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Capacity Building in Education and
Human Resources Sector Management
(RGC/UNESCO/UNDP CMB/91/009)

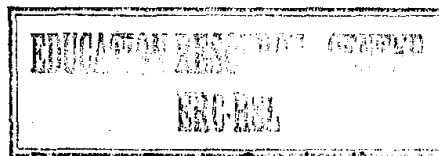
A Study on
Community and Household Financing of
Primary Education in Cambodia:
Scale, Nature and Implications

Phnom Penh, Cambodia
December 1997

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PREFACE

This study aims at looking into more closely the financing of the primary schools by community and households in Cambodia. The specific objective is to understand better how the school principals and parent associations raise the required funds and utilize them for various expenditures. This piece of information will be useful for educational administrators and managers in their decision-making exercises, especially in policy planning and implementation.

It is a well-known fact that in most developing countries communities and households meet a large proportion of costs of primary schools. Cambodia is no exception. The study highlights the nature and scale of community and household financing in primary schools in the rural and urban settings. It was conducted in two locations with the participation of school principals and community members of eighteen schools. In addition, group discussions were organized with parents and teachers. National, provincial and district education officials also participated in the workshops.

The study was carried out under the UNDP/UNESCO Project CMB/91/009: "Education and Human Resources Sector Management" in September 1997 in Takeo and Phnom Penh. The UNICEF with their concern and experience in primary schools and community participation collaborated in this survey in a significant way. Under the direction of the National Project Director and the Chief Technical Adviser, the staff of Planning and Aid Coordination Unit of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport assisted in many ways in planning and managing the study. The EMIS Center provided basic information on selected cluster schools in provinces for design and analysis. The Education Finance specialist Dr. Mark Bray of the University of Hong Kong provided suggestions, examined data and prepared this report.

Phnom Penh
December 1997

The Project Team
CMB/91/009

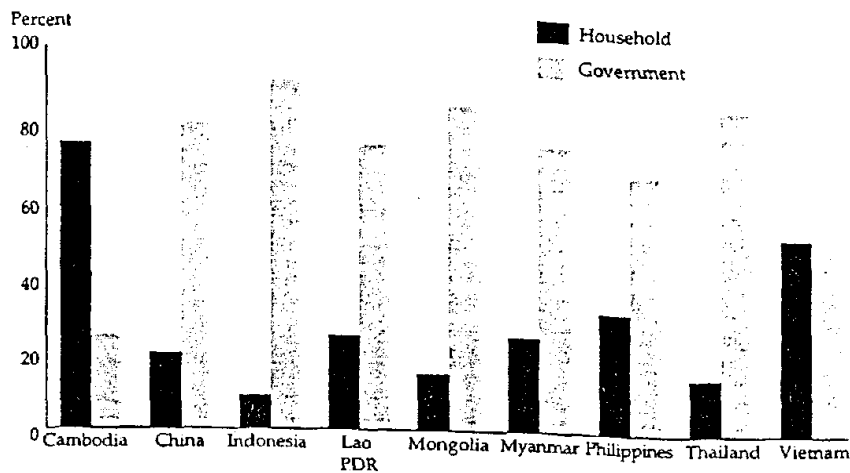
**A Study on
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Primary Education in Cambodia:
*Scale, Nature and Implications***

Introduction

Cambodia is among the countries in the world in which a very high proportion of the resources for primary education, even in the public system, come from communities and households. This is not the result of deliberate design. Rather it is a default situation in which the Cambodian government has been unable to meet basic needs, and communities and households have been compelled to bridge the gap by themselves.

One recent comparative study of nine countries in East Asia (Bray 1996a) suggested that in Cambodia about 75 per cent of the total costs of public primary schools were met by communities and households. This far exceeded the proportions in the other eight countries (Figure 1). However, the estimate was a rough calculation, based on the research evidence that existed at the time of writing. The author was aware of an urgent need to investigate the topic more carefully, to identify variations among different schools and communities, and to examine in greater detail the implications for both management and policy.

Figure 1: Household and Government Public Primary Education Resourcing in Nine Countries of East Asia



Source: Bray (1996a), p.32.

In 1996/97, the UNDP/UNESCO Capacity Building Project in Education, in conjunction with the Planning & Aid Coordination Unit (PACU) of the Ministry of Education, Youth & Sports (MoEYS), included a question on community participation and financing in its national school statistical survey (Cambodia 1997, p.24). Such questions are not a standard feature of school statistical surveys, and the persons responsible are to be congratulated on having included the item. However, careful scrutiny of the returns shows anomalies which caution against putting too much weight on the data revealed. It appears that many respondents either did not know how much money was being collected from communities and households, or interpreted the question in different ways and therefore gave answers which could not be compared with each other. For example, it seems likely that some respondents gave information only on cash inputs, while others in addition made estimates of the monetary values of contributions of labour and materials.

In the light of this, the project team decided to explore the matter further with a small-scale investigation which included a pair of cluster-level workshops and a pair of separate group-meetings with parents. The author of this report participated in the planning of the workshops, and in the design of the questionnaire which yielded much of the data. The workshops were sponsored by UNESCO and the Planning & Aid Coordination Unit of the MoEYS, in conjunction with the UNICEF office in Cambodia. UNICEF has long had a concern about this topic, and has played a major role in calling attention to the scale and implications of non-government financing of

education, both in Cambodia and in other countries. The project exemplified a healthy partnership between two international agencies and the national government, and plans have been prepared to follow up the initial study with more detailed investigation.

The Main Issues

A growing literature on community and household financing of education (e.g. Bray with Lillis 1988; Bray 1997; King 1997; Mehrotra et al. 1996) has exposed major issues concerning the quantity and quality of education in settings where the scale of community and household financing is substantial. This literature has also raised questions about social equity, about political forces, and about management practices at the local levels. Further issues relate to involvement of broadly-based communities, as opposed to narrowly-defined households in which parents or other persons pay user charges for education.

