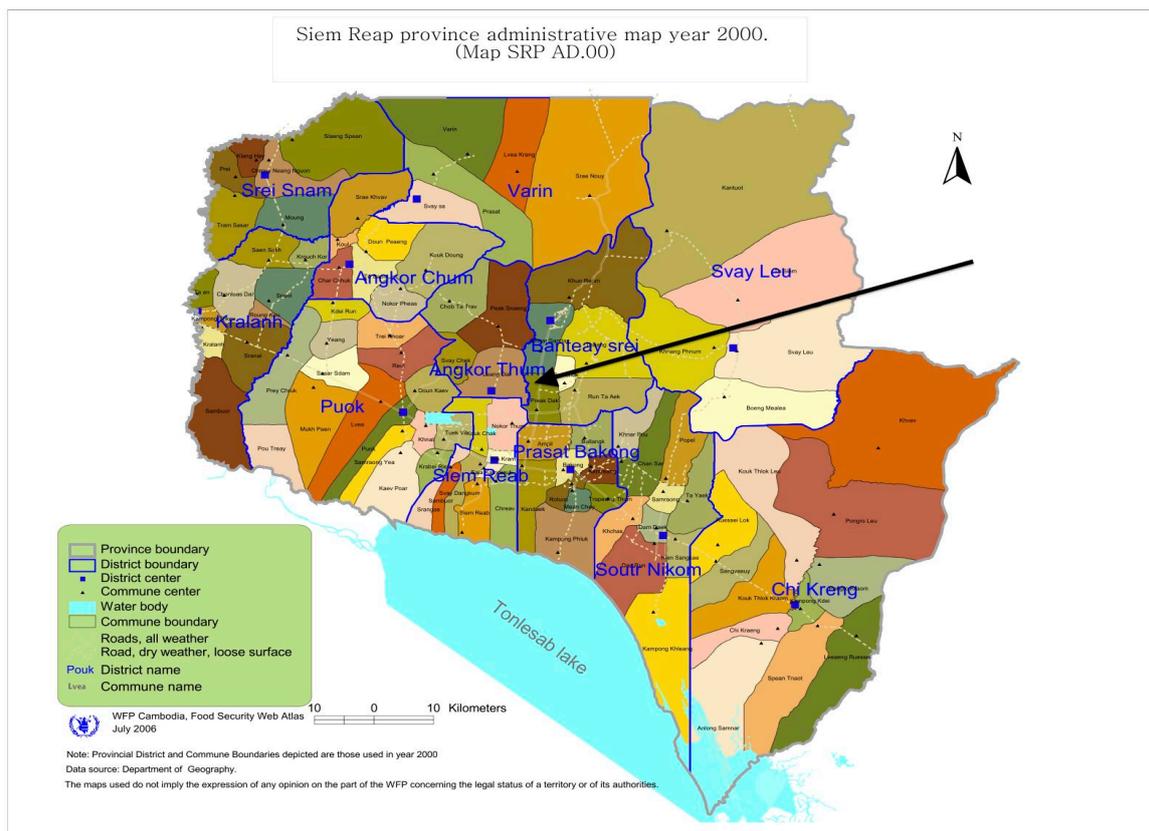


Figure 3.1. Location of Thnol Bondoy village

Source: Courtesy of World Food Program 2006.

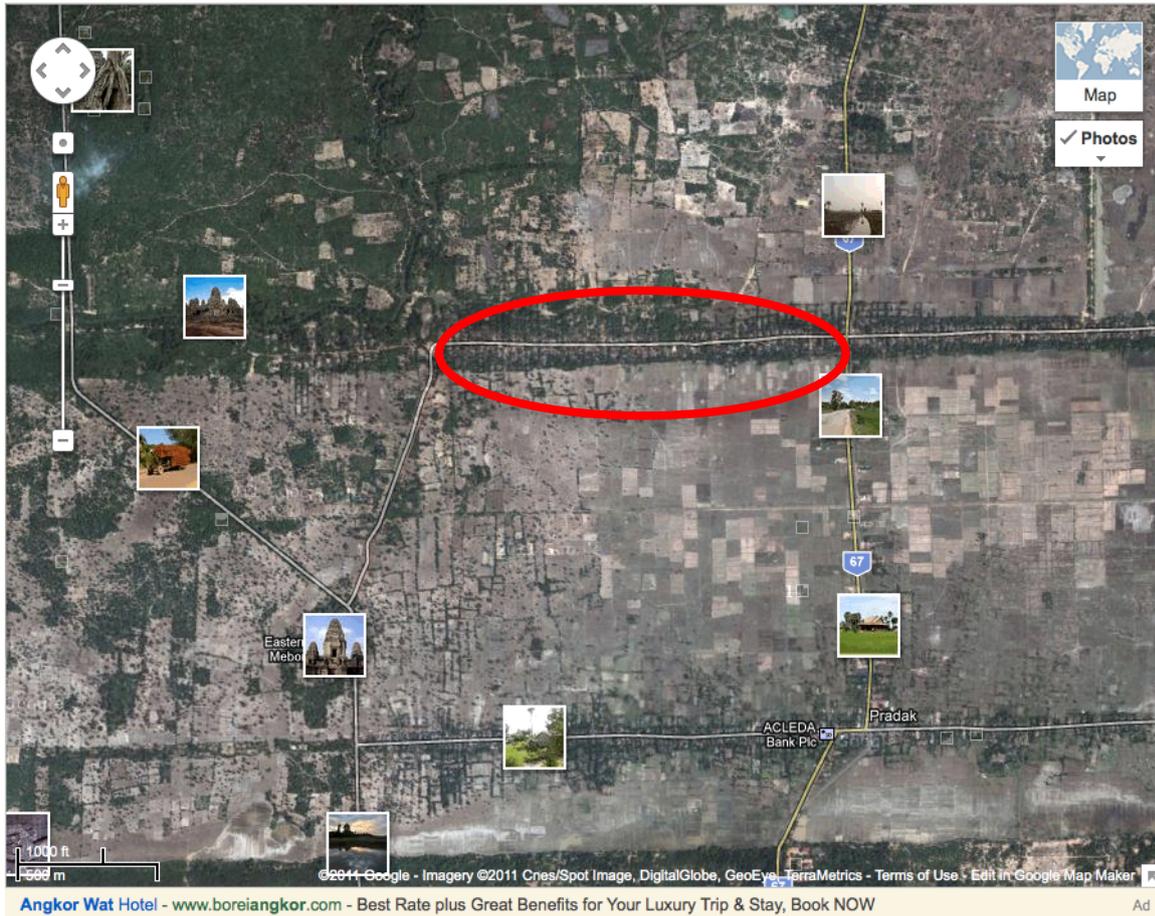


Figure 3.2. Tnol Bondoy village between Angkor complex's border and National Road 67

Source: Courtesy of Google Maps 2011 satellite version.

A case was conducted in Thnal Bandoy, a village located in Pradak commune, Banteay Srey district, Siem Reap Province (Figure 3.1). The district covers an area of 10,299 km² with a total population of 42,773 in 2008 (NIS, 2008). Located in the northwest of Cambodia, the village has a total of 176 households (2010 interview data). According to Figure 3.2, the village is bordered by Takos village to the North, Pradak village to the South, Siem Reap River to the East, and National road 67 to the West. According to the head of the village, 100% of the populations were full-time farmers engaged in rain-fed farming. Access was fairly good in the dry season but slightly difficult during the rainy season since all roads were unpaved, except the national road. Even if villagers do farming three times a year, they tend to look for supplementary incomes in construction and tourism sector. In terms of

primary education, there were two types of primary schools located inside the community. These were lower and higher level state schools. The lower kindergarten offered classes from grades 1 to 3, while the higher offered from grade 4 to 6. The children aged 4 to 14 in this village accounted for 133 (73 boys and 60 girls). They belonged to young couples and major farming households with gross income of 8,000 Riels a day (about US\$2). About 10% of the children did not enroll in school due to many reasons. Dropout rate was about 20% of the whole population, and repeaters (Grade 1-3) were 19% because of re-enrollment and indefinite suspension. These children were in the age group of 9 to 14. Female students enrolling in school were 49 out of 120 students. There were 15 teaching staffs (10 were females) and 7 non-teaching staffs. After graduation, the children are sent to neighboring villages where upper-level education is provided, such as secondary and tertiary level.

Respondents of the Case Study

Parents

There were a total of 23 heads of households (10 men and 13 women) who provided the interviews. Eleven out of 23 heads of families worked for the Apsara Authority, the sole national authority protecting and preserving monuments, artifacts, and ancient properties. This organization is based in Siem Reap province because a large proportion of their works is extensively laid out on the landscape of Angkorian Park. The families engaged in works such as temples' sewer and moat cleanup, jungle clear-up, gardening, and other odd jobs. Unfortunately the pay did not compensate for the work they do. They received less than 5,000 Riels of wage per day (about US\$1.2). Others had worked in construction sector in Siem Reap town, which got paid more, but it was not on regular basis (see Table 3.3 for more income groups).

Table 3.3 *Parent's income levels*

Parent respondents	Income level (in Riels per day)
Group A (5)	10,000-15,000
Group B (11)	6,000-8,000
Group C (6)	< 3,000
Group D (1)	None

Aside from being full-time farmers, these household heads engaged in a line of multiple work shifts. In addition, Figure 3.3 indicates parental education background, which shows that only five parents used to have formal education in school, while the other 18 parents never received any.

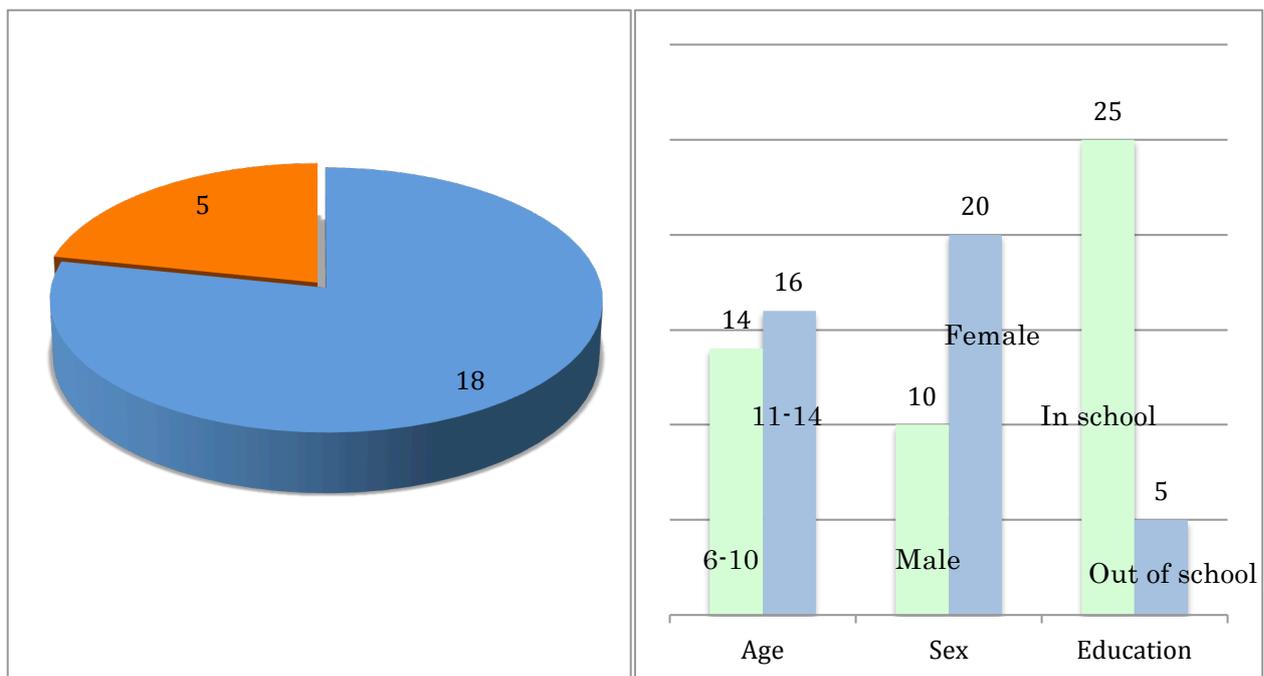


Figure 3.3. Parent's educational background (left) and children's profile (right)

Children

According to Figure 3.3, 30 children were interviewed in the field. Demographic characteristics are displayed according to age group, sex, and education background. Among

the age groups of 6-10 and 11-14, there were 10 males and 20 females. There were 25 children in school and five were out of school (drop-out).

Community elderly

The research identified elderly in the community as 65-year-old-or-more elders and monks in a nearby Buddhist pagoda. The researcher could conduct interviews with three elders and three senior monks. The informants had fairly great influences in the village in terms of almost everything, ranging from residential consultation to village administration and decision-making.

Local authorities

In this group, the local authorities comprised of teaching personnel (teaching and non-teaching) and the village's administrative body. The two kindergartens' principals were chosen for interviews along with other four teachers. Current conditions of primary education were key focuses during the interviews. The village head residing in the village could be able to give an in-depth interview regarding people's livelihood, village administration, general background, and personal opinion about current primary education status in his village. Two educational officials from the communal office of primary education could also provide perceptions via interviews in the segmented area. Progresses and obstacles were also identified.

Plan Cambodia – The helper

This was the only nongovernmental organization working on various developmental components in Thnol Bondoy village, including primary education. The NGO has worked with the community for over five years. The helper has already built enough networks inside the community in order to carry out programs and projects. By promoting community development with grassroots approach, Plan Cambodia arranges funds and assistance on their

own but receives also additional support from other international and local NGOs regarding development affairs in the village from time to time. During fieldworks, two local staffs were interviewed, one in the rank of project manager, and the other in project coordinator. Perceptions on primary education practices, factors affecting children's attendance and recommendations were among the discussions.

Data Analysis

Data related to policy implementation were described and analyzed qualitatively based on the Systems Framework: Inputs, Conversion, Outputs and Outcomes with feedback. Narrative discussions were applied extensively in the study using discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is an analysis using either a piece of text or a transcript of spoken words, and it can be combined with other qualitative methods using documents and speech (McQueen and Knussen, 2002, 201).

Scope of Data Analysis

More particularly, by using the research framework, variables were analyzed and discussed by using national figures with key-informant responses. Comments from street-level officers and collaborators were also added to justify the findings behind national data. With these data, the systems framework was analyzed in each variable.

Chapter 4

Findings and Discussion

This chapter presents the findings and discussion of the research. It describes the nature of the EFA policy of Cambodia. The policy implementation issues and challenges are identified and analyzed by using the Systems Framework. Other internal factors affecting the policy implementation are presented. External factors were identified through a case study.

EFA Policy of Cambodia

The education policies of the Rehabilitation Period (1980-1990) in Cambodia, referred to as Human Resource Development Strategy, were initiated in the early 1980s by the State of Kampuchea (the Socialist State of Cambodia). During this period, comprehensive primary schooling strategies were initiated (Duggan, 1996). However, there were no formal implementing laws, rules, regulations and programs to support these initiatives. As a result, education was not well implemented as many issues existed such as poor school conditions, large numbers of unqualified teachers, inadequate book supply, and a high primary dropout rate (ADB, 1996). The government placed more emphasis on infrastructure development in support of economic development than pro-poor educational programs. The country also relied heavily on assistance from Vietnam and the former Soviet Union. This explained why the Vietnamese and Russian languages were integrated into the educational curriculum.

Soon after Cambodia adopted the Education For All principles in 1990, the country finally democratized in 1993. In the following years, the government enacted the rights to education for all through Education Law. The Law states that:

“Every school-age children (age 6 and above) unconditionally have access to the primary education system with the education for all concepts.” (RGoC, 2007)

This demanded a full-scale education system reform in 1996, which changed the system to a 12-year general education. This reform was only the first step of the overall EFA

efforts. It continued to align all education policies and strategies with the EFA fitting to Cambodia's situation. This means all aspects of the education system were modified entirely from administration, management to in-class teaching approaches to address current educational issues. The ultimate authority was given to the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sport to work and cooperate with several other multilateral and bilateral partners. Master plans and activities were designed and involved donors' consent and mutual agreement. The EFA adoption brought substantial systemic and administrative reform to Cambodia. It was a breaking point where Cambodia involved for the first time in global discourses. The main discussions involving mid-level and higher management meetings assured that EFA mechanisms matched the Cambodian contexts and were feasible for implementation.

Nature of current primary education policy (2009-2013)

The current primary education policy was carefully discussed among the government of Cambodia and related international agencies: UNICEF, UNESCO, World Bank, ADB, and SIDA to tackle pressing educational issues (Kim, 2011, 498).

The works of the MOEYS aim to enroll all school-age children in primary school and promote them to the next educational level while providing quality primary education services (MOEYS, 2012b). To achieve these, the implementing agency has released an updated version of the current five-year Education Strategic Plan (ESP) 2009-2013 (ibid., 2009), which includes all elements of the policy. The goals of the current primary education policy centers in three areas:

- (1) *Ensuring equitable access to 'basic' and 'post-basic' education services* by (i) ensuring entry access of all six-year-old children into both early childhood education and primary school including unreached groups like those with disabilities, those from minority groups, and those in child labor, (ii) reducing parental cost barriers such as

informal payments, (iii) enhancing community/parental/private engagement in all stages of schooling especially commune councils to ensure long-term success, (iv) continuously building new schools as close as possible to residences and community learning centers or additional facilities to incomplete schools, and (v) increasing the number of scholarships (cash or food) for students from poor families, especially girls, in order to ensure their access to primary and secondary school, and ensuring support to better poverty/food security-targeted primary school feeding and grade 4-6 incentive programs (MOEYS, 2003a, 20; MOEYS, 2009a, 13).

(2) Improving the quality and efficiency of 'basic' education services by (i) reducing repetition and dropout rates at all grades, (ii) improving the quality of teaching and learning in all grades nationwide (sustained increases in non-wage operational spending targeted on instructional materials, libraries and laboratories, continuing to further develop the curriculum, increasing learning hours, enhancing teaching and management capacities, strengthening the teachers' code of conduct, improving schools' environment [supply of clean water and latrines], expanding vocational orientation, increasing teaching development, increasing the supply of teachers, providing houses to teachers and building dormitories for students in disadvantaged areas, especially girls), (iii) increasing all educational institutions' operational autonomy (expanding delegated authority to provinces and districts in planning and managing education services, developing legislative instruments) and accountability for operational budget and program decision-making (increasing quality monitoring and inspection of administration finance), and (iv) ensuring transparency and improving performance monitoring and accountability of primary teachers and schools (by strengthening preset and inset systems, and management training; linking them with career paths and promotion will enhance the motivation of teachers and

management staff [internal efficiency—e.g. increased progression, retention and transition rates]) (ibid.).

(3) Institutional and capacity development for educational staff for decentralization by strengthening education system performance monitoring and impact systems (re-structuring working procedures, increasing operational budgets to schools, training education officers at all levels in technical skills, the continued emphasis on public financial management, internal audit systems, planning, monitoring and evaluation systems will enhance institutional development and increase capacity to manage these systems) (ibid.).

Therefore, being a well-discussed policy declaration amongst multiple benefactors, the principle policy goals are: (i) equitable access, (ii) quality and efficiency, and (iii) institutional and capacity development for decentralization. If memory recalls, these are also the objectives from the existing global EFA and UPE initiatives. For this reason, the government of Cambodia adopts the EFA policy into its education system, and is on the path to achieving it by the year 2015. Every activity and operation relating to quality primary education policy has its answers pointing to the policy's sphere as stated above.

EFA Policy Implementation Issues and Challenges

The following section discusses the implementation issues and challenges using the Systems Framework.

Implementation: Inputs

Financial resources

The economic growth of Cambodia has been steadily increasing from 1998 to present as noted in Figure 4.1. It was due to the 1990s' political stability that allowed growth and enabled children to enroll in school. Cambodian gross domestic product reached a peak of

12.8 billion US\$ in 2011. From this amount, the government allocated a total budget of 254 million US\$ for education sector (1.97% of the GDP and 11.06% of the total government budget) (NIS, 2011; Ministry of Economics and Finance, 2011).

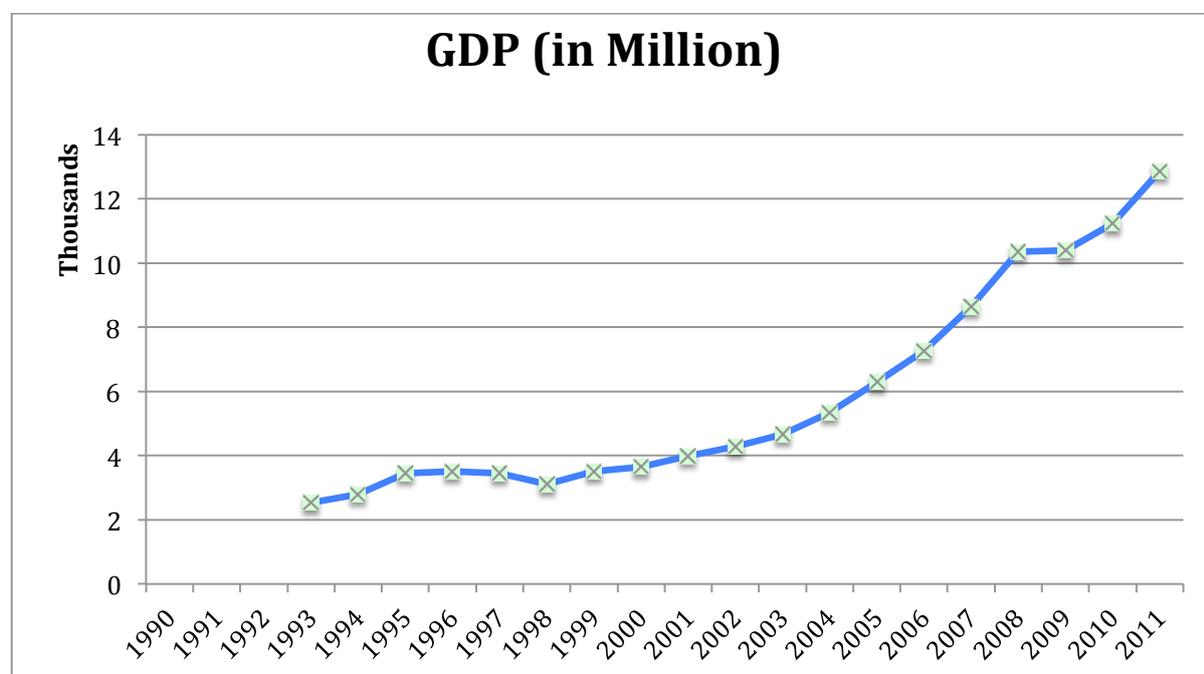


Figure 4.1. Cambodia's Gross Domestic Product 1990-2011

Source: World Bank Databank, 2012.

Between the 1980s and 1990s, there was no record of education's financial figures. However, changes could be noticed from 1998 when the government provided financial support from 1.3% to 2.6% of the GDP in 2010 (Table 4.1). The amount is relatively small considering education's importance in the poverty reduction efforts and its priority in the national rectangular strategies. Comparatively, Table 4.1 shows that this share is the smallest proportion in education sector among its neighboring nations.

Table 4.1 Public spending on education by countries, 1998-2010 (% of total GDP)

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Cambodia	1.3	1	1.7	1.7	1.7	-	1.7	-	-	1.6	-	-	2.6
Laos	-	1	1.5	2	2.7	-	2.3	2.4	2.9	3.1	2.3	-	3.3
Indonesia	-	-	-	2.5	2.6	3.2	2.7	2.9	3.6	3.5	2.8	3.5	3
Thailand	4.7	5	5.4	5	4.1	4	4.2	4.2	4.3	3.8	3.8	4.1	3.8
Vietnam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.3	-	-

Source: World Bank Databank, 2012.

In terms of the total government budget, the education sector received 10.2% in 1998 and 11.06% in 2011 (Table 4.2), almost one percent increase for thirteen years. This contribution indicates an opposite direction to the education for all efforts financially. As this budget is distributed further to pre-school, primary, secondary, tertiary, and higher education levels, a primary-level budget cut indicates financial difficulty in primary education. Evidently, Table 4.2 shows that the amount of financial support to primary level dropped drastically from 69.4% of the education budget in 1998 to 41.8% in 2010. This influences the current operational programs and support nationwide. Since the primary education recurrent budget supports teacher salary, school-based support programs including school clusters, and administrative works, it raised an issue of financial inadequacy in primary education.

Table 4.2 *Public spending on education and its expenditure in primary level by years (in %)*

	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Public spending (%)*	10.2	8.7	14.7	-	15	-	-	-	-	19.3	-	17	-
Educational expenditure in primary as % of total educational expenditure**	69.4	-	62.6	74.4	64.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	41.8

Source: *World Bank Databank, 2012; **UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2012.

Responses from key informants in the MOEYS gave a similar reaction on the indicator of financial resources, while other partners addressed concerns that stem from this issue (Table 4.3). From their points of view, with small budget for implementing the programs, it inevitably escalates to be multiple problems in the implementation process, including inadequate remuneration for personnel and school support programs.

Table 4.3 *Key-informant responses on financial inadequacy*

Informants	Responses
MOEYS	<p><i>“The truth is...primary education gets so little share of the whole national expenditure. Priority sector means priority in finance also, right?... I think it is because our nation is poor.”</i></p> <p><i>“Implementing education programs needs millions of dollar; we are lucky that we get</i></p>

	<i>grants and assistance from the outside...it is impossible to carry it out alone using government's budget."</i>
World Education	<i>"Although our budget is not related to the government's spending, I see there are significant inadequacies in the education system especially teacher salary...my co-workers at the MOEYS also mentioned to you the same thing, I believe."</i>
UNESCO	<i>"My concern is the problems that will occur in the near future as a consequence of the low financing. It affects government's support in PAP, school support, salary, and more."</i>
KAPE	<i>"The government should revise their strategy in financing especially for teachers and other admin staffs...workforce is the backbone of this effort; we do not want to weaken the bone, right?"</i>
NEP Cambodia	<i>No answer</i>
Save the Children Norway	<i>No answer</i>
VSO Cambodia	<i>No answer</i>

As for perceptions of the local community, Table 4.4 indicates that the local authorities expressed a similar issue regarding remuneration for educational personnel, while Table 4.5 expresses insufficiencies in terms of tools and facilities which result from inadequate school support budget. The educational authorities strive for sufficiency of basic needs and school support in the context of rural Siem Reap, which linger as barriers in the policy implementation.

Table 4.4 *Local responses on financial resources*

Informants	Responses
Principal 1	<i>"I think logically the salary for teachers like myself should be raised because of commodities are expensive along with accommodation in remote areas like this one."</i>
Teacher 1	<i>"I worry about my living with low salary. I need to do motor-taxi during the weekend for extra income..."</i>
Teacher 2	<i>"In terms of income, I can say there would be many ways to generate if I taught in the city; kids have money to hire private tutors. But here in such rural area, their families have no money to do that."</i>
Teacher 3	<i>No answer</i>
District education officer 1	<i>"As you may know, public servant job cannot earn much..."</i>
District education officer 2	<i>"I do not think about my salary; my work gets more interesting when there are projects co-operated with other donors. The per diem from them is more than my monthly salary."</i>

Table 4.5 *Local responses on school support insufficiencies*

Informants	Responses
Principal 2	<i>“The school support is more important than my compensation as an educator. It is difficult to manage this school without proper facilities and equipment. I think it is because we are in rural area and receive less attention from the central (MOEYS)...”</i>
Teacher 4	<i>“The school has insufficient tools for teachers to use. We teach by using the limited equipment available; almost half of them were donated by contributors.”</i>
Plan Cambodia	<i>“...from our idea, elementary schools in this village need to be well-equipped with playground and child-friendly facilities. For 15 years of work in this area, Plan sees no major development in school building regardless of how big or small budget from the government. There is no difference for these schools. The money does not drop to the local level as they should be.”</i>

In the systems framework, financial resource is an important implementation input to support other processes throughout the systems. Its insufficiency posts a serious threat to related operations that depend solely on government’s budgeting share. As the implementers concern, this issue crumbles the structure of action plans that have been laid out for the policy areas and creates limitation in the implementation.