An initial question for analysts in Cambodia concerns the nature of communities. Especially in rural areas, Cambodia has long traditions of community involvement centred around pagodas and drawing on Buddhist philosophies. Contributions to pagodas and to monks may or may not overflow to the education sector. Some remarks are made in this report, and the topic is among the areas deserving more detailed case-study research. Also evident in Cambodia are communities based on other religions, on geographic proximity of households which are clustered in villages, and on various other social and political factors. However, traditions of cooperation on non-religious matters have always been weak (Delvert 1961, pp.198-220), and were almost destroyed during the period of the Pol Pot regime (1975-79) when over 15 per cent of the population fled or were killed, and when people were unable even fully to trust the members of their own households, let alone those of others (Chandler 1991; Thion 1993). The systematic eradication of leadership at that time, and the destruction of social harmony, has left scars which remain very visible. Muscat (1993, p.32) has observed that the revival of systematic social study should be an urgent priority, and meanwhile that most observers stress "the profound changes (largely deleterious) they detect in interpersonal relations and community dynamics as a result of the trauma and dislocation of the past twenty years".

In urban areas, traditions of community involvement are commonly weaker still than in rural

areas. In these cases, community financing is more likely to be replaced by user charges on the families of children who attend school. However, most schools have parents' associations. According to the national survey conducted by UNESCO in conjunction with the MoEYS, in 1996/97 61.0 per cent of primary schools had parents' associations.¹ The figures were highest in urban areas (74.4 per cent), compared with rural (66.6 per cent) and remote areas (47.5 per cent). To some extent, therefore, the school may be operating, like the pagoda, as an instrument for building communities. One other notable feature of the Cambodian setting is the scale of donations from overseas Khmers. These people may be considered part of what has become an international community that still retains roots within the country.

In most settings, community and household financing extends the availability of education and/or improves the quality from that which would otherwise have been evident. At least at first sight, this seems to be a positive outcome. However, it is not without controversy, particularly where the education is in the form of supplementary tutoring outside normal classroom hours. Supplementary tutoring is a type of 'shadow' education system which both feeds off and has implications for the mainstream. Some observers view both the scale and nature of private tutoring, both in Cambodia and in other parts of the world, with considerable misgiving (see e.g. de Silva et al. 1991; Foondun 1992; Asian Development Bank 1996). They would argue that it distorts educational processes, and that in some cases an element of blackmail is involved in which pupils are forced to pay for private tutoring against their will. As in most other countries, private tutoring in Cambodia is more common in urban than rural areas.

Also potentially controversial is the tendency of community and household expenditures to exacerbate social inequalities. Communities and households which are prosperous are of course in a better position to engage in self-help activities than are their more impoverished counterparts. In several countries of the world, community and household financing has increased inequalities between socio-economic groups, between religious and/or racial communities, between geographic regions, and between urban and rural areas (Bray 1996b). Some governments have responded by discouraging or even banning direct household financing of schools. However, the Cambodian

¹. These figures are a breakdown of those published in the book *Education Statistics 1996/97* (Cambodia 1997, Table 21). The published figures aggregated pre-primary, primary, collège, and lycée. The figures presented here are only for primary.

authorities are not in a position to do this, first because they lack the capacity to meet all needs themselves, and second because they would be unable to enforce such a policy. In any case, an alternative argument holds that communities and households should not be prohibited from spending money on education — that the right to spend money on this type of objective is at least as strong as the right to spend money on most other purposes. Also, it is arguable that anything which increases general levels of education is good for national as well as personal development.

These observations already take the debate into the political arena, in which policies are based on value judgements as well as on more practical matters. In Cambodia, the political domain is particularly sensitive since many politicians from the various competing groups have made education a target of attention, and have allocated to school projects various amounts of funding from the sources which they have controlled. Political sponsorship of education projects has been particularly evident in the months building up to elections.

On a more technical plane, community and household financing raises major issues about management and use of funds. In Cambodia, as elsewhere (see e.g. Bray 1996b, 1996c), many schools lack the institutional expertise to promote good planning and careful expenditure of resources. This leads in many instances to wastage, to suspicions of embezzlement, and to social disruption. An urgent need therefore exists to help schools with mechanisms to ensure that community and household resources are used sensibly, efficiently and fairly.

Nature of the 1997 Survey and Workshops

In order both to secure more data on this topic and to assist schools with practical aspects of planning and management, in mid-1997 the MoEYS/UNESCO/UNDP Project CMB/91/009 initiated a pair of cluster-level workshops. UNICEF joined the project team as a partner in this endeavour. In addition, the project team organised a pair of further discussion-sessions with groups of parents.

The planners of these activities were aware of logistic constraints which influenced the choice of locations for the activities. Nevertheless, they were able to arrange a contrast between rural and urban by focusing on a rural part of Takeo Province and on an urban part of Phnom Penh. Details of the activities are as follows:

- *Workshop 1*, 27 August 1997: 15 school principals and community representatives from six

schools in one cluster, plus three core schools of other clusters;² held in Samrong District, Takeo Province.

- *Workshop 2*, 5 September 1997: 20 school principals, parents and community representatives from four schools in one cluster, plus five core schools of other clusters; held in Phnom Penh.
- *Group discussion 1*, 5 September 1997: six parents who were teaching and non-teaching staff of Bak Touk Primary School, Phnom Penh.
- *Group discussion 2*, 25 September 1997: six parents and six school principals from Samrong District, Takeo Province.

Workshop participants were asked to come prepared to discuss community and household financing, and completed questionnaires in advance (Annex 1). A separate form (Annex 2) was distributed during the workshop to focus discussions on private costs. Detailed notes on the discussions were taken in Khmer and then translated into English.³ The data collected cannot be considered representative of the country as a whole, but as case studies they are illuminating and add considerably to understanding of the scale, nature and issues associated with community and household financing of education.

Sources and Uses of Non-Government Funds for Schools

The data, as expected, exposed the substantial scale of community and household financing, but also showed variations among different schools and communities. Appendix Tables 1 and 2 summarise some of the information collected from the questionnaires. Major features include the following:

- * *Financing the Construction of Buildings.* Communities and households played a major role in financing the construction of buildings, in many cases, but not always, in partnership with a non-government organisation (NGO) or other body. Contributions were commonly in labour and materials as well as cash. The NGOs included UNICEF, the Assemblies of God church, and Redd Barna. Politicians had played a major role in five Takeo schools and one

². In addition, of course, the workshops included staff of UNESCO, UNICEF and the Planning & Aid Coordination Unit of the MoEYS. They also included various provincial and district government education officers.

³. The extent of the detail in the notes is reflected in the fact that the English version comprises 44 pages of single-spaced type.

Phnom Penh school, but only in the latter was the community reported to be a co-financier. Also, only in Phnom Penh was the government reported to have constructed any buildings. In Takeo, one school was located in a pagoda, and another had some classes in a pagoda. Two of the Phnom Penh schools were located in pagodas.

* *Charges on Pupils.* In almost all schools, contributions⁴ were demanded from parents. In Takeo Province, six schools in a single cluster had decided to standardise demands. These contributions were differentiated according to basic needs, sport, art, and other purposes. Additional categories in Phnom Penh included contributions for brooms, teaching aids, decoration, and identity cards. No variations were reported by grade, gender, size of family, or any other criterion. In Takeo, the reported range for basic contributions was from zero to 1,500 riels. In Phnom Penh the range was from 1,800 to 2,000 riels. One school in Takeo had abolished compulsory charges on pupils, and was instead trying to raise resources through other means. The experiment was still in its early stages, however, and the school authorities were uncertain whether it could be sustained.

* *Other Sources of Income.* Most schools reported additional sources of income. The main categories were as follows:

- School farms/gardens. Four of the nine schools in Takeo reported income from production of rice. In one school (Phnom Chiso) the value was equivalent to 67 riels per pupil, but at the other end of the scale (Bun Rany Hun Sen Neang Khmao) the value was equivalent to 327 riels per pupil. As one might expect, none of the Phnom Penh schools reported any income from farms/gardens.

- Festivals. Four of the Takeo schools and five of the Phnom Penh schools reported incomes from festivals. The most dramatic was Phnom Daun Pen school in Phnom Penh, which reported earnings of 5 million riels from a festival, equivalent to 1,880 riels per pupil. Bak Touk school in Phnom Penh had held a flower festival in 1995/96, at which time pupils were levied 5,000 riels each and during which presumably income was also

⁴ Many people would consider the word 'fee' a more accurate descriptor than 'contribution'. However, the latter is widely considered more expedient — especially since Article 68 of the Cambodian constitution indicates that "The state shall provide free primary and secondary education to all citizens in public schools".

gained from other sources.

- Supplementary Tutoring. Six of the Phnom Penh schools indicated that they organised supplementary tutoring for their pupils. In the five schools which reported the scale of the charge, 100 riels per session (usually each school day) were said to have been demanded per child.⁵ Five schools reported that they used some of the income (between 3 and 35 per cent) for school maintenance, thus implying that at least some money went to the institution rather than directly to the teachers. No supplementary tutoring was recorded in the Takeo sample.
- Rent. One school in Phnom Penh reported monthly income of US\$100 from rent.
- Donations. The donations of politicians and NGOs for capital works have been mentioned already. In addition, one school gained a recurrent donation of \$140 per month from the Assemblies of God church. Another recorded \$712 from an overseas Khmer, and a third recorded 190,000 riels per month from an overseas Khmer.

The resources from communities and households were used for both capital and recurrent needs. Concerning capital investments, the most obvious were buildings. However, respondents also mentioned tables, chairs and fencing. Recurrent needs included repairs and maintenance. It seems likely that some resources, particularly from supplementary tutoring, went directly to teachers to enlarge the meagre salaries that they received from the government.

School-Level Management of Community and Household Financing

The case studies showed that some schools had good systems for internal management of donated community and household resources, but that others were weak. One indicator of internal organisation is the composition and operation of the school committees. On the positive side, all 18 schools did have school committees. As noted above, according to the national survey conducted by UNESCO in conjunction with the MoEYS (Cambodia 1997), only 61.0 per cent of primary

⁵ In addition, many children presumably paid for supplementary tutoring not recorded here. These amounts only reflect the schemes organised by the schools themselves on an institutional basis. Other initiatives, both inside and outside the school, are not recorded. Many parents, as indicated below, were paying 300-400 riels per day for private tutoring.

schools in 1996/97 reported having school committees.⁶

Table 1 summarises data on the school committees of the 18 schools. They were fairly similar in size, with a range of three to six members and a mode of six members. While not necessarily reflecting their managerial efficiency, a striking feature of the committees in the Takeo schools was that none had any female members; and even in Phnom Penh, females were only 11.6 per cent of the total. The majority of school committees were said to have held three meetings during the academic year, but one had held two and another had held monthly meetings.

Table 1: Composition and Operation of School Committees

School	Total no. of members	No. of female members	Occupation of chairperson	No. of meetings 1996/97	Are written minutes maintained?	Are written accounts maintained?
<i>Takeo Province</i>						
Bun Rany Hun Sen	6	0	farmer	3	no	no
Phnom Chiso	6	0	farmer	3	no	no
Sla Rorm	6	0	farmer	3	no	yes
Ang So Klaing	6	0	monk	3	no	no
Ta Yeung	5	0	church official	3	yes	yes
Orm Sophat	5	0	farmer	3	no	no
Cham Bak	5	0	district officer	n.r.	n.r.	n.r.
Phnom Cha Chak	5	0	farmer	3	no	yes
Trapaing Thom	6	0	monk	monthly	yes	yes
<i>Phnom Penh</i>						
Bak Touk	6	0	retired official	4	yes	yes
Wat Preah Put	4	0	retired	2	yes	yes
Vatanak Vichea	4	0	layman of pagoda	3	yes	yes
Sampoeuv Meas	6	1	dentist	3	yes	yes
Tuol Sleng	6	1	dir. of driving school	3	yes	yes
Wat Tuol Toumpoung	5	1	layman of pagoda	2	yes	yes
Preah Norodom	5	2	tourism manager	8	yes	yes
Phnom Daun Penh	4	0	chief of ward c'ttee	3	yes	yes
Beung Salang	3	0	layman of pagoda	3	yes	yes

n.r. = not recorded

All schools in Phnom Penh were reported to have written minutes and accounts; but in Takeo, only two of the eight schools for which information was provided had written minutes, and only four had written accounts. Again, the existence or absence of written records may be taken