Human resources

The pace of human resource development in primary education sector has increased. Figure 4.2 shows that the numbers of both teachers and non-teaching staffs have increased gradually from 13,619 in 1979 to 41,261 in 1989. The increase was due to the recovery of primary education in the Rehabilitation Period. However, their competencies were not well trained. After adopting the EFA, the number of staffs in 24 provinces/municipalities has grown from 40,014 in 1990 to 56,344 in 2011. In 2005, the increase stopped and the number stayed at the current level. This was because of retirement of senior officials from the Rehabilitation Period. The figure also indicates that the change of staffs in the 1980s is larger than the one after the adoption of EFA. It means there were more staffs that joined the workforce in the 1980s than after 1990. However, this trend does not mean that staff development receives less concern after EFA adoption. It is simply due to the fact that the

economy could only support the current workforce. In contrary there are more attentions to educational personnel’s capacity building in recent years.

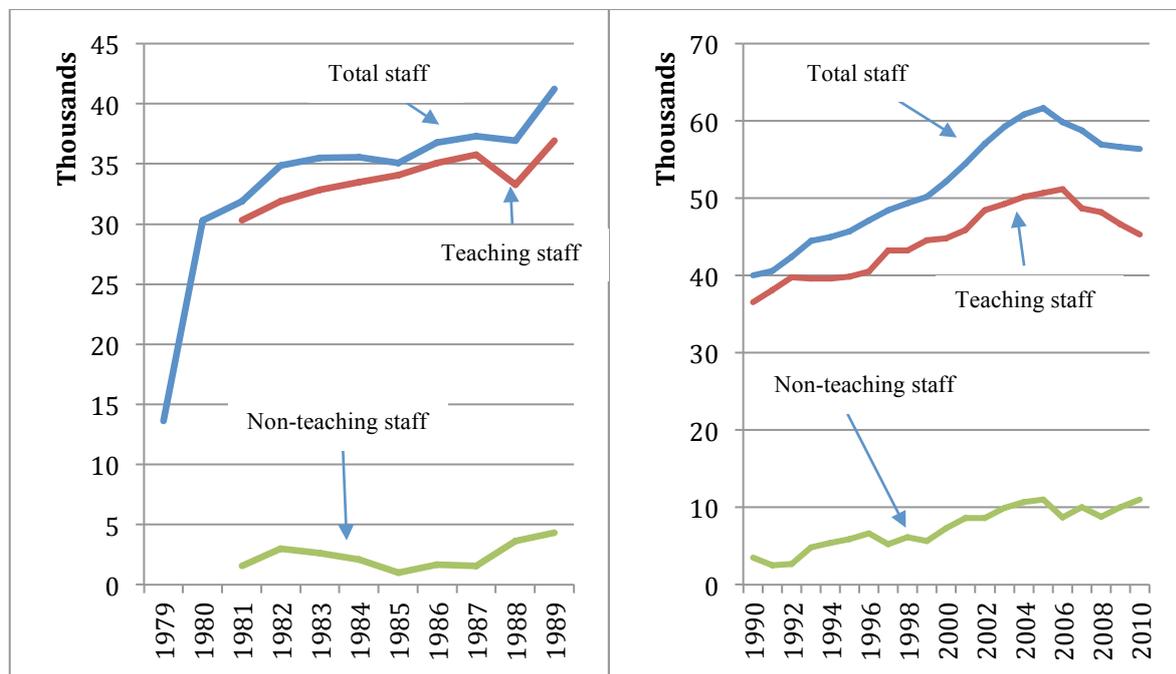


Figure 4.2. Total staffs (teaching & non-teaching), 1979-1990 (left) and 1990-Present (right)

Source: MOEYS, 2012a, 58; UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2012.

Specific changes and issues related to human resources are as follow.

Teachers and non-teaching staffs

Primary school teachers have been recruited and trained through teaching and learning development program for teachers. There are 25 teacher training centers (TTCs) across Cambodia (Pre-school TTCs, Provincial TTCs, Regional TTCs, and resource centers). The qualification to apply for primary school teaching positions requires the candidates to have prior education background of basic education in minimum (nine years of formal education). The procedure of recruitment intake starts with a national designated examination for all applicants. Successful candidates are then interviewed by the examination committee. Teacher trainees who pass all stages of the examination will undergo two-year training at the

TTCs in order to be awarded completion diploma and teaching license. After graduation, they are assigned to respective posts by the MOEYS.

After the EFA adoption there were two major changes for teachers. First, there was a change in teaching approaches. Before, teachers were trained using teacher-centered approach during the 1980s. This method gave tremendous concentration on the teachers. The teacher-centered pedagogy heavily emphasized giving complete control over the classroom to teachers. It means that teachers exercise discipline and arrange strict class layout. Teachers' personality also affects the environment of the room. If teachers' competence is limited, it also affects the students' learning capacity. However, after the adoption of EFA, this approach was replaced by the student-centered, or learner-centered method. This pedagogy allows students to be at the center of the class. Typically, it allows active interaction among students, and room layout to fit this environment. Class dynamics are activities between students, while teacher's role is to coach and facilitate. In order to strengthen teacher's capacity, various short-term technical trainings and new modules have been developed at TTCs. Table 4.6 shows that from 2001 there have been more than 95% of trained teachers (teachers who received trainings during pre-service and in-service) working at schools. Second, as teaching approaches changed, the primary education system was also reformed. In 1996, the socialist 5-grade system was replaced by the current 6-grade set up. It gives children more time to prepare themselves at primary level for the next educational levels.

Table 4.6 *Trained teachers at primary level (in %)*

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Total trained teacher (%)	96	96	95	97	98	98	98	98	99	99

Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2012; World Bank Databank, 2012.

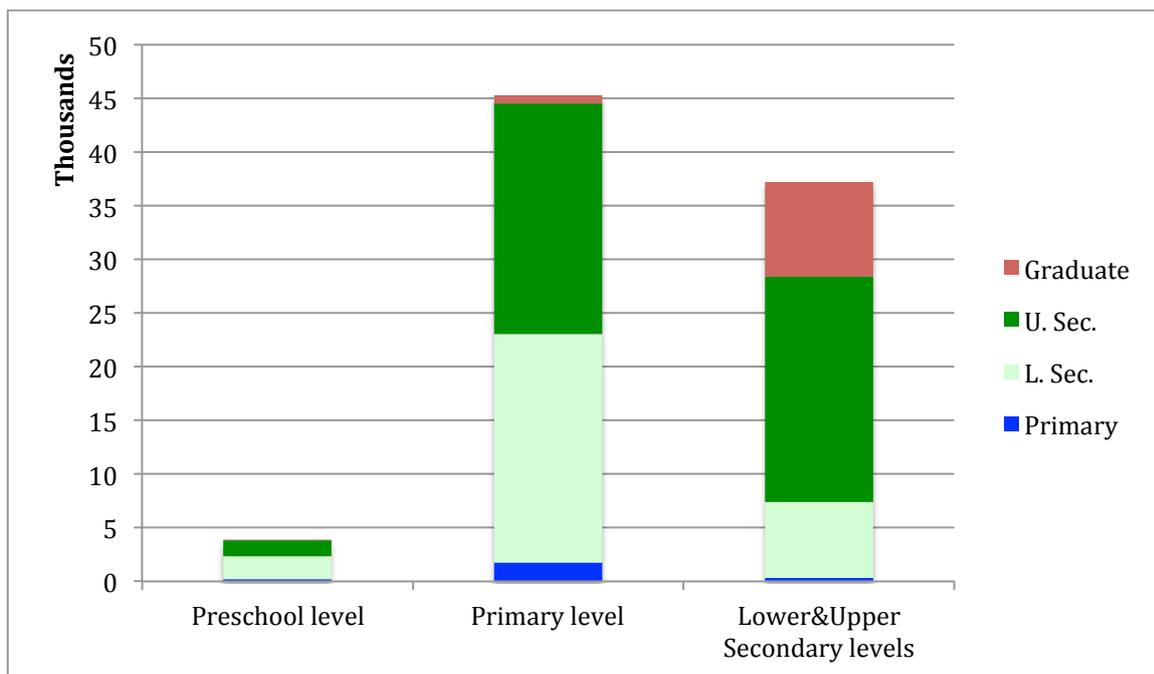


Figure 4.3. Education profiles of teachers as of 2010

Source: MOEYS 2012a, 25.

Teachers have three (3) issues with the number of enrolled students (this point will be discussed in *Student Enrollment* section), education background, and compensation. Figure 4.3 illustrates education profile of teachers. It shows that in 2010 there were 45,296 teachers. Among these, there were 1,761 who finished primary school, 21,318 who finished lower secondary school, 21,451 who completed upper secondary school, and only 766 teachers graduated from higher education. More than 95% of teachers completed only secondary education. Approximately 79%¹⁰ of them are from rural areas. This implies that many primary school teachers are from rural areas with the highest education profile at high school diploma and lower. With this limitation, these teachers demand additional training and capacity building to teach using modernized curriculum and materials. Financial compensation is considered low in the form of salary grade¹¹ and bonus system. Among all

¹⁰ The author's calculation.

¹¹ Salary-grade (phase) refers to a status system of basic monthly salary that public servants receive in their working position, depending on level, rank and grade of servicing. (See a detailed list of Public Servant Salary Distribution in Appendix E).

public servants, educational staffs at primary education receive the lowest salary level (Level C). In this case, teachers are no exception. For instance, the salary of the highest ranked officials (Rank C1, Grade 1)¹² is considered low compared to income per day (80US\$/month; 2.8US\$ a day), while salary of the lowest ranked educational staffs (Rank C3, Grade 14)¹³ is 46US\$ per month (1.5US\$ a day). Using the World Bank's poverty index at 2US\$ a day, most of the staffs receive compensation below the poverty line.

Non-teaching staffs accounted for 2,975 in 1982 and 4,331 in 1989 (Figure 4.2). After adopting EFA, the trend was increasing enormously, having 3,481 staffs in 1990 and 11,048 in 2010. This number represents non-teaching staffs at school level. At higher levels, the number accounted for 1,784 in provincial education service, and 2,234 in district education office (MOEYS, 2012a, 30). Hence, a total of 15,066 staffs represent the non-teaching workforce from top to bottom. There were two issues for non-teaching staffs. The first issue challenged with low compensation for staffs at school level. As 73.3% of them work at schools, they receive the same pay grade as teachers. Personnel working at the central, provincial and district offices receive higher pay grades according to rank level and status (e.g. Rank level A and B). The second issue was concerned with autonomy of the staffs in planning and decision-making tasks. The indecision-making is hindered by lack of authority. Although decentralization is being promoted, the unchanged organizational structure remains centralized after the Rehabilitation Period (Please see the detailed causal relation in *Assigning Responsibilities to the MOEYS Structure* section).

Feedback from the Department of Primary Education's officials also showed negative reflections on financial compensation for educational staffs (Table 4.7). This results in an imbalance of full-time public servants' responsibility and inadequate livelihood. Responses

¹² Salary for public servant in Rank C1, Grade 1: $1260 \times 262 = 330,120$ Riels (80US\$/month; 2.8US\$ per day).

¹³ Rank C3 and Grade 14: $1260 \times 150 = 189,000$ Riels (46\$/month; 1.5US\$ a day).

from other partners also justify the effect of financial issue on the education system and children.

Table 4.7 *Key-informant responses on human resource issues*

Informants	Responses
MOEYS	<p><i>“The government has a will to carry out education for all, but it has not provided the kind of commitment in money, or incentives...especially primary school teachers get very low compensation in their work as public servants, even lesser than a garment factory worker...”</i></p> <p><i>“All educational staffs are the lowest public officials [both teaching and non-teaching] who received the same salary grade... Limited salary could not support their livelihood.”</i></p>
UNESCO	<p><i>“...most misconduct cases happened in Phnom Penh in forms of rooted corruption like bribery. Students and parents want good score on each semester so that they can receive better grades in the study record.”</i></p> <p><i>“...both involved teachers and admin staffs work together and share the benefit; it’s safer this way...no report of breaking the rules”</i></p>
World Education	<p><i>“The MOEYS has several thousands of personnel that our organization needs to provide trainings, especially those coming from rural areas; the TTCs there are not as good as those centers in the city.”</i></p> <p><i>“They [teachers] did it because of livelihood issues.”</i></p>
KAPE	<p><i>“KAPE provides support to teachers at 7 provinces in order to reduce burden in livelihood at such rural places.”</i></p>
NEP Cambodia	<p><i>“We live in an unfair society. Income and expense are not equally given and taken. Let us look deeper into daily expenses; can you tell me how an elementary school teacher with 60US\$ monthly salary could survive with gas, 1.4US\$/liter, and electricity, 0.75US\$/kwh? Maybe he can in the city, what about rural areas? This is truly unacceptable considering purchasing power parity with other developed countries.”</i></p>
Save the Children Norway	<p><i>“Some sells food in class, some teaches in-house extra curriculum for income, and some do motor-taxi...you can imagine, rising gas prices, foods, utility, and clothing...what is to choose, will or stomach?”</i></p>
VSO Cambodia	<p><i>“[Some] teachers force student to pay or buy something in-class...if not, when other children report their parents, teachers threaten them...there are cases which teachers use violence to children if refused to pay, it is a severe issue.”</i></p>

Due to this circumstance, it leads to teacher profession and bureau misconducts. The MOEYS controls this situation by regulating two types of punishments for misconduct: indefinite and temporary measures. As quoted from the Director of the DPE,

“We [the ministry] have enough regulations and penalty for teachers when found misconduct with children or their parents. We follow up and get the issue under control; there’s no worry. The most severe punishment is indefinite suspension; the lowest is suspension for six months.”

The forms of misconduct are corruption, bribery, blackmailing, violence and selling snacks in the classrooms. These are serious issues expressed by the non-state actors, which

resulted in corrupted education system and lack of quality in the education services. Bribing for good score, absence, and grade promotion are examples of misconduct. Identified by the key informants who responded to the issues, misconduct is seen as a daily routine in classrooms for teachers to earn an extra income to meet basic needs. This also concerns with non-teaching staffs when they work together with teachers. At local level, perceptions about remuneration are highly concerned from individual characters of each profession (Table 4.8). Regardless of their positions, all respondents replied with an identical difficulty in terms of salary. Nonetheless, profession and bureau misconducts are not disregarded, and shall be punishable by the ministry’s regulations. As a principal asserted, *“Yes, I believe there are cases like this in schools. However, if such cases happen in my school, I will not tolerate easily.”*

Table 4.8 *Local responses on remuneration*

Informants	Responses
Principal 1	<i>“...it relates to the problem of low remuneration. I do not know, perhaps our state is poor.”</i>
Teacher 1	<i>“I worry about my living with low salary. I need to do motor-taxi during the weekend for extra income...”</i>
Teacher 2	<i>“My salary is little compared to other civil servants.”</i>
Teacher 3	<i>“In terms of income, I can say there would be many ways to generate if I taught in the city; kids have money to hire private tutors. But here in such rural area, their families have no money to do that. Farming is the only option left.”</i>
Teacher 4	<i>“Yes we have little income from teaching. If possible, I want to leave for the city for more income opportunities like tutoring, selling stuffs in the class, selling grocery and more.”</i>
District education officer 1	<i>“Public servant job do not earn much...”</i>
District education officer 2	<i>“I do not think about my salary; my work gets more interesting when there are projects co-operated with other donors. The per diem from them is more than my monthly salary.”</i>
Plan Cambodia	<i>“Human resource is a major school input. However, the compensation is not equally provided to them. Local educational personnel should be motivated more than anyone else as they are facing children and their personal issues directly every single day. Financial motivation should be fairly offered.”</i>

In the systems framework, human resource is also a major input for implementation. In particular, capacity and commitment of personnel are major drivers. The imbalance of work and compensation could erode motivation and commitment of the public workforce

when low education profile struggles for longer training period and delay of work. It produces an unsustainable human resource management for the implementing agency. In the context of Cambodia, compensation is a critical pushing factor for ones to work properly and effectively, and it also motivates and maintains the course of the implementation from deviation. With issues and challenges in human resources, the institution creating rules and regulations in this practice allows its workforce to be corrupted and ineffectiveness at work.

Political will and support

During the Rehabilitation Period, the government placed emphasis on infrastructure development in support of economic development than education programs, as there was no proper law, rule, regulation, and clear strategy. In the 1990s, the government showed strong political will in written statements by adopting the Education For All principles into its policy. However, in reality it contributes limited financial support to the sector. This is shown by the above discussion comparing a share of the GDP against its neighboring countries who also ratified the EFA initiative in 1990. The drop of primary education share to 41.8% in 2010 also explains the low commitment. At that moment, higher commitment has been noticed and given to the national defense politically and financially. The government shifted the policy priority as it was recalled that there were several political tensions and military clashes between Cambodia and Thailand over the sovereignty and border conflict of the Hindu's Preah Vihear Temple at the time. Needless to say, the immediate shift from social issues such as primary education to other political attentions by policymakers simply indicates lack of political will and unsustainable financial flow in the education sector. Consequently, the decrease influences the entire educational operations nationwide.

External support/linkages

In terms of political support, the government tended to welcome and support donors from Socialist states such as Vietnam, Cuba, and the former Soviet Union before the EFA

adoption. There were unclear financially calculated data of the development assistance comparing to developmental aids received after 1990 due to most of the reliefs were non-monetary supplies (such as notebook, pencil, class inventory, chalk, blackboard, and typewriter) provided by these particular donors.

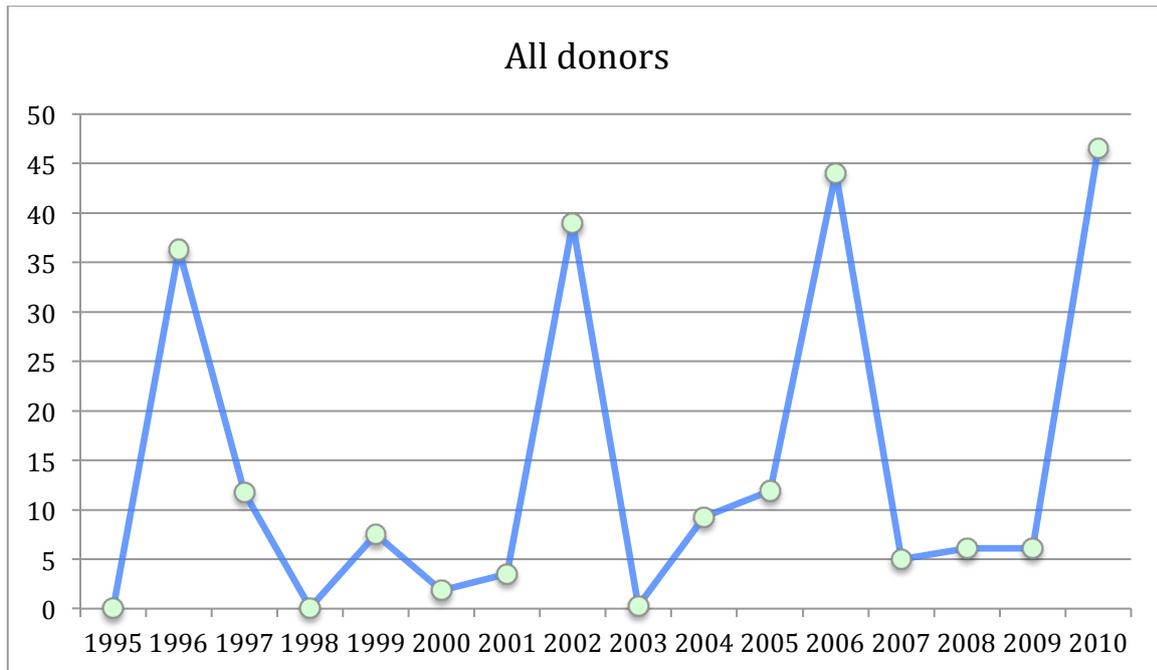


Figure 4.4. Official developmental aids for primary education 1995-2010

Source: OECD Statistics Center, 2012. Unit: Million US\$.

After adopting EFA, the government changed its attitude and opened up support to all international assistance for primary education, its policy and administrative cooperation, and teacher training. Figure 4.4 shows the amount of official developmental aids (ODA) provided by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) and multilateral donors marked by years. This graph does not show all financial support from other international organizations. It only indicates the trends of financial commitment by donors after EFA adoption (refer to Appendix F for detailed ODA breakdown). Large funding is noticed in 1996, in 2002, in 2006 and in 2010. These peaks represented the beginning and the end of certain projects when blocks of fund were agreed upon and approved in the coming sequent years. The

appendix also shows that in the last 15 years most financial support was contributed by multilateral donors, namely ADB Special Fund, UNICEF, and European Union (EU) Institutions, while the largest bilateral contributors from DAC members were Japan and Sweden. In recent years, with the government's political support, these ODA are being used as grant-based projects, school buildings, teacher trainings, book publishing, curriculum reforms, and administrative supplies.

These program and project-based grants have supported the EFA policy implementation toward its designated date in 2015. The degree of commitment is shown in the level of participation in the creation of program mechanisms, joint leadership, and action plan execution. For instance, Child Friendly School program is a product of a joint effort of the MOEYS (state) and a group of donors (non-state) to create a friendly school environment for all children. This non-state group consists of UNICEF, UNESCO, Kampuchean Action for Primary Education (KAPE), Save the Children Norway (SCN), CARE, VSO Cambodia, PLAN International, Social Services of Cambodia, and PEPY (Protect the Earth, Protect Yourself—an international NGO). Three partners (UNICEF, SCN, and KAPE) have involved and supported this program financially and operationally in different areas. Their responsibilities include action planning, activity and campaign design, financial subsidy, material supply, and operation risk management. This is an example of external linkages between the government of Cambodia and other donors.

Likewise, key informants provide further points of view regarding external support expressing benefits (Table 4.9). It includes contributing to the implementation, supporting programs and projects, and carrying out educational reforms. Inarguably, the ministry accepted the government's limitations, and recognized the major role of its partners in primary education development. The DPE officials said:

“The government has a will to carry out education for all, but it has not provided the kind of commitment in money, or incentives.”

“The national recurrent budget is not sufficient for the implementation nationwide...it could only cover operations in a small scale.”

“Without our partners, the current achievement could be justified alone. Contribution from outsiders is critically important.”

Table 4.9 Key-informant responses on benefits of external support

Informants	Responses
MOEYS	<i>“...it is concise that the government’s budget address school building and development, as donors’ shares fulfill many gaps within ourselves, from the ministry’s administration, capacity building, teacher training, and others.”</i>
UNESCO	<i>“We could contribute whatever we can. It is our job to help the Cambodian government in curriculum design and book printing.”</i>
World Education	<i>No answer</i>
KAPE	<i>“...in order to provide education service effectively, KAPE conducts a parallel project to support more than 300 schools in 7 provinces. It is a good start as our grant will scale up the project next year and we also have child friendly program.”</i>
NEP Cambodia	<i>“My partner members are willing to join forces and support the ministry of education, youth and sport in any ways we could; at the moment there is a training exercise for teachers at TTCs in Phnom Penh and next month a seminar for department directs is on the way (capacity building)”</i>
Save the Children Norway	<i>“Since SCN’s involvement in children affaires in Cambodia, education has been a priority. We tend to operate simultaneously across disciplines like health and child protection. CFS program is a good example of a holistic approach.”</i>
VSO Cambodia	<i>“VSO came as a partner...There are several projects being implemented with the ministry such as good governance, decentralization process, and technical support.”</i>

From the local perspectives, Table 4.10 shows that external linkage is crucial for both the schools and students. Not only has it contributed to the local primary schools, but also motivated children to attend school. The external support includes enrolment campaigns, scholarship provision, poorest family’s support, food for education, livelihood training for adult, school development, well and latrine building, and material supply. These activities reveal a high degree of support by Plan Cambodia and its partners in the village for education.

Table 4.10 *Local responses on Plan Cambodia's involvement*

Informants	Responses
Principal 1	<i>"Plan Cambodia is not only an NGO; it is a part of our community now."</i>
Principal 2	<i>"There are so many contributions offered by Plan Cambodia to the village. Our school also receives equipment regularly."</i>
Teacher 1	<i>"There are enrolment campaigns at the beginning of the study year led by Plan who provides needed materials."</i>
Teacher 2	<i>"Our government lacks of resources so it has to depend on others."</i>
Teacher 3	<i>"The NGO has helped the village in many ways...not only in education. The villagers could receive trainings about income generating activities. This organization is willing to offer loans to farmers as well in order to start up."</i>
Teacher 4	<i>"Students are motivated by food provision...there are scholarship for outstanding students who could not afford related costs."</i>
District education officer 1	<i>"We have received several helps from Plan Cambodia at district level. There is no doubt we could achieve so much."</i>
District education officer 2	<i>"I also have the same idea with my co-worker. NGO involvement in our district has brought positive changes in education development."</i>
Plan Cambodia	<i>"Not only is our goal targeting education but poverty reduction in general. With clear action plan, education for children relates to many things at village level, like family income and survival, children motivation, incompetency, children health, and facility development."</i>

In the systems framework, political will is a decisive factor for input in order to achieve an objective. The state has the ultimate power, and obligation, to address educational issues by implementing the stated policy. However, when the focus shifts in favor to other political issues, the degree of willingness proves otherwise. Moreover, there is another important factor, which is external linkage with other partners constituting an inseparable relationship between the state and non-state. Evidently, as shown above, external support is the other implementation input with which the government of Cambodia could not have walked this path alone.

Implementation: Conversion

The conversion process involves: (i) Assigning responsibilities to implementing agency's structure, (ii) coordination within the MOEYS, (iii) allocation of resources, (iv) strategies, and (v) networking and inter-organizational relations.

(i) Assigning responsibilities to the MOEYS structure

Organizationally, before 1990, the ministry allocated educational personnel according to their positions and status in the organizational structure (Figure 4.5). Using an authoritarian system, the MOEYS oversaw overall activities of education in Cambodia including rule and regulation creation. The department of primary education (DPE) was the second level of the authority that controlled staffing and created action plans for primary education. The power further stretched to provincial departments of education to implement those plans assigned by higher levels. The provincial departments designated and applied these orders to district offices. Finally, the district offices managed primary schools according to their administrative boundaries. This structure of top-down hierarchy was a holistic picture of primary education practices from central to school level.

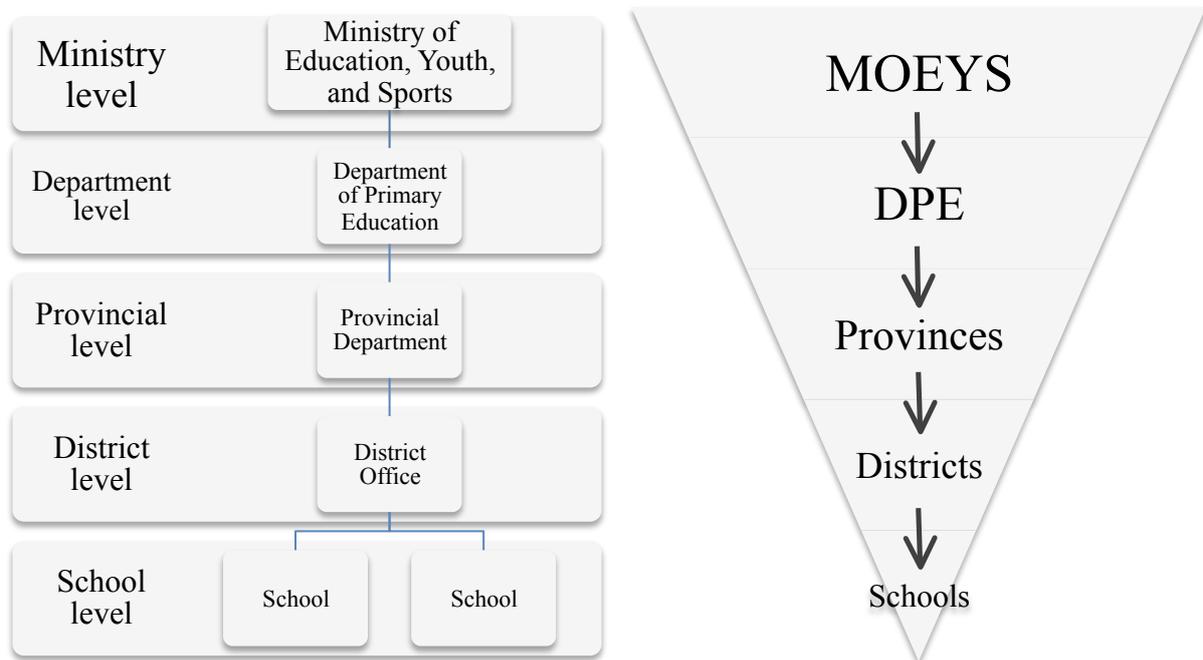


Figure 4.5. Top-down structural levels of the MOEYS

After the adoption of EFA, the organizational structure remains as a backbone model to manage staffing, allocate resources, and give ‘veto-points’ for the direction in the policy implementation. Although the education system changed in the mid 1990s, this structure

remains and continues its role to guide management and leadership affairs. The Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sport is still the only educational authority in Cambodia designating assignments and tasks to sub-national levels (Figure 4.5). For this respect, an internal analysis of the MOEYS's organizational forms is crucial to understand not only the implementing agency's strengths and weaknesses, but also its ways of organizing (Peck and 6, 2006). The ways of organizing decide the characteristics of an organization, and how it operates, manages, and controls power. In the case of the MOEYS, identifying the organizational forms is relevant for the purpose of understanding changes in operation, management and control.