⁶ The English-language version of the survey findings refers to these as parents' associations, but the associations of course required committees.

as an indicator of the extent to which the school committees were well organised and systematic in their approaches. Perhaps even more importantly, experience elsewhere (Bray 1996b, pp.27-28) has indicated the importance of clear and transparent accounting in promoting community and parental trust in school operations. This is realised in some schools, as exemplified by a comment during the workshop discussions:

[Our] school committee has kept written records on incomes and expenses for which and which occasion. We follow practices of transparency because everything must be known.

Without such accounts, suspicions of misappropriation of funds are always likely to exist; and in the absence of accounts, even innocent individuals are unable to prove their innocence. The lack of clear accounting mechanisms is one of the fundamental factors which undermines community and parental willingness to contribute resources to schools. Ideally, accounts should contain information on contributions of goods and labour as well as of cash, though information on practices in the schools concerning this dimension was not collected.

In terms of revenue generation, Preah Norodom school in Phnom Penh stood out as one of the most dynamic. It was probably no coincidence that its chairperson was an entrepreneur in the private sector (who was also one of the two women on the committee), and that the committee met as many as eight times in 1996/97. However, that is not to imply that farmers cannot also be excellent committee chairpersons. Much depends on the personalities and talents of the individuals involved.

Also deserving remark is the role of religious leaders. One school was partly sponsored by the Assemblies of God church, gaining both financial and managerial leadership from this organisation. More typical, perhaps, were the schools linked to pagodas. As noted, three schools were physically located in pagodas, and a fourth had some classrooms in a pagoda. Five of the nine schools in Takeo had monks on the school committees, and in one school the monk was chairperson. In three of the Phnom Penh schools, laymen associated with pagodas were chairpersons. The ways in which at least some schools cooperated with the pagodas were evident in the remarks made during the workshops. For example:

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

Usually, people, as Buddhist followers, in principle contributed 40% to school and 60% to

pagoda. School and pagoda managed to apply 2 in 1 method to collect money by organising many types of festivals depending on the case and occasion. At last they managed to transfer 60% of available funds for school construction purposes and the rest to pagoda.

However, the example of Wat Preah Put Primary School in Phnom Penh indicated that this harmony might break down. In this case the school was resented by the monks, who wanted to push it out of the compound so that the space could be taken for other purposes. The school felt that it had a right to be in the pagoda grounds, and its principal pointed out that the school had recommenced operation in 1979, earlier than the pagoda and very soon after the expulsion of the Pol Pot regime. It seems likely that the composition of the school committee both reflected and maintained the antagonism between the school and the pagoda. The questionnaire completed by the principal stated only that the chairperson of the school committee had retired, without indicating what he had retired from; but it indicated that the other three members were employees of the Ministry of Transport. This does not seem a very balanced composition for the committee of a school of this type.

Also worth reporting are various attitudinal and strategic considerations which emerged during the workshop discussions. Some principals were rather dismissive of their communities, describing local inhabitants as ignorant of the purposes and value of education. Others challenged this view. They considered their communities to be understanding but already heavily burdened with demands for road embankments, repair of sewage systems, and many other needs. They continued by highlighting the need for outreach, persuasion and transparency:

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

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

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

When there is an imperative need and we don't have enough time to consult the Parents' Association, we rely on consultation with the School Committee and later on we show invoices to the Parents' Association. We never exaggerate the price or produce false papers.

Several participants also highlighted the usefulness of careful targetting, combined with persistence, planning and follow-up:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Additional Costs to Households

The portrait presented above is not a complete picture of household expenditures on education, because parents must pay for additional items which do not go through the school records. It was in order to gain information on these items that the project arranged for a pair of focus-group discussions with parents in both Takeo and Phnom Penh.

The parents who joined these discussions were not a representative sample. Deliberate efforts were made to select parents with a child in each grade, so that six parents could comment on the costs of education in six grades. The parents in Takeo were identified by the Provincial Education Service, and came from up to 10 kilometres away from the site of the meeting. They were estimated to be in the upper two income quintiles for the district. The parents in the Phnom

Penh group were teaching and non-teaching staff of one of the primary schools. Thus, in contrast to most Cambodians, they held formal salaried employment; and because they worked in a school, they were probably more positively oriented towards education than the majority of parents would have been. Nevertheless, the information provided by these parents is valuable. It shows the range of demands on parents, and illustrates the costs of different items. It also highlights again the difference between rural and urban areas.