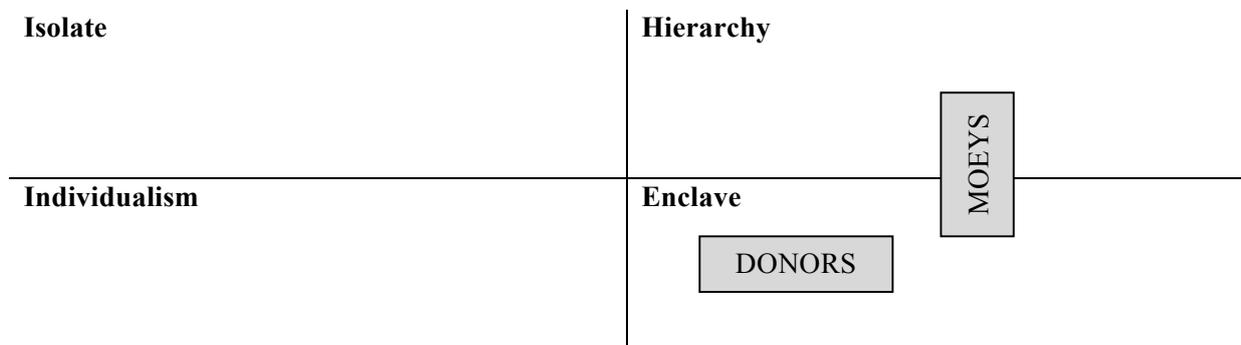


Figure 4.6. The organizational forms of the MOEYS (based on Douglas, 1982)

The implementing agency falls into two of the four organizational forms (Figure 4.6). Being a structural and central authority responsible for the entire operations classifies the MOEYS into 'hierarchy' form of organization. Each rank has its place and roles to function in the education system. Social ties among participants in the system are run vertically, from the central agency to provincial and district levels, giving a systemic rule-based authorization, which generates status and power. It could be justified when the old structure of organization remains unchanged, which gives the same authority and power to officials through rank and status. Historically, the hierarchical institution is a result of the country's long past. After Pol Pot regime, Cambodian human capital had been weakened, and

developed slowly. Under the influence of its savior, Vietnam, Cambodia took a communist-led path during the Rehabilitation Period. The Socialist State of Cambodia exacerbated the progress of education development by exercising a top-down centralized power control. This prevented liberation and freedom of thoughts for public officials. After transforming to a democratic state in 1993, a dilemma of centralized and decentralized control exists. Therefore, the public officials challenge with the dual ideologies of communism and democracy at workplace. As democratic knowledge came later, promoting decentralization was an effort inevitably obstructed by the structural hierarchy.

As the ministry is working closely with other donors and international organizations, a group or club of implementers is created. In this notion, ‘enclave’ is the second type of organizational form of the MOEYS indicating a collective of specialized agencies (donor groups) that holds together with shared commitments to one principle, primary education for all. This type of form supports the MOEYS’s weak leadership and limited resources. The absolute authority of the MOEYS is deliberately weakened by the joint venture with others and shared, if not equally, to its partners in order to carry out the implementation. They are under collective surveillance either to praise or criticize these actions. Hence, the central agency has a choice with regards to the roles it plays in the network, namely, to try to manage in the traditional sense through central oversight (among officials), or to become a network member and manage through a form of governance, which induces actors to cooperate (which steers the network toward joint problem-solving and further policy development).

Evidently, the key informants provide various responses toward organizational forms. Table 4.11 indicates points of view of the key informants from the MOEYS, showing positive comments toward the current organizational structure, while Table 4.12 details various criticisms about it. As the government’s officials described the usefulness of keeping the structure for effective management and control, its non-state counterparts particularly

criticize the organizational structure for responsibility as highly centralized with weaknesses, and would endanger the process of implementation due to the policy's decentralized nature.

Table 4.11 *Responses from the MOEYS on its organizational forms*

Informants	Responses
MOEYS	<p><i>"After adopting the education for all, the ministry keep the same managerial structure from top to bottom as our officials below [provincial, district, and school] are under control from central, and they are familiar with the job."</i></p> <p><i>"This structure is good for managing and controlling subordinates. It has always been our ways of assigning work and delivering regulations."</i></p> <p><i>"my office carries out our responsibilities and makes action plans and consults with donors...my subordinates manage the allocation of these tasks to provincial departments of education nationwide, all are done hierarchically."</i></p>

Table 4.12 *Responses from non-state informants on the organizational forms*

Informants	Responses
UNESCO	<i>"Powerful forces either from group or individual drive decisive influence toward lower officials; Let's look at the interference of politicians to the process of implementation nowadays...one statement he says, the next morning our well-planned mechanisms disappear..."</i>
World Education	<i>No answer</i>
KAPE	<i>"...no one at sub-national levels could tell that the regulation and rules enacted by them [MOEYS] are working in the contexts and circumstances of each community. It just doesn't make sense to them...we try to build a pool of knowledge for these local officers so that they can be empowered."</i>
NEP Cambodia	<p><i>"I think the ministry's organizational structure gives itself a weakness in the implementation process...it tries to decentralize the system but at the same time manage and supervise through the top-down authoritarianism instead, especially at local levels."</i></p> <p><i>"...a group of district offices get the memo and follow orders, the only notice they give to the local levels is that this is from the ministry...don't you think it's a one-way implementation of what the top wants?"</i></p>
Save the Children Norway	<i>"When a Prakas (public notice) is enacted by the ministry [MOEYS] and passed down to all provincial department for use, these officials have no consent about it and what for...they should be the one creating their own rules for schools in their respective provinces...it is not how a decision from a top down method takes place in a decentralized institution."</i>
VSO Cambodia	<i>"It is in the ministry advantage to implement action plans in their own fashion. They could get the job done, nonetheless. I give credit to them. We are just helpers."</i>

There were similar responses from the locals in terms of both organizational forms. Highly centralized authority is absolute and imposed from higher levels giving less veto-point to the district and provincial levels. Table 4.13 indicates responses to justify the findings. School and district personnel are obligated to follow directives.

Table 4.13 *Local responses on the MOEYS organizational forms*

Informants	Responses
Principal 1	<i>"The ministry knows everything across the nation as they are the central authority. We are just schools."</i>
Principal 2	<i>"Of course I would like to plan better for my school. However, I need permission from the district office to modify something here. It is not the school's decision."</i>
Teacher 1	<i>"...Our school lacks of financial resources. We get only what is provided by higher levels...I believe provincial level could not decide either."</i>
Teacher 2	<i>"My status as a teacher is not allowed to make these kinds of big decision. Let higher levels do this."</i>
Teacher 3	<i>"I have no objection about the ministry making plans and rules for us. But I have a concern that whether it really knows what this particular school needs and the issues to be solved."</i>
Teacher 4	<i>"The central authority is ultimate. They are more educated than us at village level."</i>
District education officer 1	<i>"As a civil servant, it is a must to follow orders in our designated role and duties. We have no time in thinking about whether those directives are good or not. I believe the central has already discussed and carefully planned them."</i>
District education officer 2	<i>"Yes, the structure of management and control is clear from top to bottom. Subordinate obeys and complies with higher officials' decisions. It has always been this way. We cannot change it."</i>
Plan Cambodia	<i>"It is embedded in Khmer norm to respect senior officers a long time ago...but for progress, there need to be changes in the ways of thinking. Although they are only low level public servants, but they are a direct workforce that drive changes for the society. What could others do without these village level staffs? I think it is time to put the decentralization in place and let them plan or decide for their wellness in the community."</i>

In the systems framework, organizational forms play a major role in the process of assigning responsibilities to educational personnel in the organizational structure. These forms determine the characteristics of how and why the implementing organization approaches certain policy implementation. Likewise, in this particular case, the MOEYS struggles for authoritarian system that gives power to status designated in the top-down structure. As power stays with the central authority, the local levels are not entirely empowered. For instance, the ministry regulates notices and announcements for educational institutions in the hierarchical form. Lower levels could not disregard the authority either it is applicable or not. The autonomous concept of decision-making truly disappears with this form of organizing. The local levels are under the influence of the hierarchical coercion directly, from provinces to districts, and from districts to schools. This issue would defeat the purpose of the EFA policy stating to improve decentralization by developing institution and

capacity. Political interference from influential forces (individual and group) also leads to decentralization issue. Obstacles remain in the education system as local levels and public interest groups are not entirely independent and empowered. The politics of decentralization are influenced largely by a tyranny of the leaders. This gives more weaknesses than strengths to the MOEYS in the process of decentralizing power to street level bureaucrats.

Organizational structure of the implementing organization

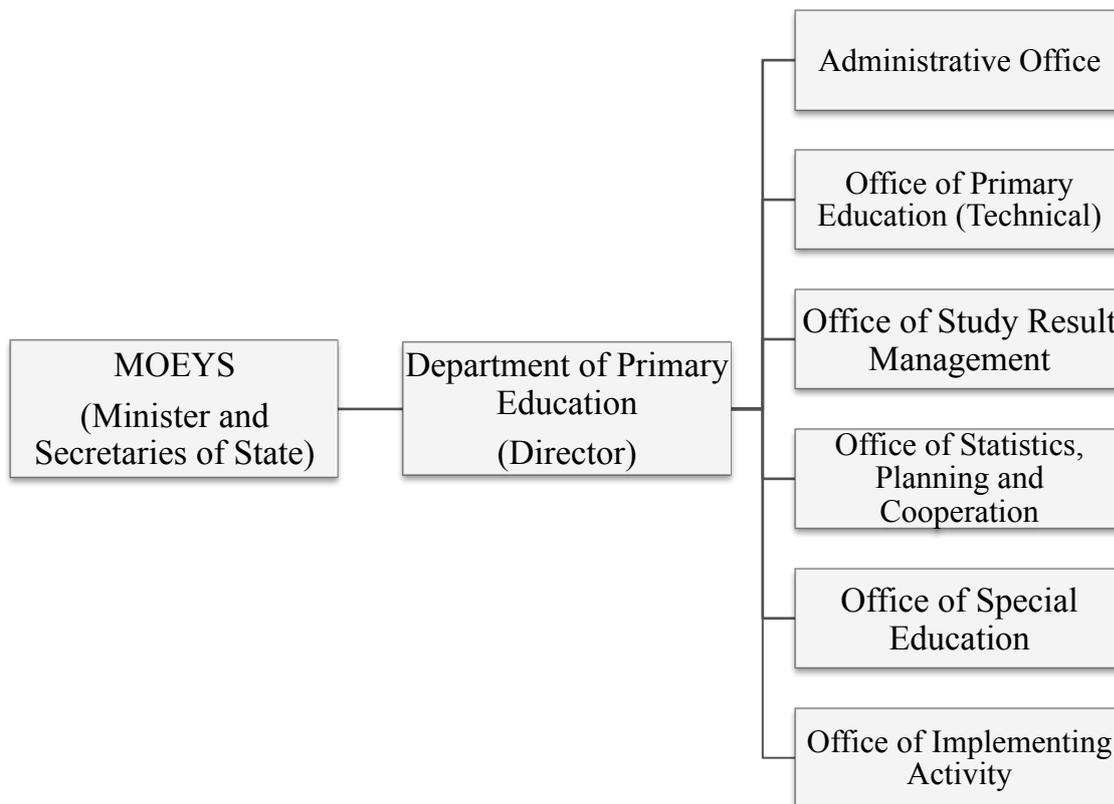


Figure 4.7. Organization of the central authority

The Department of Primary Education (DPE) is a specialized and existing governmental body responsible for primary education sector nationwide. This department is being entrusted with full authorities/power to plan and execute programs and projects. It monitors activities administratively, financially, managerially, and institutionally across all 24 provinces/municipalities. This creates a network of sub-national authorities under the mandate of the DPE. The DPE has six (6) specialized offices: Administration; Primary

Education (formerly called “Technical Office”); Study Result Management; Statistics, Planning and Cooperation; Special Education; and Implementing Activity Office. How these offices are organized reveals organizational implementation behaviors that also determine the effect on implementation results (See Winter, 1990). With several specialized offices, the DPE is a governing body that monitors small and big-scale action plans (Figure 4.7).

Top-down approaches for policy implementation have been widely used throughout the hierarchical organization. This practice uses hierarchical system institutionally and administratively. This is due to the fact that EFA goals and objectives are clearly defined (Ham and Hill, 1993). The work of frontline officers (hereafter, local officials) was interfered and imposed largely by the central government. Figure 4.7 reveals that the implementing body comprises of high-ranking governmental officials. The head is the current minister, followed by three secretaries of state. These are leadership rankings. Direct engagement with the execution of plans and implementations is carried out by the rank of the DPE director who monitors and manages all activities performed by the six offices. At this level, the organization makes implementation plans, creates rules and strategies, and assigns responsibilities to lower levels. The six offices carry out respective assignments, and have an obligation to report results of the policy implementation to the director. These offices control operations and disseminate rules/regulations to provincial levels who continue to spread the effects further into district and school levels. In this regard, officials from the sub-national levels receive responsibilities from the central authority, and are obligated to assure the operations are carried out correctly. As discussed above, decentralization and autonomy are not truly provided to the local bureaucrats in terms of planning and decision-making as stated in the policy’s document.

(ii) Coordination within the MOEYS

Coordination among educational bureaucrats largely involves communications in the organizational structure vertically and horizontally. Coordination between these officials uses memorandums and public notices (Prakas) as two mechanisms of communication to implement the policy without conflicts and delays. Firstly, memorandums are prepared at the ministry level as national policy memorandums regulating all personnel to perform their responsibilities. For instance, higher ranked officials have a responsibility to create and assign particular works to lower subordinates, and lower ranked officers are responsible for performing these tasks when receiving the assignments. In this way, communication is made vertically. Public notices are issued at the department level to share understanding and assist each other, if needed, at provincial, district, and school levels. Communication is carried out horizontally within departments, divisions, and sections. This type of coordination within the MOEYS was not seen in the organizational structure during the 1980s. This change of behavior in coordination constitutes a positive asset in information sharing.

In the systems framework, coordination is a key process of policy implementation. For this study, clear communication among and between sections contributes to smooth execution of plans and programs. This is due to harmony existence in synchronizing and integrating responsibilities, activities, command and control among each other, from creation of rule and regulation at the ministry level to implementing those directives at local levels.

(iii) Allocation of resources

This step is a process of allocating available resources into sections and specializations to perform tasks. Available resources were discussed in the inputs section consisting of financial and human resources. Before the adoption of EFA, resources were limited to financial support from the government and its influential donors (Vietnam and the former Soviet Union). Both human and financial resources were simultaneously distributed to

three (3) sections: schools and education institutions (new and repaired), personnel salary, and other donor-funded projects (book publishing and curriculum development). The allocation deliberately focused on need basis rather than strategic distribution. As discussed previously, after Pol Pot regime the re-integration of education was undergone nationwide by using the limited resources. After adopting EFA, the allocation changed to two directions. Human resources are being spread across the main hierarchical structure, while financial resources (the government's recurrent budget for education) are shared to three sections: teacher salary (50%), school support programs (5%), and administrative works (45%) (Table 4.14). Administrative works at the ministry level consist of in-office equipment, photocopy machines, printers, computers, stationery, travel per-diem (missions to provinces), and monthly gasoline allowance. At provincial and district levels, administrative works include all of the above, and office innovation budget. Other partners provide program and project-based grants periodically (*External linkage* section). It includes financial grant and technical assistance. These changes show clearer allocating strategies for implementing the policy.

Table 4.14 *Allocation of financial support to primary education*

Financial support	Share
Teacher salary	50%
School support programs (school level)	5%
Administrative works:	45%
-MOEYS level (DPE)	20%
-Provincial level	15%
-District level	10%

In the systems framework, allocation of resources is an important process of delivering resources to support programs and projects of the implementation. As the majority of operations are run by using partners' support rather than government's budget, the implementation faces a challenge of dependency on donors. This is due to the fact that EFA is ideally a global commitment of countries and organizations that attracts substantial flow of grants and technical assistance to Cambodia. In this sense, the government has a reason to

lower the budget for primary education sector, while reliability and dependency are given extensively on its counterparts. Indeed, some donors provide a fully pledged financial and technical support to programs such as the child friendly school directly, while the MOEYS has a role to coordinate the operations. Namely, they are UNICEF, Save the Children Norway, and KAPE. Generally, with this dependency, program operations depend heavily on donors' aids as the MOEYS has less financial liabilities and responsibilities. Likewise, some schools receive periodical financial support directly from donators, parents, and individuals for facility development and administrative matters. Therefore, if the support ceases, these operations would be affected in terms of scope and efficiency. In that case, the government's low financial commitment for primary education indicates a major challenge of vast donor-reliance for the EFA policy implementation. The discussion also agrees with minimum dependency relationships stated by Hogwood and Gunn (1984).

(iv) Strategies

School clustering

Before adopting EFA, primary schools were not accounted for, and scattered across Cambodia without systematic organization. Between 1979 and the 1991's Paris Peace Agreement, Cambodia was divided into military zones, which were located along the border of Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam. To list a few, there were several zones under control of the State of Cambodia, Prince Sihanouk, Khmer Rouge, General Sern San, and others. In this respect, each zone had their own governing administrations and management. A number of schools were not counted into the State of Cambodia due to this reason.

After the Peace Agreement and the General Election in 1993, all zones were integrated into the new Kingdom of Cambodia, except the Khmer Rouge zone which was later integrated in 1998. In 1993, three years after the EFA adoption, school cluster program was initiated to group all primary schools together. This school clustering is one of the

strategies for the EFA policy implementation. It is a laid-out program designed for the implementation of other programs. The existing network of schools is categorized into clusters (which finished in 2000). Using this clustering network, school-targeting programs are implemented and coordinated among all core and satellite schools with the assistance of program's facilitators. For instance, financially and operationally supported by UNICEF, SCN, and KAPE, the child friendly school program uses core and satellite schools as an operational blueprint to target primary schools by zones/domains. While UNICEF and SCN have an overlapping coverage, the operations are distinguishingly separated by school clusters. This coverage area is located in the province of Oddar Meanchey, where 181 schools are clustered into 26 core schools and 155 satellite schools. The allocation shares 84 schools for UNICEF (mostly in urban areas) and 97 schools for SCN (rural areas). This shows the importance of school cluster in laying out programs and projects.

Program-based budgeting (PB)

Before 1990, the meaning of school support initiative was substantially referred to financial support for school building and repairing. The idea to improve its capacities for long term operation had not been initiated. After ratifying EFA, school support programs are being financed annually by "program-based budgeting" (PB), also known as "Priority Action Programs (PAP)." This program is a strategic tool to support primary schools at ground level. Started in 1993 for schools in the new Kingdom of Cambodia, only a number of urban schools had received this support. In 2000, PAP was conducted in a full-scale pilot project in 10 designated provinces as a cash school subsidy program. After its success, it was expanded nationwide in 2001. As part of an annual funding package for innovations, it aims at reducing financial burden for poor families in order to increase primary enrolment rate by simply removing registration and other pre-determined operational expenditures that schools previously charged households. It provides public resources to primary schools to partially

remove school charges for registration, materials, and test. PAP’s school support program is also a scholarship program that was integrated into the child friendly school program in 2005, providing scholarship support to students in cluster schools. Starting from 2007, two types of PB have been sponsored by the ministry to support and strengthen staffing and institutional development of primary schools.

Firstly, PB ‘*recurrent programs*’ use a reserved and limited amount of budget to annually support primary schools. It is supported based on agreed block grants to meet school needs such as core instructional materials (stationery, inventory storage, study equipment, and logistics); continuous teacher development; periodical general and subject-specialized meetings of teachers and school committee; education service efficiency rationalization; monitoring systems; and any other activities needed to run a school. The recurrent program also supports per capita spending formula for disadvantaged schools by giving a budget per student for schools. Based on this sense, the budget package to run a school is divided into two budget types subsidized by the MOEYS to public elementary schools: the program budget for each school regardless of its size (600,000–800,000 Riels per annum) (Figure 4.8), and the program development budget (8,000 Riels per student annually) (Figure 4.9), depending on the number of student population.

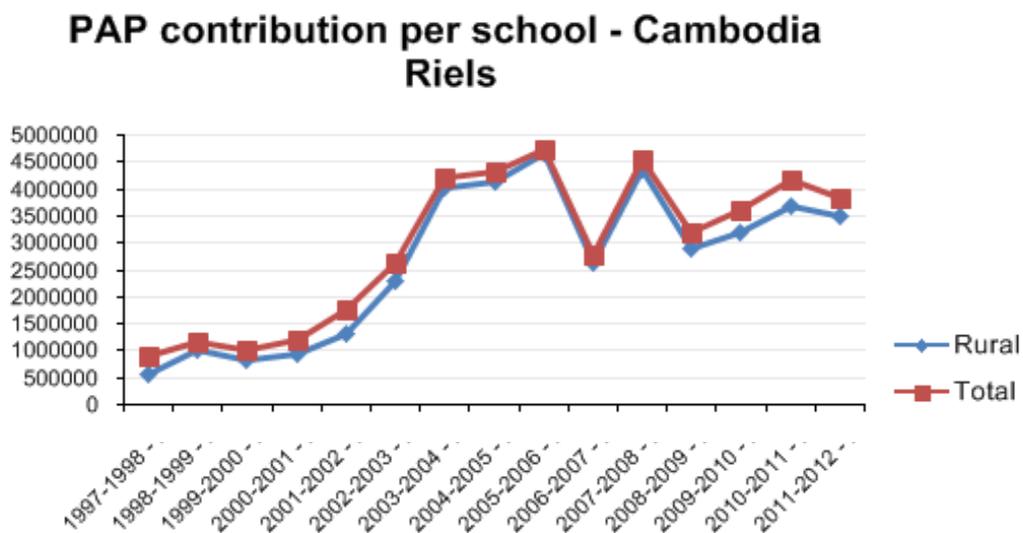


Figure 4.8. Program-based budget per school by years; Source: Caminfo, 2012.

PAP contribution per student - Cambodia Riels

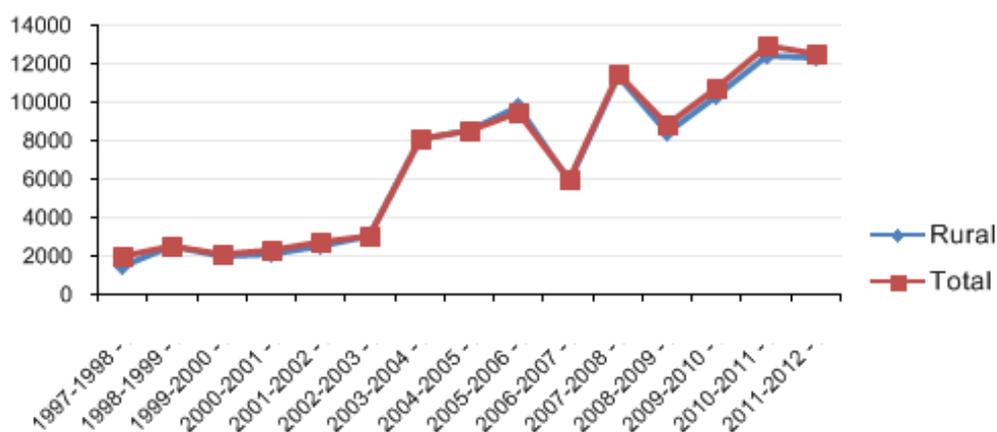


Figure 4.9. Program-based budgeting per student by years

Source: Caminfo, 2012.

Secondly, *capital programs* focus on:

Investment (education facility development): constructions of latrines, wells, resource rooms and libraries in primary schools, and teachers' houses are required, especially in remote areas. In some cases, the program provides classrooms for incomplete schools, crowded schools and three-shift schools (early morning, noon, and late afternoon shift), as well as giving assistance tools to disabled children in response to needs, such as glasses, pushcarts, and earphones initiated in the year 2009.

Technical cooperation (capacity building for institutional reform and priority program planning and management): capacity building helps strengthen staffs in central, provincial, district, and cluster school levels to promote planning, management and monitoring of activities, and operational costs to promote the implementation of the child friendly school program. This program also establishes the District Training and Monitoring Teams responsible for supporting cluster schools in the effort of monitoring decentralization at schools. It further harnesses the child friendly school activities such as effective learning and teaching, social emotional learning, special education, inclusive education, multi-grade

teaching, bilingual education, minimum curriculum standards, library programs, local life-skills, HIV/AIDS prevention, health issues, scholarships, school feeding, and block grants for school improvement, especially in the triangle bordering areas (Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam). It disseminates education awareness to local communities and authorities.

Table 4.15 indicates the national budget and financial projection from 2009 to 2013 for the two PB programs. Increases in the technical cooperation budget (Capital Program) for 2012 and 2013 have been projected triple more than the preceding years. Program monitoring budget is being increased in the same fashion in the Recurrent Program. It means the concentration has been shifted mainly to strengthening capacity building for staffs at national and sub-national levels to promote monitoring activities in the education system.

Table 4.15 *National budget and financial projection 2009-2013*

Activity	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
1. Recurrent Program	45,038.1	43,775.4	44,330.9	54,269.5	60,456.2
- School Operational Budget	22,641.1	23,139.3	23,259.6	24,499.7	24,499.7
- Strengthening teaching and learning activities	18,128.2	17,666.2	16,944.7	18,411.4	18,411.4
- Strengthening program monitoring	4,268.8	2,969.9	4,126.6	11,358.4	17,545.1
2. Capital Program	4,268.8	2,969.9	4,126.6	11,358.4	17,545.1
Investment	11.8	12.0	12.0	16.0	18.0
Technical Cooperation	4,257.0	2,957.9	4,114.6	11,342.4	17,527.1
Resources: Total	49,306.9	46,745.3	48,457.5	65,627.9	78,001.3

**Currency: Million Riels, Source: MOEYS, 2012b.*

Table 4.16 points out responses on the importance of these support programs as strategic mechanisms. Commented by all DPE's informants, the school support budget for this government-initiated component is important, and yet insufficient. It leads to inefficiencies of the implementation for school cluster and program-based budget. The informants from non-state share limited awareness of the apprehension as their work concentrates on supporting program and project-based implementation, especially at schools.

Table 4.16 *Key-informant responses on program-based budget*

Informants	Responses
MOEYS	<p><i>“PAP fund is little...we need more fund, otherwise PAP per school and student contributions will be reduced...to achieve more, there simply need to be more funds in PB. We urgently need more money to stay on track...maybe this year [2012] we can request grants from donors.”</i></p> <p><i>“PB budget is a life mainstream for primary schools...even though it's in small proportion, lots of works have been achieved for schools.”</i></p> <p><i>“In the future when implementation is expanded, the budget received from the government should not be the same. Faster progress demands bigger financial support.”</i></p> <p><i>“At the moment, we need more money but there is not any left. So, some operations may have to be delayed or suspended. It is unfortunate but the choice is not for us to decide. We have not enough money.”</i></p> <p><i>“School cluster is affected as a result of inadequacy. The more clusters we have, the less support we can give them...because of money issue. If not now, it will be sooner or later.”</i></p>
UNESCO	<p><i>“PAP is an effective program run by the state...I am supporting the effort 100%, no hassle. However, I do not know detail about its implementation. You may have to ask the responsible officials in the MOEYS...”</i></p>
World Education	<p><i>“From my experience, PAP works very well at school level; most schools in the system [public or private] are replenished with fund every year...we have no knowledge for it is enough or not as we do not work with them [MOEYS]”</i></p>
KAPE	<p><i>“These two initiatives are good practices created by the ministry. We can use them to implement other programs...recently we have child friendly school running based on these strategies. The issues are to maintain these clusters for the long run.”</i></p>
NEP Cambodia	<p><i>“A lot of things can be done by using the laid out support programs. Without them, NGOs cannot cooperate with the ministry...my impression is positive.”</i></p>
Save the Children Norway	<p><i>“I do not know how serious the problem may happen if something is wrong with the supporting programs. You may compare it to driving a car. If something is wrong with parts of the car, would not it affect the drive or the safety of those who are in the car? It is something like this.”</i></p>
VSO Cambodia	<p><i>“PB budget is a very effective use of government's fund to strengthen school level's decentralization in the process of policy implementation.”</i></p>

From the local perceptions, the concept of the support program has provided the school officials a sense of self-control. School cluster and PAP programs could transfer power to schools in making plans, allocating resources, and monitoring system on their own. Table 4.17 further elaborates the importance of the PAP and school clustering programs at school as agreed by the educational authorities. As an external supporter, Plan Cambodia empowers schools by providing trainings appropriate for planning and decision-making roles.

“We [Plan Cambodia] try to support school more than just watching them develop themselves.

Although PAP fund is provided, my idea is to provide technical assistance for them so that they

have the right capacity to make plan and implement them...besides, I am optimistic that our operations will help poor children much more if we focus on them.”

Table 4.17 *Local responses on school support programs by the local authorities*

Informants	Responses
Principal 1	<i>“School clustering has helped us get together and share experience as well as resources in time of need. However, we depend on each other with advice and consultation...my school could initiate and control what to do with our resources.”</i>
Principal 2	<i>“PAP program is a key strategy for schools. It does not matter where they are, in urban or rural areas. All schools can get recurring fund yearly for their own usage: train teachers, strengthen management, and develop facilities.”</i>
Teacher 1	<i>“School support program is meant for school improvement. It depends on how the school management wants to do with the fund. However, it is not much.”</i>
Teacher 2	<i>“Last year we get our latrines and school fence by using PAP...as I am one of the school’s senior teachers, I can attend school cluster meetings at the district office. Most of the PAP uses are approved at these meetings. We can plan and manage together.”</i>
Teacher 3	<i>“I am not sure what they [school management] do with the money. Please ask the principle for more detail.”</i>
Teacher 4	<i>“PAP makes our schools developed, but it was not received last year. There may be some problems at higher levels. I do not know how the fund is distributed but our school used it for good. We wish to get more. There are more improvements to be made.”</i>
District education officer 1	<i>“We help schools in the region coordinate with each other at the district office. It is held monthly for school cluster...for PAP? The person in charge delivers the fund to each school in a proportion designated by the ministry, not by us. I think the government is doing the right thing on this matter.”</i>
District education officer 2	<i>“PAP always shares 8,000Riels per students and about 2 million Riels for each schools. The fund is calculated and given to school, not student...It is a percentage per student to develop school...the amount is enough I think in rural areas. I do not know what they [schools] do with the money. It is up to them.”</i>

In the systems framework, this variable is crucial for laying out blueprint for other programs and efforts. Using school clusters, the child friendly school program is carried out based on the clustered network of schools of which the ministry and its partners allocate resources. Curriculum development and health programs are also implemented in this fashion. In order to strengthen schools in the clusters, the PAP program is used as a strategic tool for developing and strengthening school capacities and management. The program is also designed to cut financial burdens from households. However, despite of the changes in these practices, this program is hindered by the low financial support. Relatively, the PAP/PB spending is affected by the primary level’s budget cut (*Financial Resources* section).

Comparatively, the actual expenditures in recent years show that the spending could not reach its projection. From the Education Statistics and Indicators 1998-2012, the amount of PAP contribution per school decreased from 4.72 million Riels in 2005 to 3.47 million Riels in 2011 (MOEYS, 1998-2012a). Additionally, the decrease in primary education budget in the education share in 2010 further affects funding of both program-based budgeting and school cluster programs, having depended on this source of financing alone (5%). This justifies the wrong projection against actual spending, and a challenge for implementation.

(v) Inter-organizational relations and networking

During the Rehabilitation Period, active partners in development were Vietnam and the former Soviet Union. There were a few other donors including Lutheran World Federation and CARE. However, the concentration was on humanitarian and emergency relief. Changes after the EFA adoption were seen in the number of donors. In recent years, partners of education development include line ministries (Ministry of Planning, Ministry of Economics and Finance, Council of Development for Cambodia, Council for Administrative Reform), local and international NGOs, and other donors. In primary education sector, the non-state actors include: UNESCO, UNICEF, JICA, the World Bank, ADB, SCN, KAPE, ESCUP, SIDA, VSO Cambodia, CARE, Plan Cambodia, and others. Figure 4.10 indicates reciprocal interactions between partners in terms of support and coordination. For instance, the current active implementers of the re-entry program are the MOEYS, UNICEF, CARE and SCN. They represent the supply side in this affair. Their role is to assist the process of implementation toward the same goal attainment (Enclave form). The receiving side, which marks as the demand side, is the intended recipients of the implementations (discontinued children). Cooperation between these partners for this particular program reveals the tip of a bigger network of state and non-state actors in the overall policy implementation.

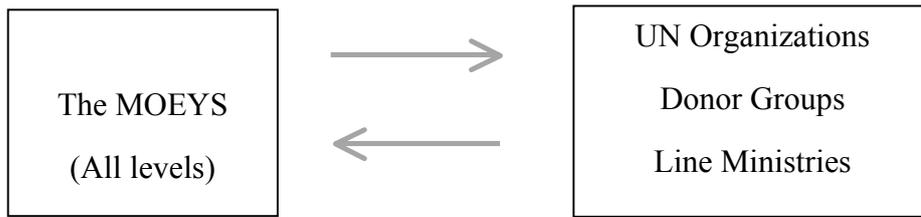


Figure 4.10. Interdependence of the MOEYS and its partners (O’Toole & Montjoy, 1984)

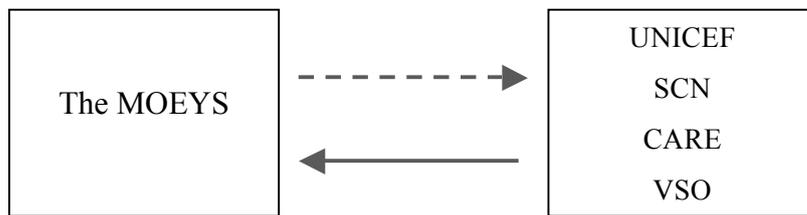
A network of primary education policy implementation consists of the MOEYS, line ministries, and groups of bilateral and multilateral partners, who take part in the process of implementation (Hjern and Hull, 1982). The concepts of interdependency (O’Toole and Montjoy, 1984; Thompson, 1967) emerge once members of this network start to interact with each other for a common goal. In terms of coordination, assistance and communication are conducted trans-organizationally, meaning interagency relations across one organization to another. This type of coordination ensures mutual understanding and harmony. In this notion, coordination between donors and the MOEYS has been made through memorandums of understanding/agreement in order to complement the implementation of programs and projects. The MOEYS coordinates stimulation for its partners’ programs and projects at national and sub-national levels, as donors coordinate grants, trainings, and resources to enhance the agency’s capacities in achieving its goals. This mutual interaction and understanding give strengths to inter-organizational relations. In this sense, by practicing strong interdependence, the MOEYS could avoid to some extent a complete isolation, which would have resulted from the hierarchical practice alone. This represents a successful enclave organizational form, which shares the central agency’s authority to its authorized partners and strengthens its weaknesses and inadequacies in order to work together toward achieving a common goal. In some cases, the memos could also apply to public officials in related line ministries to assist a certain extent of the implementation. In one particular case, the National

Institute of Statistics of the Ministry of Planning is a coordinating body in national and household surveys regarding educational researches and statistics.

Concerning roles and responsibilities, the interdependence brings the role of executor for the MOEYS, while the partners play the role of collaborators or catalysts, or sometimes critics. Being an executing agency, the MOEYS has more responsibilities for the development of primary education, as its capabilities grow bigger. In the sphere of this network, the non-state actors have responsibilities to assist the state. In most cases, the responsibilities also refer to gap-filling actions when the state is unable to cover. In the process of working together, the donors approach the MOEYS first bringing resources, technical assistance, and proposals. In return, the agency then agrees to provide coordination and political support to the donors in implementing programs and projects assistive to the MOEYS's EFA policy implementation. This process of co-working occurs from national to sub-national levels depending on the engagements of the partners. In terms of work boundary, this network allows its members to populate and carry out their own roles depending on willingness, available resources, and specialties.

The inter-organizational relation between the MOEYS and its partners can be categorized into reciprocal type of interdependence (O'Toole and Montjoy, 1984). According to the implementation network discussed above, this type of relation allows both state and non-state agencies to cooperate and coordinate in order to achieve a common target, the education for all. On the one hand, the MOEYS has the utmost authority in primary education mandate, and structural local enforcements, but inadequate resources. It implements the scholarship provision program, for instance, based on grants from other members (UNICEF, SCN, CARE and VSO Cambodia) in the network (Figure 4.11). On the other hand, the four partners could carry out this task with permission and authority transferred from the MOEYS

at school clusters. The relations are based on the willingness to support and coordinate, and the degree of trust and respect between these actors for the success of this program.



Legends:

- ▶ Shared authority and permission in operations at national and local levels
- ==▶ Direct support: resources, technical assistance, and projects

Figure 4.11. Interdependence between the MOEYS, UNICEF, SCN, CARE and VSO

Monitoring and assessment could also show the degree of interdependence and coordination. Performance monitoring is regulated as a process jointly carried out by both state and non-state. This monitoring is coordinated and involved by all members at all stages. Figure 4.12 shows the monitoring structure of the Education Strategic Plan’s performance. The monitoring procedure starts at school and district (step 1), provincial (step 2), and national levels (step 3) conducted by the District Education Offices, the Provincial Education Offices, and the Department of Primary Education respectively. Monitoring at these levels is called Education Sector Support Program (ESSP) monitoring, which produces an Education Strategic Plan progress/impact monitoring (step 6). This step is jointly assessed by both quality and efficiency monitoring (step 4), and system performance audit (step 5). This results in a joint report for examination at the annual National Education Congress (step 7), involving the National EFA Committee. This is the biggest educational progress-monitoring meeting including national and international forum. It is also where the EFA policy implementation is checked and discussed for inconsistency. The efficiency of education services is evaluated in this way to seek deficiency administratively and institutionally. The composition of monitoring committee includes officials from the Ministry of Education,

Youth, and Sport (MOEYS), and the Education Sector Working Group (ESWG) representatives as members and inspectors for this endeavor.

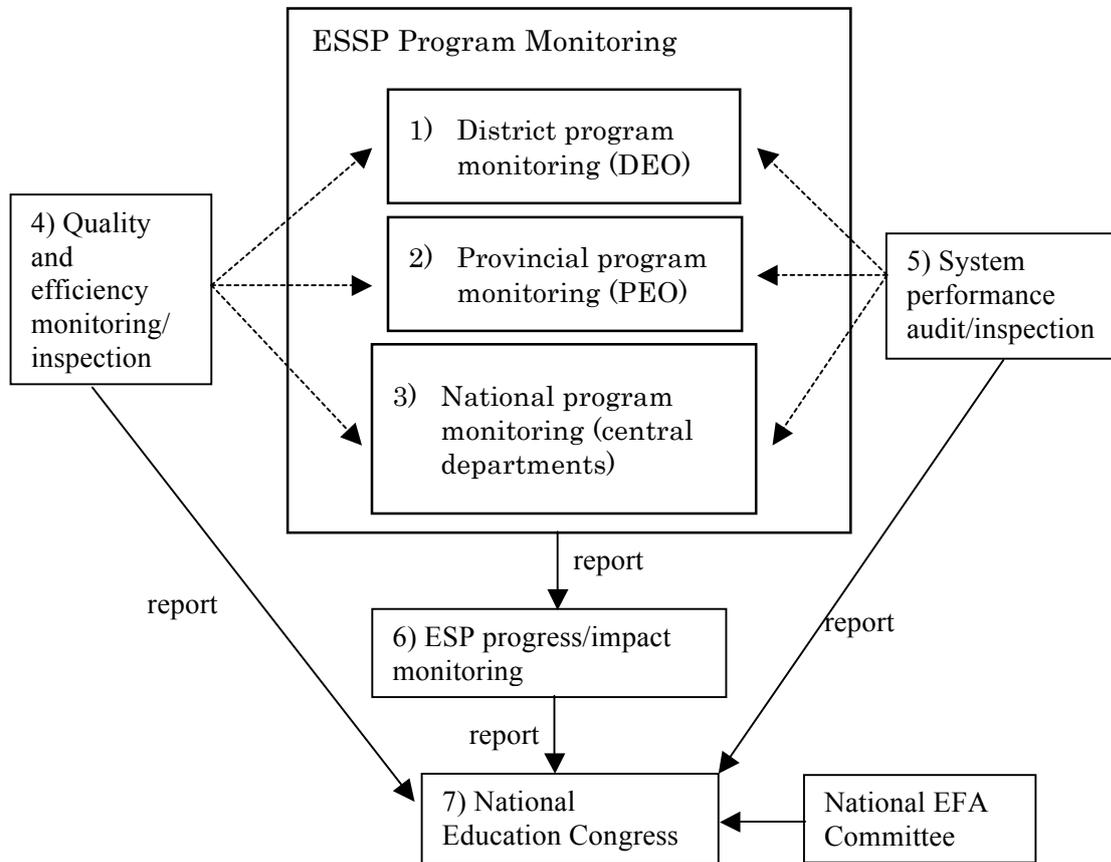


Figure 4.12. Monitoring structure of the Education Strategic Plan 2009-2013

Source: MOEYS 2009a, 90.

In the systems framework, inter-organizational relation plays a major role in maintaining cooperation and coordination among implementers. With gap-filling effort, the non-state partners have clear roles and responsibilities regardless of resources and specialties. In many ways, there are cases they could have interfered the implementing agency as shown in the literature. However, the degree of harmony of interdependence in this case suggests a good practice between agencies at all levels to work together in the light of education for all.

Implementation outputs

Student enrollment

In first quarter of 1979, the number of students enrolled at primary level was 947,317 (Figure 4.13). It rose sharply to 1,597,081 in 1982. The reason was due to the increase of population in the school age group after the Pol Pot regime. In 1989, the number stayed at 1,276,957 pupils. After EFA policy was introduced, the number of pupils started to increase remarkably in the early 1990s from 1.3 million to 2.7 million in 2001 (Figure 4.13). The number declined in 2002 due to one reason, the reduced school-aged population from 2.8% to 1.54%. In 2010, the number of school-aged children who did not attend school accounted for 4% of the population which scatter across remote, highland areas and outside provincial/district centers where education is not easily accessible (UNESCO, 2012b). The population of school-aged children enrolled in primary school in 2011 accounted for 2,142,464 pupils (MOEYS, 2012a, 58). Compared to the total primary school aged population, the number of out-of-school children account for 3.8%.

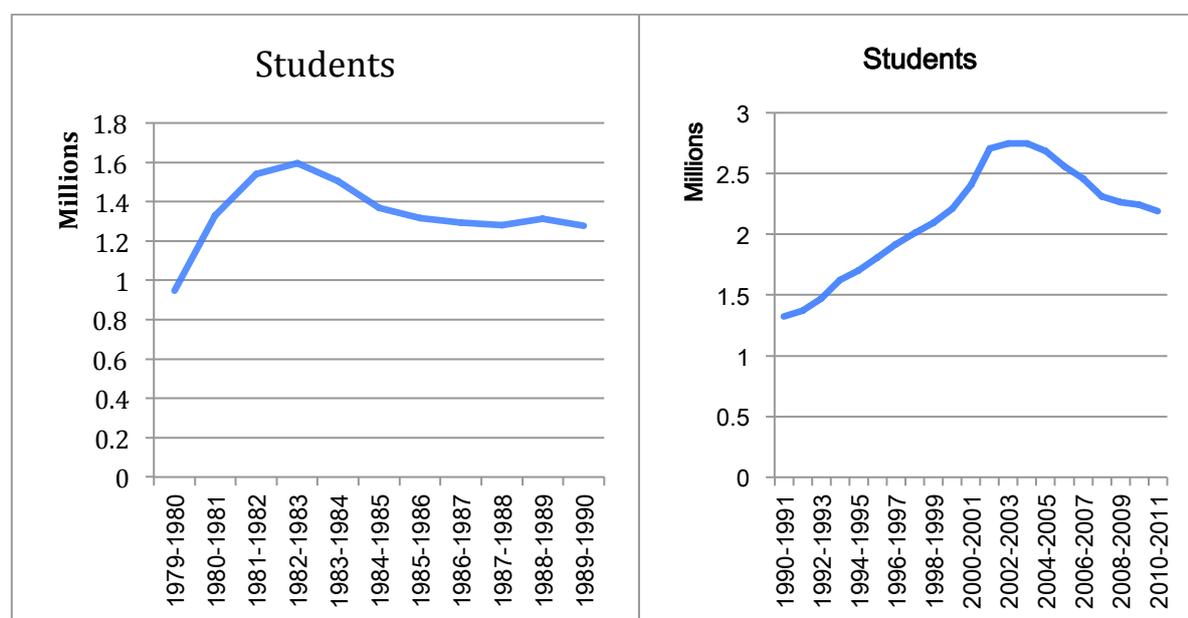


Figure 4.13. Student enrollment, 1979-1989 (left) to 1990-2012 (right), Source:MOEYS,2012a,58.

Figure 4.14 also shows growing positive trends in the net enrollment rate (NER) at primary level from 1997 to 2011. The ratio has increasingly proceeded from 77.8% in

SY1997-1998 to 94.8% (94.6% for girl) in SY2009-2010. It continued to grow up to 96.4% in SY2011-2012 in total (96.1% for girl).

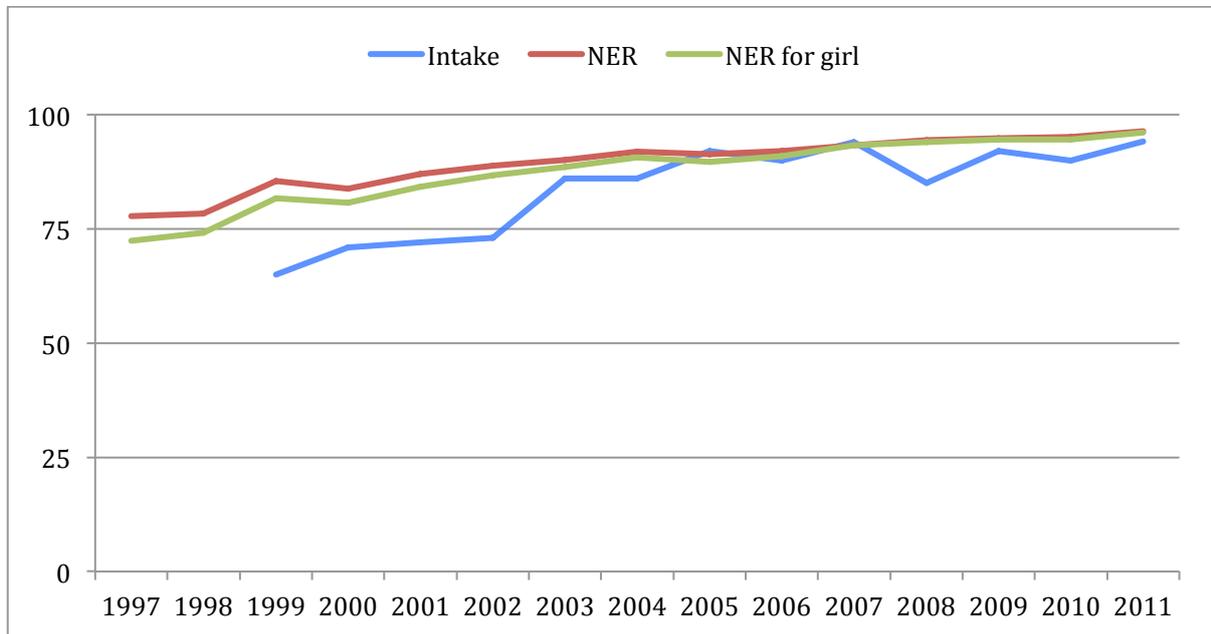


Figure 4.14. Net admission ratio (1999-2011) and Net enrolment ratio (1997-2011) in %

Source: Caminfo, 2012.

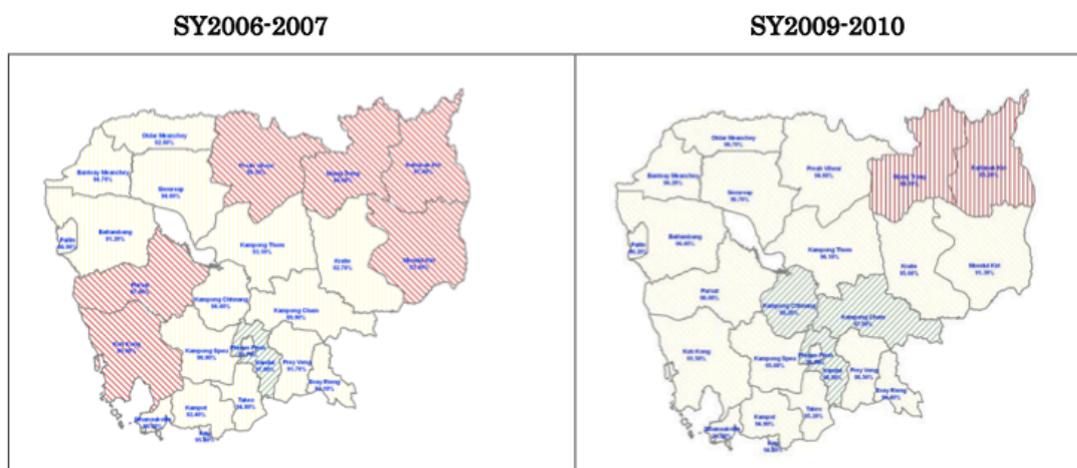


Figure 4.15. Net enrollment ratio at primary level for SY2006-2007 and SY2009-2010

*Red: less than 90%, Yellow: 90-97%, Green: more than 97%, Source: MOEYS, 2009a.

There were eight provinces, which have achieved more than 96% in 2009 (Figure 4.15). The NER increases were significant especially in the rural areas between 2006 and 2011. By comparing the figures in SY2005-2006 with SY2009-2010, the NER rose by 3.6%

in rural areas, while the increase in urban areas during the same period was around 1% (MOEYS, 2009a, 3). The number of enrolled students for urban area accounted for 309,162, while the amount of enrolled rural students accounted for 1,833,302. The NER has reached 96.4% and is growing. The target of 98% in 2013 is attainable.

Figure 4.14 also shows the percentage of children admitted in Grade 1 from 1999 to 2011 among the total population of school-aged children by years. It is noted that positive trends occurred in the net admission ratio (NAR) or net intake rate (NIR) after the EFA adoption. The fluctuation of the graph represents differences in the number of the group's population by years. It resulted in gradual increases from 65% in 1999 to 73% in 2002 and to 94.2% in 2011 (UNESCO, 2012). The result was produced by an effect of scattered school establishments across the country in recent years (6,849 primary schools), and several other enrolling campaigns particularly in rural areas. In fact, the NAR for rural areas in 2011 is currently showing 95.3%, while in urban areas it only gains 89.9% (MOEYS, 2012a). If the trend continues at this pace, the ratio of net admission will reach its 100% goal in 2013.

In terms of key-informant points of view, there are positive feedback and recognition provided by both state and non-state (Table 4.18).

Table 4.18 *Key-informant responses on student enrollment*

Informants	Responses
MOEYS	<p><i>"...we have seen good performance in the results and joint activities. The ministry [MOEYS] works together with donors in every aspect to put all children in school. I could tell we are satisfied."</i></p> <p><i>"It is a good practice regarding enrolment and admission ratios...all targets for these indicators are almost achieved."</i></p> <p><i>"I agree to the improvement. It is among one of the best results compared to neighboring countries...with all other countries that we have in common are student's burdens."</i></p> <p><i>"There is no doubt about it. Many children have enrolled in school because of our efforts especially using current strategies and programs."</i></p>
UNESCO	<p><i>"I have a good impression about the result of student enrolment as the figure shows. We will strive to help the ministry and the government of Cambodia further in achieving the objectives in 2012."</i></p>
World Education	<p><i>"It shows strong devotion of all players in achieving these figures...the impacts to disadvantaged children and families will be great...perhaps it could</i></p>

	<i>be seen in the next two years or so...we still have not let our guard down to other factors that we need to focus in order to keep students enrolled."</i>
KAPE	<i>"The results are not bad, I mean with many students enrolled and schools built, this is how educational development happens...let us care about the quality."</i>
NEP Cambodia	<i>"It is fairly acceptable, although we hope to improve it more. My only concern is a strategy to sustain the figures as most of the reasons are from households and families. We need to observe further at these levels for solutions."</i>
Save the Children Norway	<i>"The number shows positive improvement...it is a success."</i>
VSO Cambodia	<i>"I am optimistic that the best practice in Cambodia can be maintained with extra concern among key players, that is, the ministry of education and international partners. We could not leave the result by itself after this success; we should retain good practice in other elements of the policy as well, like quality aspect."</i>

At the village level, however, other external concerns remain. Although the number of children has increased at the national level, the people perceive that there are some factors preventing children from attending school properly (see detailed findings and discussion in *External factors* section).

In the systems framework, school enrollment is an output crucial for observing other elements which were previously discussed. The results were led by a number of input and conversion factors, including political and external support, coordination, inter-organizational relations, and others. Regardless of the apprehensions of inadequacies and highly centralized structure, school enrolment is supplemented by other advantages from partners in order to reach its present state. Nonetheless, one challenge remains as how to keep these children in school. Points of view of the key informants identified corresponding factors with perceptions of the locals. In previous studies, Bedi and Marshall (1999) warned about parental decision which determines the pattern of children's school attendance, considering expected gains and the costs of attending in the rural context. This concern gives attention to household's economic conditions as the majority of Cambodian people live in poverty in rural areas (53% of the total population in 2008 earned less than 2US\$ per day) (World Bank, 2012). These external drivers will be discussed in the coming section. Another challenge persists with adequacy of teachers. The number of students and teachers does not synchronize

in the pupil-teacher ratio. It means the number of teachers is insufficient comparing to the number of pupils per class. This issue also relates to the number of school facilities.

School facilities and learning centers

The numbers of school facilities were not accounted for until the late of 1981. Figure 4.16 shows that 3,521 schools were re-built and re-opened for children, but gradually closed down between 1982 and 1985 due to lack of teachers and student enrollments. Major concerns were household economy and resettlement. It means children were busy moving from place to place, which made education impossible. Additionally, the number of schools had increased only because of the emergency relief provided during the Rehabilitation Period. After the adoption of EFA, the figure shows steady growths in number of schools. Currently there are 6,849 primary schools and 1,196 lower secondary schools in the academic year 2011-2012 (Caminfo, 2012). These facilities are characterized by types of schools such as 70% of two-shift schools¹⁴, 14.9% of schools in pagoda, and 4% of floating schools¹⁵. There are 6,222 primary schools in rural areas, which are all state schools. The EFA policy has initiated 2,076 new facilities across Cambodia, of which 1,825 are in rural areas and 251 in urban areas. These schools were built by using construction funds provided by the government, donors, other NGOs, and individual donators. All primary schools are clustered.