Table 2: Parents' Annual Expenditures on Primary Education, Takeo Province (Riels)

Serial No.	Parent 1	Parent 2	Parent 3	Parent 4	Parent 5	Parent 6
Grade of pupil to which data refer	1	2	3	4	5	6
B1 School fee	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500	1,500
B2 Compulsory donation	1,000		1,000		1,000	
B3 Individual donation						
B4 Registers and materials	500	500	500	500	500	500
B5 School maintenance						22,000
C1 Uniform	10,000	10,500	11,000	12,000	28,000	8,000
C2 Other school equipment	11,000	11,000	11,000	12,000	18,000	
C3 Private tutoring						
C4 Transportation					100,000	100,000
C5 Pocket money	30,000	36,000	36,000	60,000	60,000	60,000
C6 Accessories, incl. stationery	4,500	6,500	15,500	15,000	17,000	19,000
C7 Personal gift to teacher						
<i>Total</i>	<i>58,500</i>	<i>66,000</i>	<i>76,500</i>	<i>101,000</i>	<i>226,000</i>	<i>211,000</i>
Estimated annual family income	420,000	650,000	890,000	1,500,000	2,340,000	1,100,000
Direct school expenses (B1 - C7)						
of this child as % of family income	13.9	10.1	8.6	6.7	9.7	19.2
No. of dependents	2	2	11	6	7	3
No. of children in family attending school	1	1	5	1	5	2
Estimated % of income spent on food	57.1	36.9	80.9	66.7		82.4
Estimated % of income spent on health	2.4	15.3	11.2	6.7		9.0

Table 2 summarises the data provided by the Takeo parents. Estimates of this sort, particularly on income, are notoriously difficult to make. This is especially the case for rural families who derive much of their income in kind as well as cash. Also, respondents are not always good at estimating incomes and expenditures on an annual basis, which requires an ability to see beyond the fluctuations which arise from different seasons. To tackle these problems, in Takeo each parent was grouped with a school principal so that the matter could be discussed and a reasonably

accurate estimate reached. The meeting lasted for three hours, during which the topic was given considerable thought and discussion. Through this process, figures were generated which were probably as good as they could have been. However, evidence from other sources suggests that there may have been some under-reporting.

The figures in Table 2 show several items additional to those in Table 1. Among them are uniforms, transportation, pocket money, and accessories. The data refer to different children in different schools, and show variations according to the circumstances of the children and the demands of their institutions. As expected, however, the figures show a general increase with the grades. Children in the higher grades needed larger uniforms and more exercise books. Items in category C2 included bags, shoes, hats, and plastic flasks for drinking water, while exercise books are included in category C6. The number of exercise books required ranged from 5 for a Grade 1 pupil to 18 for a Grade 6 pupil. Textbooks could be borrowed from the schools and returned at the end of the school year. The children in Grades 1 to 4 came to school on foot, but those in Grades 5 and 6 came by bicycle. The estimated cost for bicycles includes allowance for both the capital cost and maintenance.⁷ Parents gave their children pocket money to buy snacks, etc..⁸

Table 2 also shows the percentage of total income consumed by these direct costs of schooling. The percentages ranged from 6.7 to 19.2 per cent.⁹ These are substantial proportions, especially when it is recalled first that these are relatively prosperous parents, and second that the figures are for individual children and in most cases the parents had more than one child in school. Also, these costs are for only primary education, and any child going on to secondary school would

⁷. The responses on the questionnaires seemed to include the capital cost as if it was a consumable item which would not last more than one year. The figure has been adjusted here, to allow for the fact that a bicycle should last for several years.

⁸. It is arguable that children would need clothing even if they had no school uniforms; and that if the children purchased snacks with pocket money, money was saved from elsewhere in the food budget. However, uniforms do commonly cost more than other clothes, and purchased snacks cost more than home-prepared ones. Moreover, both uniforms and snacks are perceived by parents as a direct cost of schooling. On these grounds the original figures for these two items have been reduced, but only by one third.

⁹. Once again, however, the figures must be viewed with caution. Parent 3 estimated that expenditure on the schooling of the Grade 3 child consumed 8.5% of total income. That parent reported five children in school, which would imply (depending on the grade) about 42.5% for all three of them. But this does not seem to dovetail with the estimate that 74.3% of income was spent on food and 11.2% was spent on health.

need even more inputs. For comparison, the table shows the estimated proportion of income spent on health. In three cases, reported expenditure on health was lower than that on education, though in one case it was the same and in another case it was higher.

In addition, of course, are opportunity costs when children attend school. Parents estimated that a boy who worked in a provincial town as a mason might earn 3,000 riels a day, 15 days a month and five months a year. This would give an annual income of 225,000 riels. Alternatively, a girl might be hired to transplant and harvest rice. The value of this would be 2,000 riels a day for 70 days, i.e. about 140,000 riels during both rainy and dry seasons. Additional income could be raised from pig raising and scarf weaving, for example, though this element may perhaps be discounted since children are still available to help their families outside school hours.

Table 3: Parents' Annual Expenditures on Primary Education, Phnom Penh (Riels)

Serial No.	Parent 1	Parent 2	Parent 3	Parent 4	Parent 5	Parent 6
Grade of pupil to which data refer	1	2	3	4	5	6
B1 School fee	3,500	3,500	3,600	3,600	3,600	3,600
B2 Compulsory donation	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000
B3 Individual donation						
B4 Registers and materials						
B5 School maintenance						
C1 Uniform	90,000	60,000	100,000	90,000	100,000	80,000
C2 Other school equipment	25,000	25,000	25,000	25,000	40,000	80,000
C3 Private tutoring	14,000	72,000	70,000	300,000	286,000	90,000
C4 Transportation	210,000	270,000	270,000		300,000	300,000
C5 Pocket money	90,000	270,000	270,000	135,000	540,000	180,000
C6 Accessories, incl. stationery	6,000	8,000	15,000	45,000	20,000	45,000
C7 Personal gift to teacher	7,000	7,000	7,000	10,000	10,000	4,000
<i>Total</i>	<i>450,500</i>	<i>720,500</i>	<i>765,600</i>	<i>613,600</i>	<i>1,304,600</i>	<i>787,600</i>
Estimated annual family income	2,940,000	7,920,000	3,600,000	6,240,000	7,800,000	7,200,000
Direct school expenses (B1 - C7)						
of this child as % of family income	15.3	9.1	21.3	9.8	16.7	10.9
No. of dependents	3	11	3	3	1	3
No. of children in family attending school	3	5	1	3	1	2
Estimated % of income spent on food	74.3	68.2	60.0	59.2	8.6	66.6
Estimated % of income spent on health	0.3	3.0	5.0	1.9	15.4	8.3

Table 3 provides a point of comparison with Takeo by giving figures for the same categories of items in Phnom Penh. The first observation must be that the total estimated cost is much higher.