As briefly discussed, the number of pupils per teacher is still a challenge from 1997. Many students gather in crowded classrooms due to insufficient teachers and classrooms, especially in rural areas. That is why there are several two-shift and three-shift schools to rotate the number of students. Figure 4.17 shows that the ratio has not been improved (from 46.5 in 1997 to 47.3 in 2011). The disparity of these figures differs greater by looking at

¹⁴ Two-shift schools are schools admitting students in two shifts: morning (7am-11pm) or afternoon (1pm-5pm). The shift is switched on monthly basis, meaning children who study in the morning in the current month will automatically change to study in the afternoon shift in the following month. Three-shift schools also have the same concept.

¹⁵ Floating schools are schools built on water in wetland areas such as Tonle Sap Lake and along rivers.

urban and rural comparison (32.1 and 51.4 respectively) (MOEYS, 2012a). In addition, the index clearly indicates improvement by regions. As the ratio within urban peripheries decreased from 44.7 in 1997 to 32.1 in 2011, the rate in rural regions only started to develop from 2001. It means, regardless of the increased number of trained teachers and schools built, the improvement only affects the urban sectors, while keeping rural and remote children to learn in large classrooms.

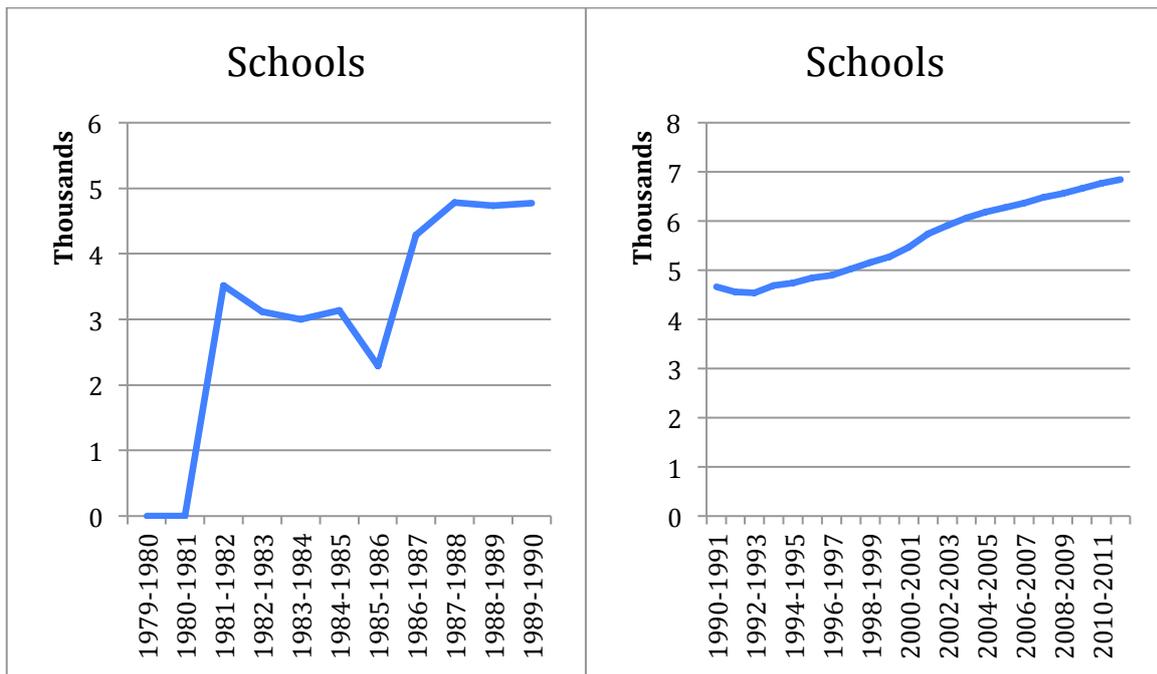


Figure 4.16. Primary schools, 1979-1989 (left) and 1990-2012 (right);Source: MOEYS, 2012a, 58.

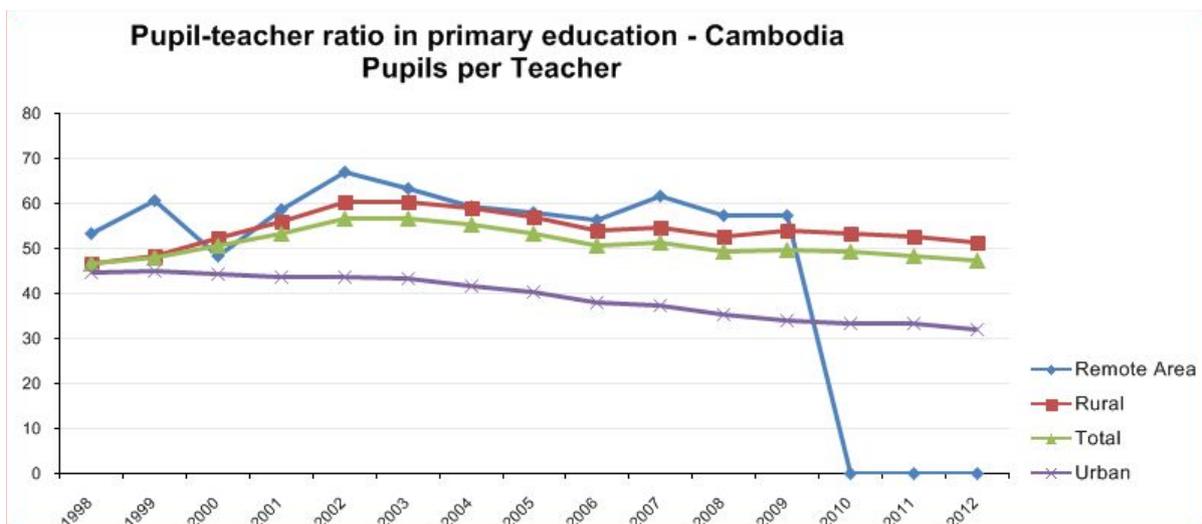


Figure 4.17. Pupil-teacher ratio in primary education, 1997-2011;Source: Caminfo, 2012.

There are controversial comments between the state and non-state regarding school facility. Although each point of view is based on individual perspectives, there are positive responses from the DPE's officials (Table 4.19), and negative feedback from the partners (Table 4.20).

Table 4.19 *Positive responses from the DPE's officials on school facility*

Informants	Responses
MOEYS	<p><i>"There are thousands of schools being served in 24 provinces/municipalities. We have enough facilities to perform the implementation."</i></p> <p><i>"Schools are being built continuously according to our prime minister's visit. With this, he helps build facilities for the ministry without spending the budget."</i></p> <p><i>"I totally agree that we have done a great job in building schools. Next is how to maintain them. We need more money."</i></p>

Table 4.20 *Negative responses from the non-state on school facility*

Informants	Responses
UNESCO	<i>"I and my colleagues will propose a budget raise next year in the EFA forum with the government. The more schools we have, the more money and teachers are required. The spirit of child friendly schools is not for some schools in the urban regions to enjoy. It is fairly delivered to every corner of Cambodia, even to the newly built school."</i>
World Education	<i>"We have known that, the number of schools increased in the rural areas that high ranking officials of the government, or the Prime Minister visited...he took the requests from the local people and fulfill that requests...it is a good decision, but it is more like a political gain...don't you see? All of the speeches and visits were all lived on TV...it's not well-planned."</i>
KAPE	<i>"We should suggest a strategy to increase the budget for extra schools built. It is the government who is responsible for them. And I know they would say we have no more money."</i>
NEP Cambodia	<i>"I have no quarrel with the officials about goodness in school building. We all agree it is needed...but they should ask themselves, will they provide enough supply to the school? and what is the cost to do that? Who will pay? As I imagine, it is not the ministry who is going to pay. They depend on us totally."</i>
Save the Children Norway	<i>"In my experience, it is the right thing to build more schools for those in need. However, we should all think about a question: Will it sustain by just building it? Who will teach? And use what? All these come from the ministry? It remains unanswered for years until an NGO or organization takes over the region."</i>
VSO Cambodia	<i>"I worry that these schools are finished with no teachers. It happened before in Kampong Thom. It is a common problem afterward."</i>

In the systems framework, the figures of this variable have justified the issues of inadequacies in both financial and human resources previously discussed. High pupil-teacher ratio is a quality issue in this regard. Moreover, school facility development needs to be

strategically planned, not request fulfilled. Unlike other facilities receiving donation consistently, there was no consistency in resource supply after these facilities were built. To list a couple, teachers and equipment are among the insufficiencies. Hence, negative responses from non-state informants show a legit concern on how resources are used effectively and efficiently. Although the generosity of fulfilling requests is a good influence, resources must be allocated according to the strategies laid out. Otherwise, it is just another political publicity for popularity for politicians to be re-elected.

School clusters

School cluster program was initiated in 1993 after Cambodia was democratized and the EFA adoption took place in 1990. The program finished its goal of grouping and connecting all primary schools in 2000. As new schools are established, they enrolled automatically into a cluster of that region. School cluster is a part of school support programs receiving a share of government's support of 5% in the primary education budget. In 2012, all 6,849 primary schools have joined in clusters, consisting of 1,165 core cluster schools (leader) and 5,684 satellite schools (member) in 24 provinces/municipalities. A total of 100% of state schools have participated in the program. After its completion, many core programs and projects have been implemented by using the foundation of school clustering including the child friendly school program, re-entry program, program-based budgeting program, scholarship provision program, and food for education projects. Needless to say, the success of these programs is attainable due to school clustering. By implementing this strategy, core and satellite schools have the autonomy in planning, decision-making, and information sharing. Each cluster conducts monthly meetings with all members in order to share knowledge, experience, issues, segmented planning, and good practices. This high level of cross-section coordination among schools creates a massive school-to-school network

horizontally. Its main purpose is to tie schools together in a network (Enclave type) and share ideas, manage funds, create school's transparent financial system, and disseminate updated information. Most importantly, the strategy is used to build strong interdependence.

Table 4.21 shows that all key informants have perceived this program as a successful mechanism at school level. School clustering gives advantages to all activities in the policy implementation at school level. This network facilitates communication and sharing between schools harmoniously by advocating school management and control.

Table 4.21 *Key-informant responses on school clustering program*

Informants	Responses
MOEYS	<i>"The ministry is proud of the school cluster program which has successfully achieved its objectives before other incentivized enrolling programs started...because each cluster is easily linked regionally...the more schools are build, the sooner they can join the clusters...it is the best decentralization at school levels."</i>
UNESCO	<i>"It is safe to say school cluster is a successful program which leads to successes of other programs and projects."</i>
World Education	<i>"Regarding school cluster, World Education provides food support project and scholarship for girls in 5 provinces. The implementation is well handled by using school clustering. It is currently a basis for all implementation blueprint our organization follows."</i>
KAPE	<i>"We should suggest a strategy to increase the budget for extra schools built. It is the government who is responsible for them. And I know they would say we have no more money." "The success of educational for all is based on school clustering in the implementation process..."</i>
NEP Cambodia	<i>"Several projects of our members have been successfully integrated with the ministry and receiving full coordination. These are school good governance, financial management training, and other technical workshops for school staffs."</i>
Save the Children Norway	<i>"In my experience, it is the right thing to build more schools for those in need. However, we should all think about a question: Will it sustain by just building it? Who will teach? And use what? All these come from the ministry? It remains unanswered for years until an NGO or organization takes over the region." "The government has a school cluster program...without it, they are not organized, so, our activities are not smoothly operated. This gives a thumb up to the ministry's effort."</i>
VSO Cambodia	<i>"I totally support the idea of school cluster. Its result has been a good practice for NGOs like us to lay our operations along with the ministry..."</i>

At the community level, the local authorities perceived a similar idea in terms of school's autonomy and management (Table 4.22). However, only those in the management level are aware of the program. As two out of four teachers asserted,

“I am not sure what it is. Please ask other teachers or the principal about this.”

“I have no idea about it. I am only a teacher. Senior teachers and higher management team should know about it.”

Table 4.22 *Local responses on school clustering program*

Informants	Responses
Principal 1	<i>“School clustering has helped us get together and share experience as well as resources in time of need. However, we depend on each other with advice and consultation...my school could initiate and control what to do with our resources.”</i>
Principal 2	<i>“My school has the ability to plan and decide for ourselves such as in facility improvement, equipment purchase, etc...We enjoy this type of empowerment although the money is not much.”</i>
Teacher 1	<i>“School cluster is for school improvement. It depends on how the school management wants to do with the fund...”</i>
Teacher 2	<i>“We have at least a meeting per month...we can talk and share lessons learned about how to develop our schools together.”</i>
District education officer 1	<i>“We help schools in the region coordinate with each other at the district office. It is held monthly for school cluster....”</i>
District education officer 2	<i>“School clustering has been initiated for ages. Whenever new schools are built, it enrolls automatically to the regional cluster. But funding will have to wait till next year. Sometimes new schools are covered by NGOs or foreign donators like from Japan and Sweden. These individuals have passion for Khmer people and want to help. There are many reasons that I am not sure of. You may ask them directly though.”</i>
Plan Cambodia	<i>“All schools in this district have been clustered since Plan Cambodia came, around 2000. The practice of this strategy was successful. I remember there were 9 schools in total. Now, 5 more have joined. Three schools are being funded by individual donators from Japan. There is some history behind this.”</i>

In the systems framework, as discussed briefly as a strategy, school cluster is also an output of this process. It is the first product of democracy in educational development in Cambodia after the World Conference on education in 1990. Decentralization is noticed improving in both capacity and institution at school with community participation rather than at national and provincial levels. However, given its importance in the policy implementation, there is one problem challenging school clusters financially. As noted, 5% of the overall primary education spending is subsidized annually to finance school support programs. When the government cut financial support to primary level to 41.8%, the amount was also reduced in school cluster program. The issue is expected to be a serious problem when more schools are built and join in the network, while financial support remains the

same or decreases. Affected activities include cluster planning, meeting, management, and member cut. The issue also raises an alarm in sustainable financial flow of clustered schools.

Completed training programs

There were no training programs for teachers and non-teaching staffs in the 1980s. Nonetheless, training programs have been additionally provided for strengthening staff capacity since the early of 1990s. It aims to provide quality-teaching capacity for all trained teachers at all education levels, and to offer competency building for teacher trainers, school principals, education administrators and other key personnel.

As a goal of the EFA policy is to strengthen quality and efficiency for teachers, trainings are offered for pre-service and in-service teacher development. Pre-service teachers are teacher trainees who do not have teaching license, while in-service teachers are those who received licenses and are currently teaching. The achievements for teachers are:

- Among the recruited trainees in 2011, 40% are new teacher trainees from ethnic minority backgrounds and rural remote regions.
- From 2005, 1,500 new trainees were recruited, trained, and assigned to teach in their own indigenous areas.
- 3,000 teachers at primary school are being trained all regional teacher training colleges to upgrade their teaching capacities to be basic education teachers by 2013.
- 90 primary-school inspectors have been selected and provided capacity building at the National Institute of Education. (See Appendix G for completed trainings for all educational staffs)

The key informants addressed an issue of foreign language limitation. One of whom mentioned that technical assistance for teacher and training for staff were provided in the forms of student-centered courses, inclusive education for teachers, student emotional

learning, vertical/horizontal decentralization, leadership and governance, and human resource management. These sessions were conducted in the native languages of instructors with simultaneous translation. In addition to the translator’s limited capacity, translation alone could not express what the instructors want to deliver. The challenge of foreign language is a barrier for trainees to grasp the knowledge comprehensively. Table 4.23 describes this concern pointed out by all informants. Efforts to fulfill language matter are being provided.

Table 4.23 *Key-informant responses on language barrier*

Informants	Responses
MOEYS	<i>“Regarding training sessions, I have known several colleagues who share the same concern in language issue. We need officials with native foreign language proficiency to get trainings and then teach others what he/she learned.”</i>
	<i>“My English is not good enough to learn about administrative courses. I have to study more.”</i>
	<i>“One of the barrier is language. Training materials are being translated by professional translator, but the meaning is not fully understood.”</i>
	<i>“We need to improve our staffs’ ability to communicate in foreign languages. There are many technical assistance which come with native courses.”</i>
	<i>“It is suitable for training in foreign languages for secondary and tertiary levels, but for primary level, our teachers have limited language ability. We are discussing the issue with the donors for appropriate solutions.”</i>
UNESCO	<i>“We do not have training session project yet. Perhaps, it is best to address this issue with current collaborators.”</i>
World Education	<i>“We are responsible for providing governance and administrative workshops for educational personnel at ministry level. We have come across an issue of foreign language difficulty and students’ patience in class.”</i>
KAPE	<i>“KAPE provides training exercises for teachers at all 300 schools in our designated provinces. There is no difficulty yet as our courses are delivered in Khmer by Khmer instructors...usually the courses are for teaching approaches, poster mapping, in-class communication with children and self-emotional learning.”</i>
NEP Cambodia	<i>“We have joint agreement to provide staff governance and leadership training...trainers are volunteers from America...government’s officials have difficulty understanding the course fully because they don’t understand English well.”</i>
Save the Children Norway	<i>“SCN provides support at school level in our joint child friendly school program with the ministry, UNICEF, and KAPE. Usually, the trainings include student-centered approaches, library building, student portfolio, and English teaching. The training program is ongoing and has not met any issue yet from teachers. It is because our courses are beginner friendly. Our strategy is to first provide teachers with basic English training, after 6 months, other courses could subside on this basis.”</i>
VSO Cambodia	<i>“There are many types of trainings that we provide to the ministry and provincial levels. To list a few, we have decentralization project, financial management for accountants, systematic and database maintenance, and teacher trainer development...we can identify an issue of learning difficulty via foreign language.”</i>

From the local perceptions, training program provides capacity building for teachers and educational staffs to some extent. However, the identical issue was with foreign language.

Table 4.24 *Local responses on language barrier*

Informants	Responses
Principal 1	<i>"I regularly have trainings with other Plan Cambodia, TTCs, CARE, and ESCUP once in 3 months. It concerns leadership and management. For our school's accountants, they provide short courses in their offices twice a year. The courses are useful but I am unable to understand completely because of English ability. There are ongoing English language courses for us also."</i>
Principal 2	<i>"Yes, there are several trainings for management team and teachers. As usual, teachers are assigned to provincial TTC in a period of 3 months for develop and improve teaching skills. They all come back with complaints about the course content. They could not learn very well."</i>
Teacher 1	<i>"All teachers in this school are in-service teachers with extensive trainings at TTCs, but we are required to train with NGOs as they provide updates about teaching materials and techniques...difficulties? I do not understand all of them and it is a waste for me. I wish I could learn more although I do not understand much."</i>
Teacher 2	<i>"I am a fresh graduate from Siem Reap provincial TTC. I do not have any training yet...I just got here 3 weeks ago."</i>
Teacher 3	<i>"I am a new teacher teaching grade 1 and 2. I have no extra training yet."</i>
Teacher 4	<i>"Yes, I have trainings 5 times and they were all teaching methods and psychological trainings. I can understand the courses. It was taught in English and Khmer by a translator. I used to learn English quite well, so that it was not too hard to understand the trainings."</i>
District education officer 1	<i>"My office dispatched me to a training in Phnom Penh for 3 months. The course was about administrative work and office knowledge. But my problem began when they started to teach decentralization course. I did not expect there were so many technical words in English. I need to study the language again. Otherwise, I will be in trouble."</i>
District education officer 2	<i>"Yes, we receive many types of trainings in our office, like office skills, computer skills, database skills, and so on so forth. I am very new to technological terms and equipment. During younger age, I am familiar with typewriter which was not this sophisticated. But it is a good thing nowadays. We will try our best to learn."</i>
Plan Cambodia	<i>"Plan provides trainings for teachers in this community in an expectation of improving teaching methods and child friendly environment. We use Khmer trainers with qualified education abroad to teach them. Usually the course is conducted in workshop fashion of 2-3 days. Teachers can practice the knowledge they learned right after the course and then give reaction to trainers in their next encounter...Issues? Recently we have none and it is likely to stay this way as we understand local perception and profile clearly."</i>

In the systems framework, completed training program is an output of quality variables important for examining the trainees' education profile as well as the degree of collaboration from the non-state actors. With low teacher's education profile and high capacity building assistance, it is believed two phenomena exist. On the one hand, there need

be improvements in pre-service recruitment with stronger basic requirements (input) in order to ensure satisfaction after trainings are provided. External support, on the other hand, is strongly provided by non-state partners, showing strong interdependence (conversion) in the implementation network. The issue of the completed trainings could offer suggestions for these values of input and conversion for better implementation as a looped feedback, which is in this case language limitation. A meso level analysis (Edwards *et al*, 1989) of training provision leads to identification of issues in training approach for educational personnel.

Completion rate in primary school

After ratifying EFA, the primary completion rate showed no improvement from 1994 to 1998. The main reason was due to a violent Coup d'état in 1997, deterring its effect on the index's result in 1998. Children could not receive proper education due to this instability. Table 4.25 indicates that since 1999 the ratio has increased gradually from 41% to 84% in 2009 (83.2% for boys and 83.6% for girls). In SY2011-2012, it marginally increased to 89.75% in total and 89.94% for girls (MOEYS, 2012a, 56). In spite of the hike, the goal of reaching 100% primary completion rate is not feasible by 2013 with this pace.

Table 4.25 *Completion rates in primary school, 1994-2011 (in %)*

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
CR	38	37	-	16	31	41	-	52	59
	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
CR	65	76	86	90	91	86	84	87	89.75

Source: World Bank Databank, 2012.

There were optimisms from the MOEYS officials regarding completion rates at primary level. The quality index was believed to be increased due to the growth of school facilities and trained teachers in recent years (Table 4.26). Whereas, its counterparts disregarded the improvements as irrelevance, and pointed out a few suggestions below (Table 4.27) to recover the index, including strengthening survival rate to the last grade,

reducing dropout and repetition rates, and transforming normal schools to child friendly schools.

Table 4.26 Responses from the DPE's officials on primary completion rate

Informants	Responses
MOEYS	<p>"Low primary completion rate is not an issue as the upcoming efforts in school building will take over and improve it..."</p> <p>"We [MOEYS] have awareness about this index completely and under preparation to tackle the issue. Please ask other officials. I do not know."</p> <p>"It is not a problem since the completion rate is recovered by the ministry efforts of teacher training. We have the right human resources for the job."</p> <p>"I am positive that the index will improve and children will complete their studies...this is because of the government's efforts for education for all."</p> <p>"We are doing a good job in this area and since it is a progressive work, we cannot see the actual result now. I will let you know when we have development."</p>

Table 4.27 Responses from the non-state on primary completion rate

Informants	Responses
UNESCO	"I do not know why the officials do not take it seriously and try to look for an answer for it. It is really important that children do stay repeated in the same class. In my opinion, repetition rates are high in the last grade and UNESCO is trying to support a repetition program since 2010."
World Education	"It is a responsibility of all actors, not just the government side. We would know such quality issues would exist as predicted. There are lessons from other developing countries for this. One of which is to prevent students for dropping out of school. It is the most critical moment for students according to our research teams. They would treat this as a failure and waste of time. We have to try to stop them..."
KAPE	"This issue is universalistic and we could only find solutions together. As part of the child friendly school program, I suggest making all normal schools to be child friendly schools. Until then, all facilities and teachers are equipped and trained respectively for the environment with all the support from both the ministry and partners."
NEP Cambodia	"We have to be ready for the effect of incompleteness. Many students will remain in grade 6 and some will decide to discontinue. We are at a turning point here for them. It is decisive."
Save the Children Norway	"I do not think building more schools will help children complete primary level. It is irrelevant. The worse of all, I ask, how can more schools create values for students to complete? No point. We only have a choice of strengthening and developing the current status of education quality. It means...more trainings for teachers and less burdens from their [children] side."
VSO Cambodia	"...Well, I agree with my counterparts in other organizations. This problem is serious and need immediate attentions from all levels of the implementation."

In the systems framework, completion rate for primary level is an output of quality variables expressing proportion of students who graduated from schooling and continued to the next education level. As elaborated by the key informants, it is important to deal with the

issue of primary incompleteness, which lingers the implementers on repeating and discontinued pupils. Due to their responses, the index is highly associated and leading to potential dropout and repetition. This is a test for all primary education stakeholders to re-consider the quality aspects of the current education services and how to approach the issue.

Survival rate

Before 1997, the survival [or persistence] rate to the last grade was not stably developed. According to Table 4.28, until 1998, the rates of survival stabilized at 44%. During SY2005-2006, only 55% of the school-aged children could reach grade 6. The proportion stayed at 61.2% in SY2009-2010. Only half of the students enrolled each year could reach the last grade of primary level. This progress is unacceptable compared to the ministry’s expectation of 100% survival rate by 2013. The current persistence rate is far too low comparing against the set target and its given timeline. This also implies poor students’ performance throughout all grades indicating low quality of the education services.

Table 4.28 *Survival rates to the last grade from 1993 to present (in %)*

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001
SR	-	34	40	-	14	44	-	55	64
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
SR	55	54	57	55	54	54	-	61.2	-

Source: World Bank Databank, 2012.

Table 4.29 displays feedback and outcome by the key informants, which is crucial for re-considering strategies to improve education quality. As all implementers work together in order to find out why the ratio is performing poorly, they agree that the common causes are non-standard promotional test, and other external factors, such as time consumption on work more than study taken by children. With low survival rate, the implementers believed that more drop-outs and discontinued children are immediate consequences. It is rather interesting to cover these personal reasons in the *External factors* section with local perceptions.

Table 4.29 *Key-informant responses on survival rate*

Informants	Responses
MOEYS	<p><i>“Survival rate is fairly reduced. We still have children repeated from grade 4 to 6 largely in the rural areas.”</i></p> <p><i>“Our effort is trying to keep this rate as low as possible so that it will not affect other indexes that the ministry is measuring the implementation performance.”</i></p> <p><i>“Children’s performance at school is low that is why their school life is relatively short as well. These could be due to children’s personal reasons. Because our system have been reformed from time to time for inconsistency like this. And I could tell that it is from their side, the motivation to study.”</i></p>
UNESCO	<p><i>“Persistence rate is not only a measure for quality education but also for student’s performance at each grade. The overall rate is low; we could identify the lowest rate and grade through a study. Especially it is in grade 2 to 6. Children in these grades tend to repeat grades a lot. Two reasons were identified...non-standard promotional exam and personal study time.”</i></p>
World Education	<p><i>“...you know why too many incompletions? Look at the survival rate to the last grade. If again and again some children stay in the same grade, incompleteness rate rises up...and for years if there is no promotion, they are likely to discontinue...it is just a case. We try to report them to the ministry for modifying their strategies to cope with these issues...it is a lesson learned.”</i></p>
KAPE	<p><i>“It is a good time to find out why. Since we have enough data from those schools that we have been working on, children seem consistently repeat grades at least once [in normal schools]. The main cause is student’s livelihood and time consumption at home. There are several personal reasons for a child to be unable to study properly such as farming and animal raising...”</i></p>
NEP Cambodia	<p><i>“The problem is with the quality assessment standard of promotion test...our organization is delighted to assist the MOEYS on the issue...ideally, an accredited measure has an average score of 75% from all examinations.”</i></p>
Save the Children Norway	<p><i>“Survival rate is very important to understand why and where repetition and dropout occur the most. These indexes strongly relate to each other. The current rate shows low performance in the education services. According to UNESCO specialists, standard testing is needed as well as proper solutions to household burdens that consume children’s time...If they have no time to study and do homework, they are likely to fail in the test.”</i></p>
VSO Cambodia	<p><i>“Yes, we need improvement and divert our assistance to the issues...discontinuation is caused mainly by children’s personal issues. They go back home early before school hour finishes, or lack of interest in learning because of violence at school, or inappropriate teacher’s behavior...these are just a few.”</i></p>

In the systems framework, survival rate is an output index for measuring children’s performance in order to reach the last grade. It is highly related to other quality indexes. As children tend to repeat grade more than once, the influence of repetition results in high incompleteness rate and low survival rate. Challenges reflect the number of repetition and dropout from grade 1 through 6 (next section). Also, the survival index could verify short school-life expectancy for children. It means the implementation of education policy failed to keep students in school, and to promote them successfully to the next education level. In

particular, the issues identified point out to learning assessment standard and children's personal resolves. These show low education performance of children to reach the last grade.