Families in Phnom Penh are under greater pressure to pay for private tutoring, and more expenditure on transportation is likely to be needed. Bak Touk school, to which the figures apply, runs a school bus which is taken by about 1 per cent of pupils. Others walk, ride bicycles, or take motorcycle taxis. Incomes are higher in Phnom Penh, but the estimated proportion of total incomes consumed by these children was higher, ranging from 9.1 to 21.3 per cent. Opportunity costs were also higher in the urban area. In contrast to the Takeo parents, all respondents in Phnom Penh reported higher expenditures on education than health.

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

Table 4: Average Household Monthly Expenditures, by Purpose, 1993/94

	Phnom Penh	Other Urban	Rural	Cambodia (extrapolated)
% allocated to:				
food, beverages, tobacco	48.2	57.4	67.1	62.9
transport and communication	8.9	5.6	3.8	4.9
education and recreation	3.2	2.0	1.6	1.9
medical/health	5.8	5.8	8.7	7.6
Total	R781,201 (US\$312)	R439,517 (US\$176)	R238,772 (US\$96)	R290,556 (US\$116)
<hr/>				
Average expenditures by percentile:				
Lowest 10%	R160,249 (US\$64)	R93,441 (US\$37)	R88,880 (US\$36)	R90,509 (US\$39)
Highest 10%	R2,652,786 (US\$1,061)	R1,715,677 (US\$686)	R562,770 (US\$225)	R934,995 (US\$374)
Expenditure distribution by percentile:				
Lowest 10%	2.1%	2.1%	3.7%	3.1%
Highest 10%	34.0%	39.0%	23.6%	32.2%

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

The second pair of estimates, in contrast, gave much lower figures. Both were derived from household surveys conducted by the government. Table 4 shows information from the 1993/94 survey, which reported households in Phnom Penh to have devoted 3.2 per cent of their total expenditure to education and recreation. The figure was 2.0 per cent in other urban areas, and was 1.6 per cent in rural areas. Expenditure on health and on transport appeared to be considerably higher than that on education. The second was a socio-economic survey conducted in two rounds in mid and late 1996. This survey provided a breakdown of expenditures on education (not combined with recreation) by income quintile, and showed an average of 3.8 per cent in rural areas and 5.3 per cent in urban areas (Table 5).

Table 5: Percentage of Monthly Household Expenditure devoted to Education, by Quintile, 1996

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



Source: Data based of Socio-Economic Survey of Cambodia, 1996.

However, these surveys were 'snapshots' of particular months rather than annual estimates, and thus subject to seasonal fluctuations. Moreover, although they requested information on expenditures in kind as well as cash, allowance for these items may not have been complete. Probably even more significant, they seem to have excluded many of the items which were included in the present survey (Tables 2 and 3). While providing instructive benchmarks, therefore, the figures from the socio-economic surveys cannot necessarily be taken as firm indicators.

Moreover, scattered evidence from other sources indicates much higher expenditures, which as the 1990s progressed appeared to be increasing. Box 1 presents some vignettes which seem to be quite typical of Phnom Penh. The Education Sector Study sponsored by the Asian Development Bank (1996) noted typical payments of 200 to 500 riels a day in Phnom Penh primary schools, and

recorded payments in other urban centres which ranged from 35,000 riels a year in Kampot to 100,000 riels a year in Battambang. Moreover, the expenses listed above did not include the widely-demanded charges for initial registration and for transfer between schools. Staff of NGOs reported in 1997 that in Siem Reap typical registration charges had been raised from 1,500 riels per child to 5,000 riels, that in Kompong Speu they had reached 6,000 riels, and that in Phnom Penh they typically reached 9,000 riels (EDUCAM 1997)

Box 1: The Costs and Consequences of Private Tutoring

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Implications and Consequences of Community and Household Financing

As noted at the beginning of this report, community and household financing may have both positive and negative implications. On the positive side, it may be assumed to extend the quantity and improve the quality of education. Without these community and household inputs, it is likely that many schools would have been unable to function at all. During the early and mid-1990s, education received less than 10 per cent of the total government budget; and national government expenditure on education has been below 1 per cent of Gross Domestic Product (data from Ministry of Economics & Finance cited by Coyne 1997, p.14),¹⁰ compared with an average of 3.1 per cent for other developing countries of Eastern Asia, 4.4 per cent in Southern Asia, and 5.7 per cent in Africa (UNESCO 1995, p.109). In absolute terms, in 1995/96 government recurrent expenditures per pupil budgetted for general education (i.e. primary plus secondary) were just 38,100 riels (US\$13.80). An additional 40,200 riels (US\$14.40) per student were budgetted for capital works, mostly utilising funds from external aid. At all levels, official salaries have been so low that they could not provide enough for a single person to live on, let alone a whole family.¹¹ Also on the positive side, it may be assumed that community and household financing generated an interest in schooling which might not have been so strong if everything had been provided free of charge by the government.

However, as already indicated by Box 1, the demands on communities and households have also had negative consequences. More research is needed to identify the impact on regional imbalances and on minority groups in the population, but it seems obvious that more prosperous communities and households are likely to maintain advantages over their less fortunate counterparts. Moreover, the present study indicated a clear imbalance between urban and rural areas. It appeared that the government was more willing to devote resources for buildings in urban than rural areas, which by corollary implied that the rural communities were left to fend for themselves. Also, urban households were much more likely to pay for private tutoring, which maintained the gap between the towns and the villages.

¹⁰ The figures were 1.01% of GDP in 1994, declining to an estimated 0.96% in 1997. The total national budget declined from 10.8% of GDP in 1994 to an estimated 7.9% in 1997.

¹¹ In 1997, average monthly salaries in the MoEYS, for all staff, were 55,032 riels (US\$20.10) (Cooperation Committee for Cambodia 1997, p.5). The poverty line was 35,500 riels per person per month (UNDP 1997, p.3). The average family in Phnom Penh was estimated to need 750,000 riels (US\$250) per month for subsistence.