Repetition and dropout rates

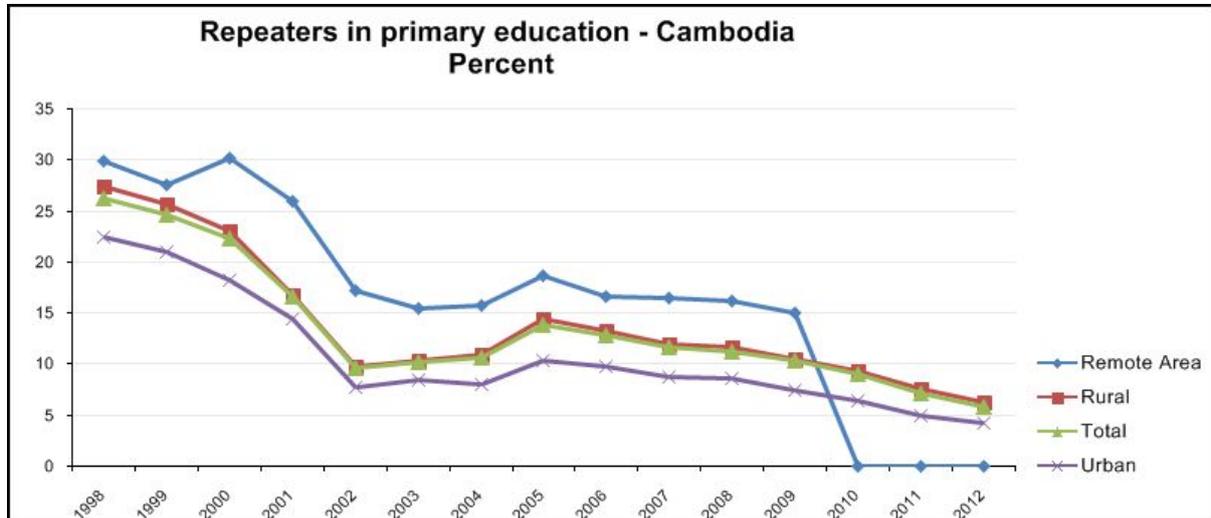


Figure 4.18. Repetition rates, 1997-2011 (in %); Source: Caminfo, 2011.

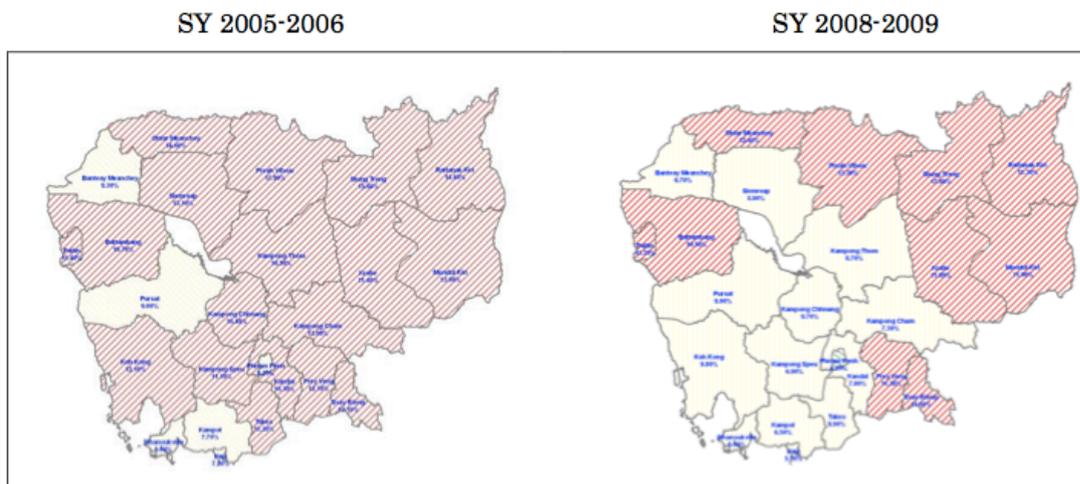


Figure 4.19. Repetition rate by provinces

*Green: less than 5%, Yellow: 5-10%, Red: more than 10%, Source: MOEYS, 2009a.

Figure 4.18 shows an improved repetition rate after adopting EFA, which displays decreases from 26.3% in 1997 to 5.8% in 2011 (MOEYS, 2012a). Repetition rates have dropped evenly by regions. In fact, this rate alone is slowing down at rural level to 6.1% and at urban level to 4.2%, providing a satisfactory result for the MOEYS in SY2011-2012

against its 5% set target by 2013. Figure 4.19 also indicates that the number of provinces with repetition rates larger than 10% has dropped from 18 to 10 provinces from 2005 to 2008.

However, the same trend does not happen to dropout rates. The proportion has not been reduced. The trend of drop-out is yet a concern comparing to its 2013's set target.

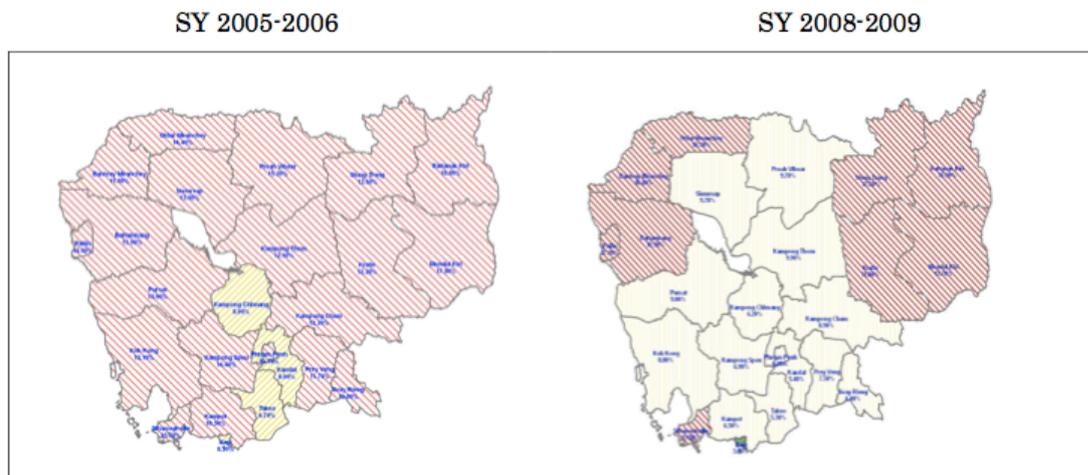


Figure 4.20. Dropout rate by provinces

*Green: less than 5%, Yellow: 5-10%, Red: more than 10%, Source: MOEYS, 2009a.

The number of provinces with dropout rates larger than 10% was cut from 21 in 2005 to 10 in 2008 (Figure 4.20). However, Figure 4.21 shows that children drop out largely in rural areas at 8.7%, and in urban areas at 6.1% in 2011 (MOEYS, 2012a). The overall 8.3% is far larger than the 5% set target. For seven years, the indicator shows improvement by almost 3.5%. It does not compensate with the efforts of the implementation applied in this area.

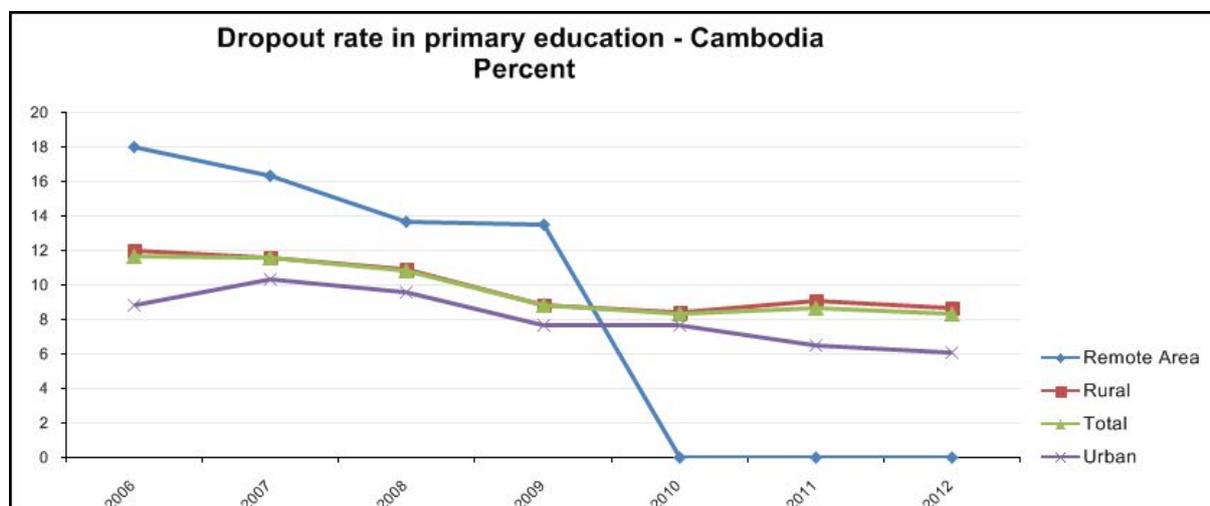


Figure 4.21. Dropout rates, 2005-2011 (in %); Source: Caminfo, 2011.

More particularly, Table 4.30 indicates that the pace of repeating grade substantially occurs during grade 1, 2, and 3, as most children drop out from schools at grade 5 and 6. This trend connects the low survival rate at primary level discussed earlier. In contrast to its achievement, repetition indicator shows that students gather at grade 1 to 3 due to the fact that most of them are slow learners from vulnerable and poor families. Most students engage in education for the first time without having pre-school education to get them ready for primary level, especially in parts of rural and remote domains. This has a major effect to slow learners' subsequent first few years at school, which results in poor learning performance and pushes them to discontinue schoolings in higher grades afterward (grade 4 to 6). Being one of the causes, the issue increases the rate of incomplete students at primary level, and reduces enrollment rates at secondary level. Like other quality aspects, these indicators are also affected by other factors externally, causing the targeted groups to behave accordingly (*External factors* section).

Table 4.30 *Student flow rates for both sex for 2010-2011 (Grade 1-6)*

	Grade 1		Grade 2		Grade 3	
	Repetition	Dropout	Repetition	Dropout	Repetition	Dropout
Whole Kingdom	10.9	8.6	7	7.7	5.3	7
	Grade 4		Grade 5		Grade 6	
	Repetition	Dropout	Repetition	Dropout	Repetition	Dropout
Whole Kingdom	4.1	8.3	2.8	9.6	1.8	8.9

Source: MOEYS, 2012a, 44-45.

In the systems framework, similar to completion and survival rates, repetition and dropout indexes are output variables important for examining education service quality and related external factors affecting the policy implementation. With relatively low values in the indicators, the challenge rests with how to increase the primary completion and survival rates, while reducing repetition and dropout rates. A macro level analysis (Edwards *et al*, 1989) of

the household, culture, and behavior would enable an understanding of local perceptions toward the current EFA policy practices regarding quality indexes.

Gender parity index (GPI)

Historically, women’s role in Cambodia was not recognized. Particularly, before the French arrived, teaching was largely practiced in temple or pagoda system, where gurus were monks leading to the exclusion of women. After the adoption of EFA in 1990, the role of female was recognized and integrated into the education system. Since the education reform in 1996, female staff accounted for 16,916 (35%) personnel in both teaching and non-teaching positions (Figure 4.22). Female involvement at schools has increased to 43.4% in 2009, and to 48.1% in 2011, as female staff in provincial and municipal offices accounted for only 25.9% in 2011. Despite of female inclusion in these positions, the overall gender parity index (GPI) indicates a larger proportion of male than female.

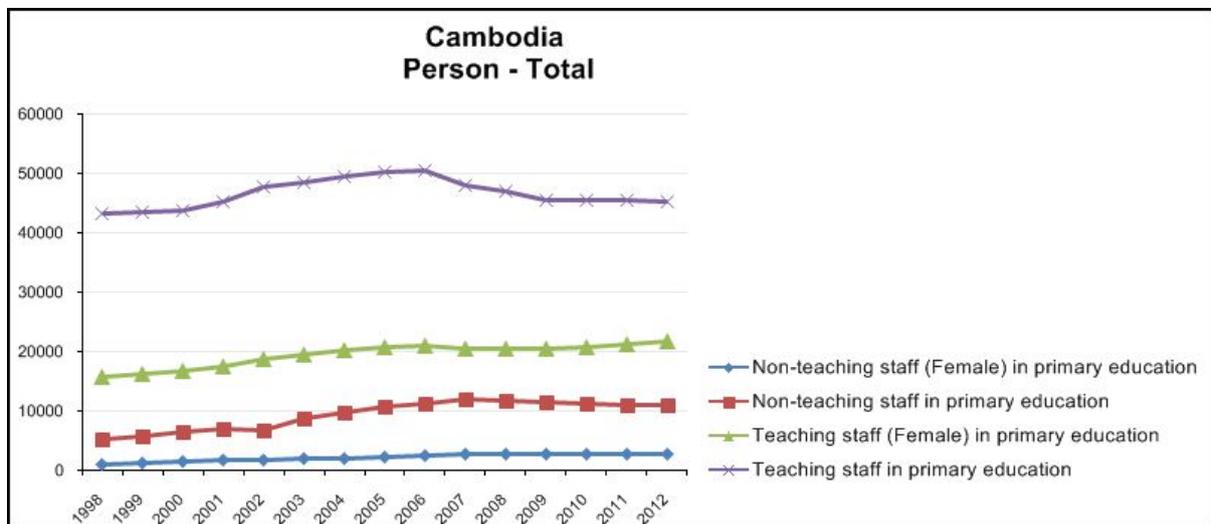


Figure 4.22. Number of female staffs (teaching and non-teaching), 1997-2011

Source: Caminfo, 2011.

By examining closely, the GPI for both teaching and non-teaching roles is similar in trend. The indicator valued at almost one quarter to the male percentage (Figure 4.22). This trend coincides with the values at both core and satellite schools (Table 4.31). Likewise, the

number of teachers has an almost identical value (21,772 females among 45,296 in total). Nonetheless, the GPIs for teachers in urban and rural areas are different in trend. In other words, women's role has been treated differently in regions. For example, the GPI for teachers in urban areas is twice better than the one in rural areas (2.07 versus 0.75) in 2011. It means the number of teachers in urban areas consist of more women than men, whereas there are more men than women in rural areas. The GPI values by regions also correspond with the number of female teachers indicated by regions, accounted for 12,379 out of 22,094 (urban) and 26,920 out of 64,310 (rural).

Table 4.31 *Percentage of female staff by types of cluster schools in SY2011-2012*

	Percentage of		Percentage of female in	
	Non-teaching staff	Female staff	Teaching staff	Non-teaching staff
Primary school	19.6	43.7	48.1	25.9
Cluster-core school	22.2	50.5	56.6	29.2
Cluster-satellite school	18.4	40.5	44.2	24

Source: Education statistics and indicators 2011/2012.

In addition to the challenge of having more men than women in both teaching and non-teaching positions, women's role in the ranks of chief, vice-chief, director, and deputy director positions (at provincial and ministry's department) is not yet promoted. There are currently only three (3) female directors of provincial departments among 24 provinces and municipalities in 2012. Women's roles in leadership are not in favor of their male counterparts in addition to a tradition of male dominating society. According to key officials of the MOEYS, the majority of opinions were expressed by the claims of prejudice against female's actual qualification (Table 4.32). Deliberately, the officials claimed plainly based on judgment, rather than providing logical proofs. This explains a drastic drop of female promotion in the mid-level management from 23.3% in 2006 to 17.59% in 2009 (ibid., 2009), which shows an issue regarding women's planning and decision-making roles. On the other

hand, responses from the non-state partners indicate lack of gender recognition and decentralization across the ministry (Table 4.33).

Table 4.32 *Responses from the DPE’s officials on female involvement*

Informants	Responses
MOEYS	<p>“...all promotions of mid-ranking positions are assigned based on seniority, networking with higher ranking officials, and qualified competence; most senior female officers lack of these points and decision-making.”</p> <p>“They [women] lack of decision-making ability; a quick and effective decision is done by men.”</p> <p>“The ministry is trying its best to promote women’s role in the structure and management team. However, there are few qualified females fitting for higher ranking positions...I would also prefer working with them as their communication is concise and easy to work with.”</p> <p>“Females are too slow in decision making...administrative work fits well with them. It is not discrimination but just a general observation.”</p>

Table 4.33 *Responses from the non-state on female involvement*

Informants	Responses
UNESCO	<p>“Beside girl’s education, UNESCO also sees female involvement as a major development for the ministry and the policy. But the degree of involvement is still low regarding this matter. I would suggest an open-minded recognition of gender at all levels of the organizational structure. There are many female personnel who are qualified and ready to serve. Seniority should be tolerated. And they [MOEYS] should not take women for granted.”</p>
World Education	<p>“Female staff tends to work very well and get the job done quickly in an organized fashion. Their decision is swift and clear. I know this since most of my colleagues are female and it is not hard to assume the same for those working in the ministry and at lower levels. We have seen a great success of girl’s education. We should concentrate on personnel affaires regarding gender issues more genuinely. Overall, it is a part of the policy.”</p>
KAPE	<p>“Although in provincial operations, I rarely engage with female staffs in provincial offices. The majority are male officials. They should give females a chance to carry out critical works such as project implementation and trans-organizational communication. Females could communicate very well with others and finish the jobs more effectively in my experience...”</p>
NEP Cambodia	<p>“I do not discriminate against male environment, but female should be given the same opportunity to prove themselves useful and appropriate for the work...Promoting women is an additional step to achieve decentralization...in this sense, we strongly request female for the job but they are not among educational specialists sent by the ministry, saying not being qualified.”</p>
Save the Children Norway	<p>“There are always male officers who come to work with us, in provincial and local projects. There is no decentralization for women at workplace among these officials. If they do have, male should not dominate all the work.”</p>
VSO Cambodia	<p>No answer</p>

In the systems framework, gender parity index is an output variable crucial for examining the level of decentralization and empowerment for female in the policy

implementation. As indicated in the EFA policy, decentralization in general is expected at all levels regardless of ranks and gender. However, the hierarchical form of organizing in the MOEYS shows an opposite direction from the EFA effort. In particular for female staff, equitable gender at workplace is an unanswered issue, testing the degree of decentralization of its implementers. Being a society of men for centuries, the efforts of promoting gender in education gained little success. Decentralization through gender is a process demanding harmony at all levels.

Implementation: Outcomes

Implementation inputs

As discussed in the systems framework, although financial resource is an important input for the policy implementation as a whole, its insufficiency posts a serious problem for relevant operations, which require recurring financial support, especially for school support programs and personnel remuneration. Without adequate support, these apprehensions will create subsequent malfunction in school support, corruption among officials, and worst of all an unsustainable financial flow for the EFA reform. Teachers and non-teaching staffs are centered as the main input workforce available for delivering education services and implementing the policy. With its low education profile and imbalanced compensation, it results in discouragement in motivation and commitment for the public servants, and longer trainings and work delay. However, external linkages have received strong political support from the government, making it the most important source of assistance and resources for fulfilling the inadequacies above.

Implementation conversion

Through the systems framework, the organizational forms of the MOEYS allow it to work with others collaboratively, and prevent it from being decentralized. Responsibilities

are assigned top-down; street-level officials have no power to make plans and decisions toward their local communities. The tyranny of the powerful will always take control over democracy in this manner. Fortunately, there are non-state advocates who work closely at grassroots levels. Without modifying its organizational structure and leadership, the implementing agency will have more weaknesses than strengths for future implementation. As for coordination, harmony in agreement and integration of work and control results in clear and swift execution of implementation tools. Allocating resources to support programs and projects is truly fundamental, and should be self-sustained. Nonetheless, dependency relationship creates a flaw vulnerable to long term policy implementation. As a strategic consequence, school clustering and PAP programs are made vulnerable to shortage of financial resources. Strategically laid out as blueprints for implementation of other programs, the issues could hamper these strategies from reaching their purposes. Education is made free based on PAP program which reduce financial burdens from households. Given the issues at hands, education could not be free of charge and poor households need to pay for it. Inter-organization relation provides a great deal of mutual understanding between the state and non-state actors, as they interact with each other. Playing the role of collaborators, gap-fillers, or critics could give a wake-up call for the government to realize what and how issues should be dealt with.

Implementation outputs

The systems framework has shown that school enrollment is a successful implementation result, indicating an increasing trend of marginalized children enrollment to education services. Literacy rate among children aged 6-14 has increased. This leads to goal attainment in the Education for All and Millennium Development Goal initiatives for providing education for all children. Equitable access has been ensured. However, although schools are successfully clustered and decentralized, school facilities are yet in shortage in

both financial and human resources. This leads to persisting high pupil-teacher ratios, which hinder quality education services and create a crowded classroom environment unsuitable for learning. The issue of language barrier in trainings for educational personnel results in immediate delay of work and incompetency in carrying out the policy implementation. Low completion and survival rates lead to poor educational standard and quality, causing many children gathering at the primary level (repetition), and/or a tendency of incapability to stay longer in school (drop-out). Motivation to stay in school tends to erode for children with multiple repetitions. Longer absence is another result, which affects the children's continuity in learning. This effect produces low literacy rate for discontinued children in the long run, which then produces fear of re-entry and overage. Fewer children could enter the lower secondary level. Additionally, women are still not included in the mainstream workforce of the policy implementation, particularly in major decision-making roles. The level of decentralization is low in both structural organization and gender. Therefore, the policy aspects of quality and decentralization are yet stumbling blocks for education for all.

Internal Factors Affecting Implementations

The internal factors affecting implementations exist in the systems framework.

Inputs

The study showed inadequate financial resources to support primary education which reflected the lack of political commitment to education. All programs financed by this budget are also affected, including educational staff's salary. The low compensation led to problems of teachers' unprofessional conduct and behavior, as the number of teachers is inadequate and many of them have low education background.

Conversion

Conversion step in the system revealed that the implementing organization is highly centralized and hierarchical. Policy and program implementation is donor-dependent

financially and operationally. Weakness in program-based budgeting was found due to budgetary cuts and financial uncertainty.

Outputs

Several factors were identified in outputs. High pupil-teacher ratio resulted from inadequate school facilities and teachers. Also, there are high rates of repeaters, non-completion and drop-outs throughout grade 1 to 6. Low level of autonomy and decentralization was found at provincial and district levels. Ineffective training programs for teachers and non-teaching staffs constituted another factor of incompetency. Lastly, weak feedback mechanism was a major factor in preventing solutions to all stages: inputs, conversion, and outputs.

External Factors of Primary School Attendance in Rural Cambodia: Some Perceptions

This is a case study conducted to determine what external factors affecting primary school attendance of rural children in Cambodia. This is done on the assumption that effectiveness of EFA policy implementation is also affected by factors outside/external the operations of the education ministry and its partners.

Background and Rationale of the Case Study

Non-attendance at school is a pressing problem for developing countries where a massive number of school-aged children could not have access to education. “Long-continued absence may result in educational backwardness with far-reaching effects upon social and educational adjustment in later school life and adulthood” (Hersov, 1960).

There are many studies on the influences of children attendance in education. The World Bank finds that low attendance rates and poor school inputs are two main factors leading to high dropout and repetition rates in Honduras (World Bank, 1995). Clearly, the education policy here is not effectively implemented due to constraints/factors, which have

not dealt with in the implementation. The World Bank elaborates that as rural children engage in economic activities, school non-attendance rate increases. In this case, attendance to school will be affected when parents perceive that the return associated with time spent in school does not justify the loss of a child's economic contribution (ibid.). This is an example of child abuses in their labor. Parental perceptions of school inputs may also affect the attendance as low-quality teachers or limited sufficiency of teaching materials may attenuate the expected benefits from attending school (Bedi and Marshall, 2002). They added, "a reduction in days attended probably exerts a negative influence on academic achievement and increases the probability of repetition and desertion" (ibid., 131). Recognizing these indirect and direct links between school attendance and educational outcomes also suggests a concentration on driving factors that underlie the decision of school attendance. It may further lead to understanding the dynamics of human capital formation in a developing country. Although substantial amount of literature examined the reasons of school enrollment, test scores, grade repetition and desertion, there seems to be less work on the factors that motivate school attendance (Strauss and Thomas, 1995). The work of Bedi and Marshall (1999) assume that parents determine the particular pattern of school attendance for their children on the basis of expected gains and the costs of attending school. This has tremendous impact on children's attendance at primary level since parents would decide to send, or not to send, children to school based on this perception; these so-called "factors" persist, even though the universal primary education policy is in place.

Despite of the effort to give free education for all children, there are yet a number of burdens preventing children to schooling opportunity. That means, several factors have caused children to stop or to prevent them from going to school in rural Cambodia. In the Cambodian socioeconomic survey 2009, about 18% and 16% of persons aged 6-17 responded "too young" and "too poor" respectively that they had stopped or did not go to school when

they reached the minimum age of enrollment (6 years old) (ibid., 51). The survey continued that more women did not attend school because they must contribute to the family income or help with family routine tasks, while more men did not want to go to school.

This work aims at identifying multiple perceptual responses about factors affecting attendance to primary education in rural Cambodia. For this reason, one community that more or less represents rural Cambodia was identified. Located in Siem Reap province, the community is called Thnol Bandoy Village. The case study was structured as a perceptual and contextual ethnography, which employed a qualitative method using interviews with respondents. There were 30 children, 23 household heads, and 17 key informants including the head of the village (1), district education officers of primary education (2), community elderly (3), monks (3), teaching personnel (6), and local NGO's staffs (2). While targeting children and households randomly in the village, key informants were purposively identified. The data collection methods involved observations, notes, and interviews (see Appendix H for interview forms). Ethnographic observations were used in an unstructured way in order to provide first hand exploration about the community and potential informants. Then, participatory observations were employed. The findings were described and presented by using simple tables and followed up by discussions. Finally, the factors affecting children's attendance was uncovered, resulting from perceptions of various sources.

Findings and Discussion

Perceptions from parents

The parents revealed personal opinions on factors that influenced children's access to schooling and how unequally these factors separated their children's chances to education. This is a major finding since all of their responses reflected personal resolves to primary education and its policy. This section discusses three significant factors: income, food, and labor abuse.

Income and attendance in primary education

Generally, the village farmers engage in both farm and nonfarm employments for income. Since farming is seasonal, rural people have to look for alternative employment outside the community and return in time to harvest the crops. Table 4.34 shows that, among all interviewed parents, 95% were full time farmers, whose 50% were doing irregular construction jobs in town, 40% were part-time Apsara Authority workers, and other 10% engaged in other types of jobs for extra earnings. This is in line with the findings of Anderson and Leiserson who noted that nonfarm employments were expanding very rapidly in farming regions of Africa, Asia, and Latin America as a result of agricultural development and special attention in the design of rural and even urban development strategies (Anderson and Leiserson, 1980). In the case of Brazil, Graziano da Silva (1996) explains that nonfarm engagement is not new; it has been a second option for rural income generation for 40 years. During the 1960s and 1970s, a substantial number of rural workers moved from the countryside to the rural-urban periphery, urbanizing a large part of the agricultural workforce that formerly lived on farms. In 1990, additionally, “for each five persons residing in rural areas where agriculture is the most developed in Brazil (in the state of Sao Paulo), at most two were employed in agriculture; another three were employed in nonfarm activities, principally in processing industries (agroindustry), domestic services, civil construction, commerce, and social services” (Graziano da Silva, 2001, 444). In the case of Cambodia, it seems this effect has popularized among rural dwellers in the last two decades. Small farmers and women in rural areas often engage and generate income in rural nonfarm employment.

Table 4.34 *Sources of incomes*

	Farmer	Construction	Apsara worker	Other
Income cluster	95%	50%	40%	10%

Table 4.34 further implied that the parents were diversifying their incomes from nonfarm activities: services, tourism, and construction, rather than traditional monoculture farming. This was because of low income. In order to earn more, some are willing to shift to the nonfarm sector completely, as one respondent commented, *“we have no other choices except leaving our fields...the crops are lesser and lesser every year; if we are to survive these days we have to find other alternatives”* (see Appendix I for detailed perceptions). Moreover, women’s advocacy in microfinance have led nonfarm activities into their livelihoods through NGO’s workshops and trainings for female parents. To list a few, female household heads noted,

“...beside my husband’s extra job, I learned new skills such as weaving silk krama [Khmer traditional scarf], making wooden flutes, and painting from Angka (organization) Plan; they let us borrow a small credit too to start up.”

“I learned small business trick from Plan Cambodia and borrow from microcredit firm in the district’s town...my mobile food cart can earn up to 200,000Riels a day (50US\$) at Angkor.”

“When we are free from farming, Plan Cambodia taught us how to diversify our earning via soft drink shop business idea.”

These trends have led to diverse and complementary engagements in nonfarm activities as sources of income for rural Cambodian people. Graziano da Silva’s study also coincides with this shift of income generation from agriculture to nonfarm activities such as the provision of services (personal services, leisure activities, and services linked to other economic activities), commerce, and even industrial activities (ibid.). Similar findings by Klein (1992) and Weller (1997) also support this movement.

However, these nonfarm employments use a great deal of non-skilled labor, *i.e.* provided by (poorest) peasant families seeking extra employment in domestic services, farm wage labor, and other activities to complement meager farm incomes. In this work, the

similarity centers at the villagers' limited skills to earn higher income. Without special skills and trainings, the nonfarm works contributed only limited incomes that were referred to as "low," "instable," and "unsustainable" (Table 3.3) because of its occasional and seasonal nature. Thus, all respondents give a common expression—"we have too little earnings". In some cases, it was so little for supporting the family, making children's education was not an option. For instance, although education is free, education itself demands supplies, books, stationery, uniform, and relevant [unofficial] daily fees for teachers; parents basically are unable to afford these. Another villager added, "...how are we supposed to provide them [children] when our lives are in poverty?" Even with diverse extra employments, the income remained low and irregular. Table 4.34 illustrates that these nonconventional jobs require plain labor, which are fit mostly to the household heads' conditions. The earnings did not conform to compensations. As a matter of fact, in Table 3.3, when a construction worker (Group A) earned in average daily 10,000 Riels (About US\$2.5), an Apsara worker (Group B) got 8,000 Riels (US\$2) for two-day wage (a dollar per day). With multiple tasks combined, eighteen (18) parents could not reach 10,000-Riel earning per day. With crosschecking with major official reports, there is only one certain data on the amount of money per day to survive in rural Cambodia. According to Cambodian Socio-Economic Survey in 2009, the total expenses in education include: school fees, tuition, text books, other school supplies, allowances for children studying away from home, transport cost, and gift to teachers and other building funds (NIS, 2009). Therefore, it was calculated that a household needed about 109,060 Riels in average to cover the annual educational expenses at primary level in order to send a kid to school, and the amount differed greatly when looking at geographical domains, up to an average of 166,000 Riels annually for rural areas (ibid., 51-52). The researcher could identify a basic figure of survival per day between 6,000-8,000 Riels (US\$2) for each household in the village. Interestingly, the number looked identical to

an average monthly consumption per capita in rural domain of 212,000 Riels (ibid., 104). It means a person needs to spend 212,000 Riels in average in order to survive in a certain rural area. The consumption per capita consists of expenditure on food, drinks, tobacco, clothing and footwear, housing, water, electricity, furnishing, health, transportation, communication, recreation and culture, education and miscellaneous goods. Table 4.35 indicates a calculation¹⁶ using Table 3.3's monthly income (Group A and B) to subtract the ideal consumption per capita. It shows that the parents in group A can survive and afford education for their children, while the rest of the groups appears to be just enough to survive or insufficient. However, as noted above the income level of group A (nonfarm) is irregular depending on fluctuating seasonal employment and nature of the works. Although educational expenses take a considerably small share out of the overall income, many villagers could not afford education. All in all, the villagers had low income and it was a fundamentally decisive factor in income adequacy in regards school attendance.

Table 4.35 *Monthly per capita expenses against monthly income (in thousands)*

	Income per month			
	Group A		Group B	
	450	300	240	180
Household consumption	212	212	212	212
(Primary education expense of 13,833Riels included)				
Total	238	88	28	(32)

Food security and attendance to primary education

Food availability and accessibility are two major indicators of food security in rural Cambodia (World Bank, 2001). The findings showed food-supply shortage among all

¹⁶ Calculated by the author.

households (Appendix I). Relatively small income can only secure food in a short-run. According to the parents, with food inadequacy, sending children to school was out of the question. Schooling is not a priority concern. Food is more basic and crucial to their survival than education. It creates a line of breaking point here between the insufficient and the sufficient ones in terms of access to education. Indeed, food security is as important factor as income in influencing decision toward schooling. Being the primary occupation, farming is not adequate to meet income and food requirements; most families sought alternative sources of food for subsistence (Table 4.36). Raising livestock and vegetable gardening were the usual sources of additional food for the rural households. Based on available resources, gardening needs land areas to secure food. Common livestock include poultry, cattle, and pig.

Table 4.36 *Sources of food*

	Farming	Livestock	Vegetable planting
Food security cluster	90%	60%	40%

Food availability in the village was deficient in terms of farming alone. Among the interviewed parents, the majority was rice farmers (90%) whose food supplies decreased, due to resource constraints. In terms of food availability, resource constraint is a state of lacking sufficient means to produce food. This includes land availability and crop yielding capacity. Most areas of farmlands were being bought and transformed into industrial agro-business such as cashew nut and peanut plantation. As their methods are not productive, these farmers with land did not produce sufficient crop for the harvest season. This later leads to land sale and increased nonfarm engagements in a few cases. It resulted in shortage of agricultural land for food production and income generation. Added a construction worker, *“I used to farm in our land but I sold it for money because we had to...now I work as a worker in town, feeding my families on a daily basis.”* A similar expression by another farmer stated, *“...most land areas were bought by rich people; more and more of us have no vegetable garden*

anymore...only a few pigs left under the house.” Harmful pests and diseases were also factors affecting agricultural yield. Other factors affecting agricultural production included lack of knowledge about modern agriculture, land conversion to other uses, sedimentation of wetlands, and decreasing water supply for irrigation. Under these circumstances more children out of necessity tended to drop out of school.

Hunger in rural areas is caused by lack of power to purchase food (World Bank, 2001). Food is particularly expensive in this part of rural Cambodia. At the communal local market, the average cost of regular rice was 4,000 Riels a kilogram (US\$1), while fresh water fish priced 8,500 Riels per kilogram (US\$2); approximately a little lower than in Phnom Penh’s marketplaces (as of November 2010). By looking at income rank, parents in Group B and below had difficulty in purchasing food for daily consumption. One of whom indicated, *“nowadays increases of commodity prices along with food are seen everywhere; gasoline are expensive; rice is expensive; fishes are expensive...”* The reasons for increasing food prices in rural Cambodia varied and were complicated. Transport, marketing, handling, taxes and storage costs added up to the cost of goods and commodities, making them unaffordable to rural consumers. With little and unstable income together with high prices of food, most rural families could ill-afford to send their children to school.

According to the community doctor, performance in school was highly influenced by pre and post-natal nutritional status of mother and children respectively.

Child labor and attendance in primary education

According to the International Labor Organization, child labor is often “defined as work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development” (ILO, 2011). The term refers to work that is mentally, physically, socially or morally dangerous and harmful to children and interferes

with their schooling. Table 4.37 shows a number of children who engage in labor activities as described by parents. Fifteen (15) children sold products (krama, T-shirt, flute, wooden musical instrument, guidebook, soft drink, snack and other souvenirs) to tourists, while six (6) children engaged in tourist guidance and entertainment (singing) for tourists at ancient ruins. Four (4) children begged tourists for money at entrances of temples and food stands. A child could have up to three jobs at any one time. For example, a kid selling souvenirs can serve as tourist guide and even as entertainer at the same time, depending on circumstances. These were cash earning activities that have been carried out voluntarily. Unpaid activities considered as child labor included house works (4 kids) and farm works (2 kids).

Table 4.37 *Children engagements described by parent acknowledgements*

	Sell products	Tourist guide & entertainer	House works	Farm works	Begging
Labor abuse	15	6	4	2	4

Ten (10) parents mentioned that it has become the children’s daily habit after school to go to Angkor complex for earning opportunity. It was on voluntary basis. Children have a tendency to work and earn when the rural context provides the opportunities. Parents asserted, *“even if I told them not to go, they still insisted and went with other kids to Angkor to look for money.”* In this case, children have involved in income-generating activities alongside their parents. Children’s earnings contribute a large share in families’ total income. For example, an entertaining tourist guide could spend two hours entertaining them (singing and funny talk) and earn between 15-30US\$ for one tour from foreigners. If that same child could sell ten bottles of soft drink to tourists a day, that is 2,000Riels for each drink (0.5US\$). This makes a 13-year-old child earn twice more than the adult in one day. Debates about child labor arise from its micro and macro-economic impacts (Admassie, 2003, 168). Eliminating child labor from rural areas may entail sufferings to poor families. Patrinos and

Psacharopoulos (1997) argue specifically that prohibiting children from all kinds of works without first raising family real income from other sources might have tragic influences for the poor, creating even more destitute children, since these children contribute up to one-third of the household income. The survival of poor families depends heavily on the cash or in kind contribution of their children for this instance.

Sadly, extra engagements remarkably impact on children's studies and school attendance. They result in more dropouts and non-attendance at school. Earning children have to skip classes or completely stop attending school in order to help their families. Future dropouts and school skipping are likely to be caused by child labor when parents alone cannot support the household's needs. This factor influences children so greatly that even education is not prioritized in the light of family's sufficiency. Relevant influencing factors coexist in a sequence related to poverty. As described by the parents, low income results in food insecurity, which later forces children to engage in labor. For most cases, without income they cannot buy food, without food they cannot survive, thus there is no other option. In either circumstance, low income or food insecurity causes child labor in rural Cambodia.

Whether on purpose or unintentional, exploiting child labor can be considered abuse of children's rights. It prevents their mental and physical development. There are three arguments regarding child labor (Anker, 2000). First, child labor is a violation of children's human rights since young children are forced to undertake abusive, harmful, and exploitative activities, which may often be beyond their physical capabilities. Second, child laborers are deprived of their freedom of childhood, their right to recreate and play, and their natural development. This notion gives a fundamental basis to the idea of the universal primary education (the MDGs) that principally offers freedom to all children to learn in a period of physical, mental, and social development. Indeed, the children who need to be forced to work instead of attending school lack of creativity and brain development. And third, child labor

affects educational activities of children, leading to reduced attendance and time at school. With tremendous time spent in earning that amount of income, the parents foresee that it is difficult to change children's habit. Indeed, child labor is a serious barrier to children's attendance that increases low literacy rate and poor human development. Admassie agrees, "child labor is a dis-investment in human capital formation and has detrimental effects on the subsequent private and social returns from it" (Admassie, 2003, 168).

In short, the parents provided unquestionable perceptions toward school attendance for children. Although they have got the awareness of the current primary education policy, the above factors are significant constraints toward education.

Perceptions from children¹⁷

Income adequacy

In the same manner, income adequacy is a factor affecting decision to schooling. All 30 children mentioned that low income and parent's unstable employment were major problems for them to stop going to school. To list a few, some children responded,

"Yes I like to go to school...I have to help my family first."

"To tell my father...he's a worker for Apsara, we have no money for school."

"Learning is fun, I can meet a lot of friends and I can play there...but I don't have time for it."

Insufficient income for family is a matter of life and death for children to survive in the village, although education seems important in their opinion. If needed, they would do any kinds of jobs and activities that earn money to support themselves and their families.

Food security

All children shared the same opinion that food insecurity is a major factor influencing their lives, not only for non-attendance in school. Without adequate food, children opined

¹⁷ See Appendix J for children's perceptions

that they would rather help their parents look for additional income generating activities rather than attending school. There is no point talking about education with starving children. For them, food is first.

Labor engagement

Table 4.38 *Children engagements described by children*

	Sell products	Tourist guide & entertainer	House works	Farm works	Begging
Labor abuse	9	2	6	10	3

All children believed that looking for income was a better solution for the hardships and survival in rural areas. The children were asked to specify their most active and/or profitable activities in which they carried out or earned most. As shown in Table 4.38, each child took part in respective activities such as farmworks (10 kids), selling products (silk scarf, T-shirt, flute, wooden music instruments, guidebook, soft drink, snack and others) (9 kids), houseworks (6 kids), begging (3 kids) and tourist guide (learn foreign languages word by word from adults at tourist sites) (2 kids). According to them, unpaid activities such as houseworks and farmworks were somehow forced on them by parents since schooling was not affordable and help was needed in the family. It is not entirely forceful but all family members have to work or take care of the house. Cash-earning activities are voluntary. These coincide with parent’s opinions. A group of children added,

“My house needs me to help my parents...”

“I have to look after my baby brothers.”

“I walk my cows to ponds and grass fields everyday.”

“My father needs me in our vegetable garden to plant watermelon, pumpkin, and cucumber.”

“I can earn money and eat good foods at Angkor.”

“I sell krama and books...I receive a lot of money...foreigners like me.”

In fact, it is a trend that children can earn a good income in this part of Cambodia. Most children are willing to work and earn in order to relieve parent's hardships. This means that if income is not stable and food is insecure, children tend to skip class and/or stop schooling in order to join the workforce, which result in dropouts and illiteracy in the long run. Future dropouts and skipping from school are caused by child labor when parents alone cannot support the household needs. This factor influences children and circulates the poverty cycle. Without income they do not have food, without food they cannot survive. Both parents and children's perceptions are common in the context of rural Cambodia.

Perceptions from elders

The respondents gave personal ideas toward education for children in a traditionally conservative way. It occurred to them that the current system of primary education is doing a good job in teaching young people compared with their generation. Depending on each elderly's role in the village, the answers differed for each case. They provided three components of responses: perceptions on education for children, effectiveness of the current policy, and recommendations

The elderly pointed out education sector was not focused on completely in the past. Peasant families had to send children to serve monks in pagodas from remote places in order to receive education. Some could not receive education at all and had to stay at home and work on the fields. Two elders commented:

"In our generation, education was accessible through pagodas...we learnt how to read and write Pali and Sangsekrit, Buddhist disciplines, and effort..."

"They had two choices: going to pagoda, or staying home...only men could learn...it's hardworking at pagodas and serving monks...sometimes we went out with monks to get food in the dry season with no time for learning."

A senior monk added,

“People sent their teenagers to Wat [pagodas] to learn and strengthen their morality. They worked, stayed, and served monks in exchange for education...some went through tough times like wiping by monks; it was part of the ancient tradition and habit...No one complained because eventually life in pagodas taught them well and they were grateful.”

However, in contemporary Cambodia, that is not the case. Children can enroll in school with proper clothing, facilities, formal curriculum, and trained mentors. From monk’s perceptions, by visioning livelihood in the village, the people struggled for survival and adequacy with less attention and care about education. Added two monks:

“Education development in Thnol Bondoy is progressive with the current government...but families are poor; some of them sometimes came to Wat and asked for food...they stayed for a while [3 to 4 weeks] and then left to their homes for farming and other odd jobs. It is very hard for poor people.”

“I know some families with 7 to 12 kids in the house. Feeding them is fine; education for them, it’s hard to say...no parent wants their children to be poor like themselves, living in poverty and inadequacy on daily bases...as a monk, I encourage them to find help from Angka [NGO]; they teach people better.”

Nonetheless, information and benefit of education have changed their ideas, once shared by the medias. They want children to get out of poverty unlike they used to be. Education is the only light and bridge to literacy, employment, better living condition, and value in the society. This group of respondents replied with positive feedback to the current performance of education policy.

Recommendations were suggested to provide bigger school facilities inside pagodas so that children can learn both education and Buddhist way of how to nurture and value life.

As noted, there were no higher levels of education beside the two primary schools. They suggested building a school, which integrates all three levels of education: primary, secondary and tertiary levels.

Implementation's success was determined from what the elders called "working mechanism." If something is working, it is effective. Likewise, the elderly thought that the implementation is effective when people can send children to school free of charge and everyone can do so. However, their opinions conveyed to the idea of being destined to be poor. In this way, they are destined to have no wealth, to eat insufficiently, and to work hard even for children. With this conservative idea, only the external forces could affect their opinion. Plan Cambodia's participation in the village is an example. Hence, the more assistance the people receive, the better access to education they can get. For this instance, the elders understand that the benefits of having helps from the outside are enormous to assist and enhance the village's development. In this regard, with elderly's understanding of the essence of education in development, the key to education awareness is being promoted to the villagers, as elderly give advices and guidance to the villagers in times of need.

Perceptions from local authorities

Other than administrative overview of the whole village, the local authorities could provide ideas about factors affecting primary education's decision.

The first informant was the village head who had already shed some lights on the community's profile and general livelihood of the villagers. He elaborated more information on the current development status beginning with issues in regards farmland transformation into encroaching urbanization from real estate brokers and the elites, and the people's lack of knowledge about modern agriculture. These were among the most nuisances affecting the people's ways of life, if not directly, especially a decision to send children to school and the

inability to support schooling. Without lands, farming is impossible. Without farming, inadequacy is a major problem since these farmers are illiterate. The village head agreed with the parents that the issues persist and if there were no other choices, the poorest would end up in hunger. In regards education for children, the situation exacerbated when children tended to engage in income generation to survive these hardships. If there is no immediate pro-poor policy or program to improve the situation of survival from either NGOs or the government, these children cannot go to school properly. As quoted:

“...I don’t know how the poorest villagers could continue to live; he has no land, no skills, no trainings...we all used to live depending on the farmland...as of now, all of us diversify income sources by working, gardening, and seeking help from Angka Plan. Most farmers I know already sold their lands inherited from ancestors to merchants and rich elites. Soon this area will become flat buildings or agribusiness plantation...regarding education, although our government is trying to improve, but livelihood factors are heavier. Poverty sucks the farmers’ blood everyday.”

As viewed by school management, education was thought optional as observed from children’s behaviors. Two principles expressed that when children discontinued their studies, the rate of re-entrance was low depending on each family’s financial status. Sometimes they re-enter school again because their livelihood situation is better. There is no definite assurance that makes children stay in school in the long run. Although most students attend schooling, there are chances that they skip classes or drop out due to family’s burdens. Looking after younger siblings and helping out parents on the field are examples. They asserted,

“Some students skipped class on regular basis...two days, a week...Teachers have a report in school monthly meeting that children are busy helping out their families...they don’t usually stop immediately. They could attend only 2 or 3 class a week. That is why the biggest issue is

discontinuation that does not show immediate figure on the report. Local level can show this trend clearly if you observe deeply.”

“Dropouts usually happen in the peak season of tourism. Children discontinue and look for works in the Angkor complex. This routine is well known among school’s management and teachers as it happen regularly. Re-entrants also face repetition because they stopped coming to classes during an academic year, making these students failed automatically...When we try to ask them, they say they are busy at home, or too much work in the field...These are common reasons.”

Children’s performance is the other problem resulting from livelihood and family’s factors. In reality, academic performance also decreased due to observations. Teachers who engage with children directly could identify this. In one of many cases, if a 4th grader has a personal matter in the family, his/her grade in the current month would drop extensively about 40% due to lack of concentration and frequent absence. Moreover, the children’s favorite activities after school-hour were going to Angkor Park together in-group in searching for “paid opportunities.” They did not have enough time for homework and playtime. Teachers are aware of these characters as they interact directly with children on a daily basis. In this sense, the education policy is working for the concept of education for all itself, but in response to the villagers’ current routine, there need be programs such as child friendly schools to deal with certain issues affecting educational decision. As far as the child friendly school initiative is concerned, this practice has not been fully functioned at the two state schools yet since 2009. The schools received foundation level from the program. As quoted,

“For children’s education...they are poor children with a lot of tasks on the field, or taking care of livestock. The child friendly school policy only prevents them from skipping or dropping out of class in a short while as our schools operate with limitation with multiple shifts a day.”

“Regarding children and their schooling? This school receives limited help...we don’t have scholarship or food provision like other regions yet...Other schools in the same region are also the

same, with more or less beginning rating in the child friendly school program. We [teachers] try to advise children not to abandon school easily and to think about their future far ahead, but things are always the same.”

In regards perceptions of educational officials, the informants provided some ideas on the current implementations of policy. In the case of Pradak commune, the overall assessment of primary education policy was carried out in order to understand current practices of the EFA principles. The results were fairly good. According to the head of the office, children’s attendance rose by 15% from the previous year, while dropout level increased from 6% to almost 10% especially in Grade 5 and 6. The positive outputs resulted from various efforts done by both the office and collaboration with Plan Cambodia. The officials admitted that there were some personal reasons that led to non-attendance even if the policy was in place. To grasp the extent of how the implementation affects attendance in the community, both district educational officials accepted eagerly that education services are accessible but inequitably. Although the policy allows children in the village to have access to education, they are not being included fairly due to different economic status and livelihood difficulties. There is also no guarantee that they would stay in school and for how long when these factors occur, unless a local pro-poor mechanism is initiated.

“...there are always negative results in primary education. This is the poorest province in Cambodia. The results of education are also ones of the poorest. It is difficult to keep children in school although enrollment rate is high. Poor kids in rural regions like them get irregular education according to their available time from farmwork, unlike those in the city...”

“These children would walk or ride a bicycle for kilometers to get to Angkor in order to sell stuffs. We are aware of the issue, but there is not enough help from the government...we have only Plan. Next year Save the Children will support child friendly school program. I hope the situation will be better after that; as for the children’s routine, I believe it is not easy to be stopped.”

As community development progresses in the village, it is perceived that the developmental roles of the local NGO, Plan Cambodia, have become more actively important in primary education sector. The assistance can actually overcome setbacks that exist for so long, and can solve the financial problems from the inside out as the NGO's work is ongoing in several aspects including children and adult education.

Perceptions from Plan Cambodia

Plan Cambodia was the only local assistant in the village. Its operations covered multiple aspects in community development. The informants explained about scope and strategies to help the villagers overcome economic and livelihood burdens. Since commencing its programs and projects, Plan Cambodia has helped relieve farmers' hardships by offering knowledge about agricultural methods, resources for starters, microfinance, saving, capacity building to households for income generations, and more. In terms of solutions for both problems in economic and food security, the NGO trained the villagers in workshops and field trainings, specifically to be self-financed by diversifying income in both modern farming and livestock raising. These techniques include animal husbandry, fishpond raising, plant gardening, soil recovery, and natural fertilizer production. These trainings were provided as formal and informal meetings, on-the-field practices, and aid supplies. These activities were fairly described and verified via participatory observations during definite stays in the village. Plan Cambodia carries out its activities with the help of supplies and funding from other large and small organizations. They cooperate in forms of specialist supply and joint workshops. Funds are funneled through Plan Cambodia and distributed to specialized projects systematically.

More importantly, the NGO provides several direct and indirect supports to primary education in the village. It supports strongly but indirectly to the child friendly schools

program, which benefits children, parents and the community. The organization started to provide a small scale food-for-education to poor children in 2009 for those having food insufficiency. It is an operation to support Save the Children Norway and UNICEF for children in this area to realize education for all. Scholarships were granted to those with merit school records and from the poorest families; most of the recipients were girls of low-income families. There were 45 children (38 girls) who received financial support in grade 1 to 6. In exchange for the children's attendance in school, Plan Cambodia gives each parent trade-off incentives such as monthly financial support, if they allow schooling for children. It also provides a special session available to disabled children at home. The implementations of these programs reveal the efforts of a local NGO carrying out the EFA principles and providing full support to those who are in need and socially vulnerable, "the unreached groups." Their intention is not only helping to achieve the Dakar Framework for Action but also aiming at all eight aspects of the MDGs. For their perceptions, providing simultaneous assistance at household level could solve poverty-manifested issues in the rural context. Undeniably, they think that economic and livelihood problems prevent children to attend school properly. Thus, their programs and projects in the community have focused on every aspect to complement the MDGs in order to help the villagers escape from poverty cycle. These aspects are: basic education, health and hygiene practices, water and sanitation, child participation and protection, economic security, and disaster risk reduction. Regarding primary education, the program manager remarked in detail on the issue:

"Seeing the educational issues connects other concerns in the equation holistically...financial burden, livelihood burden, health problems, and dependency on others; our job is to change these from a community-based perspective. That is why in our mission, these problems are interrelated and should be solved together...in a rural context of Cambodia, poverty stems from everything: illiteracy, no skill, no resources, lack of awareness and information, and more. Thus like you see here, our projects point toward these aspects."

Summary of the Case Study Findings

Poor parents are unable to afford education. Living costs like utility, food, transportation, and health have taken up small earnings. Seasonal farming cannot be sufficient for the demands of increasing food prices, study materials, and unofficial fee to teachers in each class session. Because parents have inadequate income, children have to stop going to school, even if schooling is free. The situation is exacerbated when there are resource constraints such as land and conservative agricultural issues. Poor families living on the edge of poverty have many problems related to basic needs, especially food security. Financial reason has always been associated as a determinant for food insecurity. Lacking of skills in food security is other factor. Lastly, children's activities in labor are considered as income sources; in return they have no education opportunity. Although these activities are considered wrong, children's contribution assists their family to a great extent. In some families, financial problem encourages children to leave school in order to perpetuate survival of households. It can be voluntary or by force. Provided that family's earning is unstable and inadequate, and food status is insecure, children would drop out or skip classes in order to earn income or help their families. Although children are free to attend school, they are making their own choices whether or not to attend depending on livelihood situation.

The elderly perceived that development in education has improved in terms of access for all children regardless of their status and gender, unlike traditionally conservative habit, which allowed only the elites. In spite of the development, the elderly agreed with the parents that families are not capable of sending children to school if they are poor.

Local authorities understand that children do not pay full attention to education due to family's hardships such as financial inadequacy, and farm/household works. Children perform poorly in, or discontinue from schooling, if the hardships occur. To solve this, a form of rural development mechanism is required to help tackle poverty and at once enrolls

children to school. This method has been known in the field of development studies as integrated community-based development, which empowers villagers to be self-sufficient. Cooperation and support from nongovernmental organizations specialized in sector-wide empowerment are needed for this respect.

Plan Cambodia also agreed with other parties. From a grassroots approach, rural children need to be free physically and emotionally to be able to learn. The organization could help the community by using available manpower, resources, trainings, and skills. Given importance of the MDGs, the NGO conducts its programs and projects focusing not only on primary education, but also on agriculture, rural entrepreneurship, and personal/community saving in order to assist the most vulnerable families.

Therefore, the study concludes that with personal matters unsolved, children have less opportunity to access education. The identified social and economic burdens manifested from poverty at the local levels affect the implementation of EFA by restraining children from equitable access to education. The outputs and outcomes of equitable access elements to education services described in the previous section by using the systems framework are closely linked to these factors. It is because social and economic factors determine the result of enrolled children (access), especially in rural areas. The enrollment will drop if social and economic problems occur. The inaccessibility clearly shows the degree of inclusion and fairness to education between the rural and urban sector (equity).

Proper solutions to poverty-related issues—low income, food insecurity, and labor abuse—should be provided. While education is considered the key to alleviating poverty, poverty itself prevents education. As these factors affect each other in a circulate manner caused by poverty, securing a solution is no easy task. All actors are required to fulfill gaps of the others in the community. Breaking this cycle is the paramount challenge in educational development in rural Cambodia. As a fact-finding case, this study encourages people-

centered strategies and pro-poor cooperation from both state and non-state benefactors in order to provide gap-closing education services. When households learn to be self-sufficient and self-reliant, attendance in primary education will increase and be ensured. Likewise, the implementation of the EFA policy lies within cooperation among stakeholders to solve interrelated issues. As the state alone could not convey the purposes expected, aid providers are there to fill in the gaps. In this particular case, the author suggests an integrated program involving various rural development components, which tackles poverty's challenges (see Cheamphan, 2009 for integrated community development through empowerment).

Policy and strategic recommendations:

Adult capacity building: Encourage adult's capacity building for skill workers as well as provision of non-formal education to increase adult literacy.

Information sharing: Share information and benefits about primary education to parents in the community. Since each community has their own cultures and norms embedded as lifestyle routines, openness and social adaptation play vital roles in deciding whether to stay conservative/radical or to become liberal in the changing society. These behaviors then determine perceptions toward children's education, vis-à-vis the influencing factors. Not only does the community value primary education, but also the openness to helps from the outside truly improves wellbeing, capacity building, adult's non-formal education, and new ideas.