Moreover, private tutoring is itself an activity which perpetuates and extends the gap between the rich and the poor. The poorest groups cannot afford private tutoring, and must therefore expect to perform less well in examinations. Further, the possibility of earning extra incomes from tutoring encourages teachers to neglect their mainstream classes and even deliberately to fail students so that they will have to come for remedial lessons.

Although the 'contributions' demanded from parents were in theory voluntary, in practice the parents were under heavy pressure to meet the demands. The responses to the questionnaire for the present study did not contain direct information on the consequences of non-payment, but they did contain one strong indirect indicator. Almost all reported that the proportion of students who failed to pay the contributions was higher in Grade 1 than in Grade 6.¹² One may assume that the lower proportion in Grade 6 was because the pupils who could not afford to pay had either dropped out or been pushed out.

Table 6 summarises information on the numbers of children in Grades 1 and 6 in the schools covered by the questionnaire, on the proportions in those grades who were female, and on the proportions who were reported to be unable to pay the demanded contributions. Strictly speaking, the drop-out rate cannot be calculated from the table because it shows different pupils in Grades 1 and 6 and is not a cohort analysis over time. Nevertheless, the drop-out rate can certainly be guessed at. It appears to be very high, and particularly for girls. The situation in Takeo seems on average to be worse than for Phnom Penh. In Takeo, 42 per cent of Grade 1 pupils were reported to default on contributions, compared with only 10 per cent of Grade 6 pupils; and 47.8 per cent of Grade 1 enrolments were female, compared with only 37.0 per cent of Grade 6 enrolments. In Phnom Penh, 5 per cent of Grade 1 pupils were reported to default on contributions, compared with only 2 per cent of Grade 6 pupils; and 46.5 of Grade 1 enrolments were female, compared with 45.8 per cent of Grade 6 enrolments. Most dramatic is Bun Rany Hun Sen Neang Khmao school in Takeo Province, which reported that 70% of Grade 1 pupils did not pay, but that only 5% of Grade 6 pupils did not pay. That school had 168 pupils in Grade 1, of whom 49.4 per cent were girls; but

¹² The only exception, apart from one school which did not report at all, was Cham Bak in Takeo. However, that seems anomalous because the default rate was recorded as 0% for Grade 1 but 30% in each of the other grades.

it had only 48 pupils in Grade 6, of whom 14.6 per cent were girls. It therefore seems clear that, especially in the rural area, the burden of contributions causes a substantial drop-out (or push-out) rate, and that it hits girls particularly hard.¹³

Table 6: Enrolments and Default Rates on Contributions, Grades 1 and 6

Name of School	Grade 1 enrolment	% female	% of Grade 1 students who default on contributions	Grade 6 enrolment	% female	% of Grade 6 students who default on contributions
<i>Takeo Province</i>						
Bun Rany Hun Sen	168	49.4	70	48	14.6	5
Phnom Chiso	334	45.2	28	53	26.4	7
Sla Roem	270	49.2	70	51	39.2	7
Ang So Klaing*	162	47.5	30	68	36.8	3
Ta Yeung	142	52.8	12	20	30.0	1
Orm Sophat**	83	49.4	70	39	48.7	30
Cham Bak	207	48.8	0	33	54.5	30
Phnom Cha Chak	207	41.5	70	16	37.5	0
Trapaing Thom	284	46.1	32	46	45.6	5
<i>Average</i>	<i>206</i>	<i>47.8</i>	<i>42</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>37.0</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>Phnom Penh</i>						
Bak Touk	1,824	44.8	8	290	45.5	2
Wat Preah Put	494	45.3	1	99	54.5	1
Vatanak Vichea	272	43.0	5	50	50.0	5
Sampoeuv Meas	278	48.9	3	49	28.6	0
Tuol Sleng	246	51.2	2	29	44.8	2
Wat Tuol Toumpoung	932	48.6	3	131	40.5	1
Preah Norodom	1,144	42.8	n.r.	88	47.7	n.r.
Phnom Daun Penh	639	44.8	10	108	50.9	5
Beung Salang	733	49.5	7	50	50.0	0
<i>Average</i>	<i>729</i>	<i>46.5</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>99</i>	<i>45.8</i>	<i>2</i>

* The right hand columns are for Grade 5, which was the highest in the school.

** The right hand columns are for Grade 3, which was the highest in the school.

n.r. = not reported

Some Comparisons with Other Countries

As noted at the outset of this report, Cambodia is among the countries in the world with very high proportions of community and household resourcing of education. The majority of others are in

¹³ However, it must also be recognised that many other factors also seem to affect the wastage rate. Phnom Penh appears to have a higher wastage rate than Takeo, even though the reported proportions of pupils unable to pay the contributions was substantially lower. Also, it may be assumed that the drop-outs/push-outs included many pupils who could afford the contributions as well as ones who could not.

Africa. They include such countries as Uganda and Chad, which have suffered civil war and economic collapse. In these cases, governments have been unable by themselves to provide sufficient education, and communities and households have found that if they want to have schools they must themselves provide most of the resources. Rather different are the more prosperous societies, such as Singapore, where the government promotes community financing as a way to encourage communities to take a more active interest in schooling. Also different are countries such as Indonesia which have strong traditions of independent schools operated by religious bodies (Bray 1996b, pp.14-16).

Yet while in Cambodia the scale of community and household financing is high, the education system does remain basically operated by the government. A few private schools have emerged in recent years, but these are mostly elite institutions which operate in towns and serve prosperous families. The vast majority of schools are in the public system, and within those schools the vast majority of teachers are employed by the government. This contrasts with Malawi, for example, where in 1991/92 unassisted community primary schools formed 22.4 per cent of the total, and catered for 9.3 per cent of pupils (Malawi 1993, pp.8, 30). Likewise, in Bangladesh 59 per cent of pupils in 1993 attended non-government primary schools and Islamic institutions called Ebtedayee (World Bank 1996, p.29). Also, in China as many as 41 per cent of full-time primary school teachers in 1990, and 10 per cent of all full-time secondary teachers, were employed by communities (Tsang 1996, p.442).