Extra support to poorest children: Spread the information about scholarship support for eligible school-age children in the village so that everyone has an equal chance of getting to school. The scholarship covers financial and food supports for the recipients. This initiative helps relieve financial difficulties greatly and put a number of outstanding children in school. By increasing Plan Cambodia's role in providing non-formal education session for busy children, the strategy can cover poorest and vulnerable children. NGOs should conduct

home-based tutorials for poorest families at their suitable circumstances. Classes should be taught at convenient times for students with adaptive curriculum to their needs.

Food security: Plan Cambodia should strengthen food security in the community by reinforcing network of specialized NGOs to provide trainings, techniques of animal husbandry, veterinary services and vegetable planting, livestock management, workshop for health and sanitation for children. When they are educated, they will be empowered. Promoting a self-sufficient approach in food security can fulfill this task. For example, using best practice of fish breeding in pond can be a new trend, which produces huge impacts on future income with low costs. Small business concept could be generated from this idea as well. They just need additional trainings and techniques in a supply chain fashion. As a model, the government should follow the World Bank's policy recommendation promoting food accession by increasing the role of rural poor in livestock so that they can benefit directly, and providing sound pro-poor policies, institutions, and technologies available so that over-regulation, consequent rent seeking, and risk of corruption are lifted (World Bank 2001). Livestock development projects should be incorporated into public programs to reach vulnerable groups who seek sufficient food security. As far as food availability is concerned, so is malnutrition problem. This issue should also be disseminated during local health education by communal health office and other specialized NGOs. Proper workshops about hygiene and sanitation, breast-feeding, maternal care and nutrition, children's daily protein, and energetic nutrient consumption should be provided periodically, especially to girls. It prevents child death and ensures born children with enough nutrition. Best practice should be learned from the World Food Program in other areas, which provide a set of full-nutrient breakfast for children every morning as a motivation to attend school. Collaboration from the private sector is unexpected but desirable for rural communities. It keeps labor forces in the village motivated and promotes the 'one village, one product' concept for poor beneficiaries.

Child friendly schools: Plan Cambodia should enhance its practices in this program by assisting and bonding relationships with individuals, households, authorities, aid providers, and the community to improve the policy implementation in this region, using school cluster.

Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the findings and discussions. Nature of the EFA policy was identified as three policy goals: (i) equitable access; (ii) quality and efficiency; and (iii) decentralization efforts. Implementation issues and challenges were described using the Systems Framework. All data were used, including national data from databases, key-informant perspectives, and local perceptions. The following section presented internal factors affecting the implementation. Lastly, a case study was employed to pinpoint perceptions from the locals regarding the external factors affecting the implementation of EFA policy. The following factors shaped the decision to attend school: low income, food insecurity, and child labor. These are poverty-related issues; solving poverty leads to greater attendance in school.

Chapter 5

Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter summarizes the findings from previous chapters and relates them to the research objectives listed in Chapter 1. It also answers to the research problem and presents the conclusion of the study. Finally, this chapter attempts to provide recommendations to enhance the EFA policy implementation in Cambodia.

The Nature of EFA Policy of Cambodia

The primary education in Cambodia started from the temple's mentorship. The Western education system was introduced during the French colonial period (1863-1953), which continued until the Independence Era (1953-1975). During the Pol Pot regime (1975-1979) education was disintegrated but was re-introduced during the Rehabilitation Era (1979-1989). In 1990, Cambodia adopted the EFA policy and conducted education system reforms, which resulted in the current 12-year academic system (1996-present). There are several programs and activities to complement the policy initiatives. These are the Education Strategic Plan (2009-2013) and the Education For All National Plan (2003-2015). The EFA policy for primary education in Cambodia has three goals:

1. Ensuring equitable access to primary education services, which has been carried out by school building, the child friendly school program, re-entry program, scholarship provision program, WFP's food for education, and free education (UPE).
2. Improving the quality and efficiency of primary education services by strengthening teacher's teaching development, curriculum and material reform, standard promotional test, and pre-service and in-service trainings.
3. Institutional and capacity development for educational staff for decentralization by promoting school cluster and program-based budgeting programs, District Training and Monitoring Teams at district levels, and gender equality.

Policy Implementation Issues and Challenges

The implementation issues and challenges were identified in the Systems Framework.

Implementation inputs

The study showed limited public spending on primary education, which reflects on teachers' salary, school support programs and administrative services. This also shows that political support and commitment to education do not match the government's pronouncement about promoting education. There is urgent need to upgrade the educational background and training of teachers. The imbalanced number of enrolled student and teacher indicated inadequacy in the number of teacher. Low compensation led to problems of teachers' misconduct, corruption and violence.

Implementation conversion stage

The conversion stage reveals three major issues and challenges. First, the ministry's organizational structure is rigidly hierarchical and highly centralized. This hampered participation in planning and decision-making. Local officials cannot easily access higher authorities. Second, education policy implementation is donor-dependent, which affects continuity of operations especially when external support stops or is reduced. And third, program-based budgeting is affected by budgetary cuts and uncertainty.

Implementation outputs

A challenge to keep students in school was identified. From this point, the number of students and teachers per room pressed a concern with school facilities, while students' performance and behavior in school posted a serious issue in quality and efficiency. Low government's budget resulted in a challenge for school cluster's activities such as meeting, management, leadership, and member withdrawal. Lastly, while training programs were

ineffective in using bilingual instruction, decentralization through structural autonomy and gender equity was also unsuccessful.

Implementation outcomes

There are insufficiencies in the financial and human resources, which affect other resource-based operations. The quality and efficiency of primary education services have not improved. Many children remain at primary level, while others drop out of school. Institutional and capacity development for decentralization has not improved at the central, provincial, and district levels. Management decision-making is highly centralized.

Internal and External Factors

The internal factors affecting implementations are the following:

1. Low or inadequate financial resources to support primary education: The public spending on education was merely 2.6% of the GDP in 2010, and 11% of the total government budget in 2011. Given education is among the top four prioritized sectors of Cambodia, it shows inadequacies in financing the sector's operations.
2. Low education background of teachers: More than 95% of primary school teachers completed secondary education, with approximately 79% of them are from the rural areas.
3. Compensation for educational staff is low, leading to teachers' unprofessional conduct and behavior: Financial compensation for educational staff is based on a low monthly salary grading system. Salary of the highest ranked officials is 80US\$ a month (2.8US\$ a day), while the lowest ranked educational staffs receive 46US\$ a month (1.5US\$ a day). By comparing these with the World Bank's poverty index at 2US\$ a day, these staffs receive salary below the poverty line. This leads to issues of unprofessional conduct and behavior at work.
4. Low financial support reflects lack of political commitment to education: Being

one of the top priorities in the national development blueprint, low financial support reflects lack of political commitment by the government.

5. The organization is highly centralized and hierarchical: The central agency (Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sport) controls all power from top to bottom in management, planning, and decision-making.
6. Policy and program implementation is donor-dependent: With low financial availability, the education sector depends heavily on donors' support and assistance. This donor-dependency results in uncertainty in the implementation.
7. Weakness in program-based budgeting due to cuts and financial uncertainty: As program-based budgeting receives a part of the 5% share with school cluster program, the effect of financial uncertainty results from the government's budgetary cut in primary education spending to 41.8% in 2010.
8. Inadequate school facilities leading to high pupil-teacher ratio: Normally this ratio is high due to the number of pupils and teachers. The connection between this ratio and inadequate school facilities is recognized when the number of schools is limited, forcing students to gather in one crowded classroom with one teacher.
9. High incidence of repeaters, non-completion and drop-outs: The primary completion rate of 89.75% and drop-out rate of 8.3% are relatively high.
10. Low level of autonomy and decentralization: The level of autonomy is low simply because street level bureaucrats have no decisive power which results from the hierarchical organizing form of the central agency. This prevents the progress of decentralization in education development.
11. Ineffective training programs for teachers: The training programs could not achieve its purpose of building capacity for teachers due to limited teachers' ability and background to grasp the knowledge and methods of trainings.

12. Weak feedback and monitoring system: There was no responsive mechanism to translate comments and criticisms into action, corresponding with the issues. The only method to discuss feedback is at the annual National Education Congress.

The case study highlights the external factors affecting children's non-attendance in primary school in rural Cambodia as perceived by the locals in one community. These factors are: Low family income; Food insecurity; and Child labor practice.

Finally, to address the research problem with the findings, this study concludes that the EFA policy implementation in Cambodia is beset with weaknesses and inadequacies as shown in the issues and challenges associated with internal and external factors identified by using the systems framework. These implementation gaps are low financial and political commitment to support the policy implementation; lack of human resources with higher education background; centralized workflow which requires decentralization; financial uncertainty; weak implementation in educational programs due to financial uncertainty; low education quality in regards pupil-teacher ratio, completion rate, survival rate, and drop-out rate; weak training methods; and weak feedback system. These problems lead to the research situation that although education is offered free to Cambodian children, there is a need to improve the education policy implementation to achieve the goals of quality, efficiency, and decentralization. For more than 20 years of adopting the Education for All, Cambodia has not proved to be ready and capable in carrying out its commitment. The government of Cambodia needs to provide considerable, immediate attention and commitment to tackle the implementation gaps, if the objective is to achieve an Education for All by 2015.

As a unique policy research, this work contributes a model of systems framework including inputs, conversion, outputs, and outcomes. Each step has variables. To analyze a policy implementation, this framework uses national data for each variable and analyzes it

with two layers (meso and macro levels) of responses, from (i) key experts in the sector and (ii) the locals, to further expose issues and challenges as well as internal/external factors.

Recommendations

Recommendations for enhanced EFA policy implementation involve:

- Paying full attention to the identified internal factors affecting the EFA policy implementation in the systems framework. The suggestions are: To re-consider additional recurring budget to support primary education sector (the biggest sector of all levels) as a sustainable budget planning; to implement income-generating activities such as sports and student events, to augment the budget for education. Interested sponsors could be international and local NGOs, the community, and parents; to build more child friendly schools in order to reduce pressure from multiple shift schools and improve both quantity and quality; to raise remuneration in the forms of salary and bonus system for the lowest ranked educational staffs with the poverty baseline in mind; to provide language proficiency for pre-service and in-service teachers; to equip these teachers with creative teaching methods (at least four intensive training courses per year); to give priority attention to improving performance of teaching and non-teaching staff (This is to improve quality and efficiency of education services. Two divisions of internal monitoring are required with different jurisdictions. One is for teaching staffs monitoring and managing code of conduct for teachers. Given the number of teachers nationwide, this division should carry out monitoring once or twice a year, if fund is available. The second one is for non-teaching staffs including provincial, district, and school levels. This monitoring unit concentrates on public financial management monitoring, program-based budget monitoring at schools, and monitoring on management and bureaucrats. This needs to be done twice a year in order to manage and control each monitoring at the beginning and the end of each

study year. Capacity building and other training programs for this unit are required); to modify the hierarchical and centralized organizational structure immediately to allow greater autonomy and decentralized decision-making and planning at lower levels; to empower subordinates at provincial levels to make strategies and plans by themselves (This promotes local levels' planning and decision-making, and reduces the central agency's influence from imposing action plans. Additionally, vertical and horizontal communication for information at all levels should be encouraged. This has been done successfully at school level using the school cluster program. It is time to learn from this lesson and practice it at higher levels); to decentralize the ministry's power to a collective network of its organizational structure: provincial, district, and school levels (Advocate local levels with planning and decision-making committee. Non-state actors could assist this task); to offer quality pre-school services for children living in rural areas (it helps reduce the number of slow learners, increase survival and completion rates to the last grade, and minimize repetition at early grades and drop-out at later grades); and to promote gender equity for female through promotion and incentives as well as capacity building (More top leadership and middle management positions should be given to female in order to encourage lower ranking female staff to continue in the organization).

- Tackling problems affecting household's decision to keep children in school (Options to relieve the external factors). All actors working in the field of primary education should consider integrating economic and livelihood projects into all master plans and educational programs. Particularly, these projects are meant for poor and illiterate parents and single household heads. These projects include capacity building for adult, skill trainings in agriculture and other industries, non-formal education, income generations, food diversification, and extensive rural entrepreneurship.

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Appendix B

Data Provided by Key Agencies in Education Policy

Data and Key informants

Key Informants	Data
MOEYS -DPE's director -Administrative office's head -Technical office's head -Study Result Management office's head -Statistics, Planning and Cooperation office's head -Special Education office's head -Implementing Activity office's head -Teacher Training Department's head and trainers	Implementation overview, sufficiency, Budgets and distribution Human resources, training programs and issues Structural arrangement Implementation, programs, projects, historical background of primary education Allocation of resources Strategies for implementation Interagency coordination and cooperation Perspectives and feedback
UNESCO	Perspectives on implementation, programs, feedback
World Education	Perspectives on implementation, comments
NEP Cambodia	Perspectives on implementation, comments
Save the Children	Perspectives on implementation, comments
KAPE	Perspectives on implementation, feedback
VSO Cambodia	Perspectives, feedback

Appendix C

Semi-structured Interview for the DPE's Officials

Objectives: Nature and evolution of the policy; issues and challenges; and recommendations

1. Please describe the history of education and its system from the 1900s to present.
Currently, what is primary education policy in Cambodia?
2. What sources are funding the primary education? Government/Donors (aid/loan)? Can you elaborate how funds are divided into programs? How much fund/money is currently used in the action plans? Is the money enough to carry out these activities? Please elaborate in detail.
3. How many teaching and non-teaching staffs are there? Please classify them. What are the issues regarding human resources? What is your own comment?
4. To what extent does the government commit and support the policy? Any comments?
5. Could you explain the assignments according to the ministry's structure? How do you assign tasks/rules/regulations? Coordination among officials and between organizations?
6. Who involved in the implementation process (the ministry, donors, etc.)? What are programs and projects currently operating? Please describe.
7. How are resources being allocated? Elaborate please in great detail.
8. Regarding the implementation plan, what are strategies being employed for the master plan? Are there problems and difficulties? Please indicate your concerns.
9. Who else participate in implementing these programs/projects? Explain the relationships among the ministry and them? How do you coordinate?
10. Could you provide feedback on the results achieved so far? What are the problems with these results? How do you recommend for improvement? How do you apply feedback?
11. What is your idea and recommendation in order to implement primary education policy more effective?

Appendix D

Semi-structured Interview for Donors and NGOs

Background

1. Could you introduce yourself, responsibility, and section?
2. Can you tell me about your responsibility in primary education section in your organization? Please describe your scope of tasks.
3. Let us focus on the primary education policy in Cambodia. We know that Cambodia adopted the Education for All principles and embedded them to all policies and strategies. Please elaborate your knowledge about the policy.

Implementation and its issues

4. Regarding implementation of this policy, how does your organization take part in the implementation process? In terms of financial and human resources? What is your point of view toward these aspects?
5. Do you have any particular programs/activities in this sector? What is your role? Do you have your own implementation plan? Does your agency fund or provide subsidy to the ministry?
6. If you operate programs/projects, what are they? How do they connect to the EFA goals? Please describe.
7. What is your idea on the relationship between your organization and the ministry? Any issues so far? Please describe.
8. Regarding the current achievement for each policy goal, what are your concerns from a nongovernmental organization?
9. Do you have anything to say about the whole implementation? Feedback? How do you give feedback to the ministry? Any forms of mechanisms? What is your personal idea and recommendation in order to implement primary education policy more effective?

Appendix E

Foundation Salary Distribution to Public Servants by Levels, Ranks, and Grades

Level	Rank	Grade													
		14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
C	C1									212	223	235	245	254	262
	C2					173	178	185	193	201	208	215	222	228	233
	C3	150	154	158	163	168	174	179	184	188	192	195	198	200	202

Source: Royal decree on public official salary, 2001.

1. There are three levels of public servants in the role of teaching staffs: A (upper secondary level), B (lower secondary level), and C (primary level)
2. There are 14 phases/grades which consist of grading values. For instance, a newly graduated teacher receives a C13 rank will have a starting salary at Grade 14th valued 150.
3. The monthly salary is calculated based on grade value multiply by 1,260Riels (2012's value per indication). For example, a C3 teacher with Grade 10 has a basic salary of $168 \times 1,260 = 211,680$ Riels.
4. A principle 1,260Riels per value is a result of a 20% pay-raise from last year, meaning in 2013 the amount per value will be $1,260 + (1,260 \times 20\%) = 1,512$ Riels. A pay-raise of 20% is performed according to a royal decree enacted in 2001.
5. Every two years, all public servants can have a jump to the next salary grade, meaning better salary. It means a C2 teacher of grade 8 recently has a jump to grade 7 after teaching for two years, who then receives 193 values instead of 185.
6. There are motivations for outstanding teachers who can have a basic salary upgrade, jumping between ranks. If a C3 teacher gets promoted because of good performance, he or she is placed in C2 rank with a new grade equivalent to his/her last grade.
7. Beside foundation salary, teachers receive four other kinds of incentives on monthly basis.

- a. Professional seniority – an additional salary offered to teaching personnel according to different terms in public services (long or short time).
- b. Pedagogy – an additional salary worth 20,000Riels to every teacher with pedagogical trainings.
- c. Kinsfolk – an additional salary for spouse (6,000Riels) and children (5,000Riels) (if any).
- d. Risk – an additional salary for teachers willing to work in risky conditions. There are two types: area-based and health support. Area-based pay is for teachers volunteering to work in such dangerous areas facing illness such as flooded regions or malaria-infected areas. For that, they also receive the second pay, which is health remuneration.

Appendix F

Detailed Official Developmental Aid from 1995-2010

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Total	0.006827	36.312291	11.690503	0.088937	7.525805	1.829677	3.483387	38.939754	0.308567	9.262012
DAC	0.006827	16.239701	11.690503	0.088937	7.525805	1.550304	0.464347	20.057757	0.243485	9.214651
Australia							0.464347			
Austria										
Belgium								0.225963	0.760267	
Canada										
Denmark										
Finland										
France				0.08289						
Germany										
Ireland								0.00934		
Italy									0.010411	
Japan								4.608626		4.724747
Korea										
Netherlands				0.006047						
Norway					0.869063	0.31455				0.703486
Portugal										
Spain								0.01255	0.008181	0.01574
Sweden	0.006827	13.239701	3.536531		6.656742	0.327489		15.436581		
UK			0.153972			0.908265				
USA		3	8							3
Multilatera		20.07259				0.279372	3.01904	18.881997	0.065082	0.047361
ADB		20.07259								
EU								18.848365		
IDA							3			
UNICEF						0.279372	0.01904	0.033632	0.065082	0.047361

Appendix G

Completed Trainings for Teachers and TTC Leaders

Other activities that have already finished are reformed curriculum and bilingual learning (teacher training program). It enhances new teaching approaches for teachers using child-centered method with students' participation and interaction, and provides flexible curriculum for children (grade 1-3). It is established to reach out to highland's children in the northeast provinces from various ethnic groups throughout Cambodia. It provides both Khmer and ethnic languages of each tribe in the learning curriculum. Autonomy of teaching is given in order to improve the bilingual teaching approach and include community teachers for accelerating learning programs.

Completed pre-service and in-service trainings are:

- Performance-based salary bonus system
- Information and Communication Technology courses in teacher training curriculum
- Gender mainstream for the MOEYS staff at all levels
- Human resource management for schools principles and vice-principles
- Staff development programs for teacher trainers at all TTCs
- Multi-grade* teaching methodology (for teachers in remote and incomplete schools)
- Use of new curricula and curriculum standards
- Inclusive education (participatory teaching activities for all students' needs)

Completed trainings for TTC leaders:

- Management skills
- Teach methodology (lesson study and inquiry-based learning) for all teacher trainers
- Development and use of teaching aids
- Use of laboratory equipment and devices

- Identification of priority activities for Teacher Training Department** of the MOEYS

* Multi-grade teachers are those responsible for teaching in several grades due to lack of teaching personnel in that particular facility.

** Cooperated with the Personnel Department, these activities are (1) to develop pre-service and in-service training action plan in order to deploy teachers to rural, remote, and disadvantaged areas; (2) to development an action plan for in-service training; and (3) to evaluate teacher training program.

Appendix H

Interview Questionnaires for Stakeholders used in Thnol Bondoy Village

Semi-structure interview with parents

A. Bio data

1. Gender
2. Age
3. Occupation
4. Type of household

B. Perceptual factors

- How much do you earn a day or a month?
- Who generate income in your family? How?
- What is your food security condition?
- Can you support your children's education with your earning? Or buying food?
- For daily lives, do you think children should work? Why?
- Between your livelihood and their education, which one would you choose?
- What do you know about primary education?
- When they reach school-age, what do you intend to do with them?
- What do children do/what do you have them do, when they do not go to school?
- Are there any developments that improve your life financially and economically?
(Roads, income generation services, community services...)
- What are major developments in your community? Do you benefit from them? How?
(health centers, irrigations, school building, roads)
- What do you think about primary education for your children? Important? Should they go to school? Why and why not?
- Please tell me about your daily life.

Semi-structured interview with children

1. Gender
2. Age
3. What do you think of education? Do you want to study?
4. If education is available and accessible, can you go to school? Why and why not?
5. If you used to study, what grade? Why stopped?
6. Do you work to earn for family? Why do you choose to do that?
7. Please describe your daily life?
8. What prevent you from going to school?

Semi-structured interview with stakeholders (elderly, monks, principles, teachers, NGO staffs, educational officers)

1. Gender
2. Age
3. Occupation
4. Organization
5. Policy and practice's comprehension
 - Based on your observation, why do you think children can go to school? And why not? What are factors of decision? Please elaborate.
 - What do you think of the government's policy on primary education? In your idea, what should be done for poor people?
 - What changes have you observed in schooling with the current education system? What are problems/issues? How can we deal with them?
 - Who should take action? What kinds of roles do they play?
 - To improve education for children, what kind of education do they need?

Appendix I

Parental Perceptions

PARENTS (N=23)	SCHOOL ATTENDANCE	FACTORS IDENTIFIED/REASONS
Parents 1	○	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Why: Bright future and help family 2. Jobs: Farmer, Apsara worker (too little) 3. Food: Farming, vegetable planting 4. Do children earn? How? Yes, farming, begging
Parents 2	○	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Why: Bright future 2. Jobs: Farmer, laborer (too little) 3. Food: Farming, livestock 4. Do your children earn? How? – No, but they work at home and on farm after school
Parents 3	○	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Why: Education is important 2. Jobs: Farmer, Apsara worker (too little) 3. Food: Farming, vegetable planting 4. Do your children earn? How? – Yes, they sell products and T-shirts
Parents 4	○	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Why: Even we are poor but I want my children to be educated, not like me 2. Jobs: Farmer, part-time Apsara worker (not enough) 3. Food: Farming, vegetable planting 4. Do your children earn? How? – Yes, begging tourists
Parents 5	○	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Why: I am illiterate, so I want my children to have education 2. Jobs: Farmer, construction worker (not enough) 3. Food: Farming, vegetable planting 4. Do your children earn? How? – Yes, tourist guide with little English
Parents 6	○	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Why: Good future 2. Jobs: Farmer, restaurant waitress (too little) 3. Food: Farming, vegetable planting 4. Do your children earn? How? – Yes, sell flutes and souvenirs, singing in English and French
Parents 7	○	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Why: Have knowledge and can earn much money 2. Jobs: Farmer with lands, construction worker (too little) 3. Food: Farming, vegetable planting

		4. Do your children earn? How? – Yes, selling souvenirs after school
Parents 8	○	1. Why: Have education so that they will not have hard lives 2. Jobs: Farmer, Apsara worker (too little) 3. Food: Farming, vegetable planting 4. Do your children earn? How? – No, they do only house and farm works
Parents 9	○	1. Why: Bright future; even we are poor but we try hard in many jobs to earn in order to supply daily food, school 2. Jobs: Farmer, Apsara worker, construction worker (too little) 3. Food: Farming, livestock 4. Do your children earn? How? – Yes, as tourist guide with little English, French, and German
Parents 10	○	1. Why: I cannot read so I want my children to have knowledge and to live good lives 2. Jobs: Farmer (not enough) 3. Food: Farming 4. Do your children earn? How? – Yes, begging during the day
Parents 11	○	1. Why: Bright future, not like their illiterate parents 2. Jobs: Farmer, construction worker (not enough) 3. Food: Farming, livestock 4. Do your children earn? How? – No, stay at home and help parents
Parents 12	○	1. Why: They can live independently with education in the future 2. Jobs: Farmer, microbusiness (too little) 3. Food: Farming, livestock 4. Do your children earn? How? – Yes, by selling products
Parents 13	○	1. Why: It is important and it is free 2. Jobs: Farmer, vegetable planting (too little) 3. Food: Farming, livestock 4. Do your children earn? How? – Yes, by selling T-shirts and flutes
Parents 14	○	1. Why: Try to do farming and other works to earn for their livings and studies 2. Jobs: Farmer, construction worker (too little) 3. Food: Farming, livestock 4. Do your children earn? How? – Yes, by selling snacks and soft drink

Parents 15	○	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Why: Have good lives 2. Jobs: Farmer, Apsara worker (not enough) 3. Food: Farming, livestock 4. Do your children earn? How? – Yes, by selling flutes and traditional scarf
Parents 16	○	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Why: They can lead bright future and support us later on 2. Jobs: Seasonal farmer, construction worker (not enough) 3. Food: Farming, livestock, vegetable planting 4. Do your children earn? How? – Yes, by selling T-shirts, scarf, flutes, traditional music instruments, etc.
Parents 17	○	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Why: They can support parents later on 2. Jobs: Laborer without farmland, construction worker (too little) 3. Food: Livestock 4. Do your children earn? How? – Yes, by singing for tourists, begging, selling sugarcane juice, etc.
Parents 18	○	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Why: Even all jobs earn just enough for food and daily expenses, we try to send them to school; it is important 2. Jobs: Farmer, construction worker (not enough) 3. Food: Farming, livestock 4. Do your children earn? How? – Yes, by tourist guide, selling soft drink, T-shirts, etc.
Parents 19	○	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Why: Education is their future 2. Jobs: Farmer, construction worker (not enough) 3. Food: Farming, livestock 4. Do your children earn? How? – No, but they help raise the livestock such as chicken, pig, fishpond, etc.
Parents 20	○	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Why: We are farmers, we have no good future, but they will 2. Jobs: Farmer, Apsara worker, construction worker (not enough) 3. Food: Farming, livestock 4. Do your children earn? How? – Yes, by selling tourist products and singing
Parents 21	○	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Why: I want them to have education 2. Jobs: Farmer, grocery seller, construction worker (too little) 3. Food: Farming, livestock 4. Do your children earn? How? – Yes, by

		selling soft drink like soy milk, sugarcane juice, coconut juice, etc.
Parents 22	○	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Why: We are poor and uneducated, I do not want them to follow our footsteps 2. Jobs: Farmer, small business, Apsara worker (not enough) 3. Food: Farming, livestock 4. Do your children earn? How? – Yes, by selling souvenirs to tourists
Parents 23	○	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Why: We do not want them to follow our footsteps to live hard life at all; bright future 2. Jobs: Laborer, hired by others to do farming, Apsara worker (too little) 3. Food: Livestock 4. Do your children earn? How? – Yes, by selling flutes, musical instruments, T-shirts, etc.

Appendix J

Children Perceptions

CHILDREN (N=30)	REASONS
<p>They go to school (25 children – 19 girls/ 6 boys)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - they want to study, learn how to read and write - they like school's environment - they can have extra breakfast for free from NGOs - they can play with other children and make new friends - they can have more friends that hang out together during non-school days like cow feeding, farm fertilizing, etc. - they are pushed to go to school by their parents even they are poor - they want to help their families in the future by earning a lot of money - they can both study and work to earn in order to help assist parents' hardship and because families are poor
<p>They don't go to school (5 children – 1 girl/ 4 boys)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - they used to study but now stopped (dropout) - they have to take care of house and younger siblings - they have to earn in order to add new income to insufficiency - they are poor and have no ability to support their schooling - they have to look after livestock and do housework - they have to help parents and elder siblings on farms - they have no money to buy writing and reading books, uniform, and other study materials as well as paying daily fee to teachers - they cannot afford education in a long period - they can earn more rather than wasting time at school with no earnings.