Both community and private schools may also be found in Nepal, where evolving patterns since the mid-1980s might have important implications for Cambodia (Bajracharya et al. 1997). Following a common pattern, for political and social reasons the government of Nepal declared that primary education should be free of charge for all students. However, the government was unable to provide sufficient resources for the schools, with the result that many schools were forced to secure incomes from other sources and demanded contributions of various sorts which were in effect fees. Even with these contributions, however, the public schools remain starved of resources. Quality has necessarily suffered, and parents with means have instead turned to the private sector. The result has been a widening rather than a narrowing of the social gap, because parental resources go to private rather than public schools and the quality of education provided to the poor deteriorates.

further. This pattern of events sends a warning to Cambodia: if the government is not able to provide adequate resources, it may be better to permit schools to raise their own resources so that parents do not instead transfer their allegiance to the private sector and leave the public schools worse than before.

Around the Asian region, several countries are similar to Cambodia in having strong Buddhist traditions. However, not all these countries link schooling so closely with the pagodas. Whereas in Cambodia 23.3 per cent of all public schools operated in pagodas (Cambodia 1997, p.4), in Bhutan all public schools operated in their own premises (Bhutan 1993). For reasons that deserve to be explored more fully, it also appears that links between schools and pagodas are weaker in such countries as Laos and Thailand.

At the same time, the present study also included one school supported by a church, the Assemblies of God. The roles of churches, particularly when they are recent arrivals on the scene and bring foreign money, has been a focus of debate in many countries (see e.g. Brock & Tulasiewicz 1988). Broader issues are involved than ones of mere financing of education, and the topic may merit further investigation in Cambodia as well as elsewhere.

Another dimension concerns equity at the local level. While the case studies reported here indicated that many parents did not pay the contributions demanded from them; no systematic arrangements were reported for giving exemptions to people who needed them. In Laos, for example, households may be permitted to contribute labour in place of cash; and in Bhutan parents may be permitted to pay lower contributions if they have more than one child in the school. This type of measure seems very desirable, but requires leadership at the local level. Case studies elsewhere (e.g. Opolot 1994) have shown that school committees are commonly dominated by relatively prosperous members of society who may have little sympathy for others who are less fortunate. It seems likely that this factor exists in Cambodia as much as elsewhere, which implies a need for government monitoring, guidance and support.

Before recommending strong reliance on the government, however, it must be pointed out that to some observers the government is part of the problem as well as the solution. This is partly because officials at the district and higher levels have commonly sought a percentage of resources raised at the local level in order to finance their own operations. According to one informant, a few

years ago a circular had indicated that 80 per cent of production income generated by schools could be retained by those schools, but that 15 per cent should be remitted to the district level and 5 per cent to the provincial level. Such measures are more a disincentive than an encouragement at the school level. More positive would be government initiatives to support local production, e.g. through schemes of matching grants of the types found elsewhere (Bray 1996b, pp.24-5).

Finally, Cambodia is notable for the success with which the cluster system has worked in recent years. According to the official statistics, in 1996/97 only 21 of the 4,878 schools in the country were not in clusters (Cambodia 1997, p.1). The case studies reported above indicated that the members of at least one cluster had a common policy on the level of contributions demanded from parents. Of course some clusters work better than others (see e.g. UNICEF 1994a, 1994b); but it seems that Cambodia currently has in place a structure which cannot be found in most other countries and which can provide mutual support while helping to disseminate good practices.

Conclusions

This report has in some ways raised more questions than it has answered. However, it has highlighted the scale of community and household financing in Cambodia's primary schools. It has also shown that such financing has both positive and negative effects, and that more attention is needed to the mechanics of operations.

The types of communities from which schools draw resources are varied. Most obvious are communities comprising the people who live close to the schools. Particularly in rural areas, such people may be asked to contribute to schools regardless of whether they actually have children in the schools. For example, during the workshop discussions recorded here, one participant indicated that:

The chief of the village ... asked each family to monthly contribute 100 riels to the school.

Another explained that:

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

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

Sometimes, the school committee designated its members to crisscross the country to seek funds, either inside the same province or in Phnom Penh. The school committee tried to identify its wealthy members' relatives. At last 80% of them, including those living in France, Italy, etc. gave positive responses to the school.

Given that Cambodian traditions of community organisation have never been strong, and were devastated by the period of the Pol Pot regime, it appears that the school, like the pagoda, may be an agent for building communities and social cohesion. However, this is a matter which demands more research, preferably of a qualitative kind.

In addition to resources from broadly-defined communities are those demanded from parents of specific school children. These are commonly called contributions, but could also be described as levies or fees. The report has shown that the income from these contributions may be substantial, and may assist schools to continue operation when otherwise they would probably collapse.

Box 2: Four Key Recommendations Emerging from this Study

1. *Permit and encourage schools to raise resources.* The Cambodian government is currently unable to give primary schools the resources they need. The government should maintain its efforts to do so, collaborating with external agencies as necessary. Meanwhile, schools should be permitted and encouraged to raise their own funds to bridge gaps. This should be seen as a form of partnership in resourcing.
2. *Monitor fund-raising activities.* Even though the government is itself unable to provide all resources, it needs to understand what is happening at the school level. Improved monitoring is needed of the scale and mechanisms for fund-raising in urban, rural and remote areas of different provinces.
3. *Guide and support schools in their fund-raising activities.* Experience has shown that school committees do not always operate efficiently, effectively and equitably. The government, perhaps in partnership with NGOs, should organise workshops for school committees to focus on ways to raise and manage resources. Particular attention should be given to the equity, which is not always high on the agenda of school committees. Assistance should be given with planning, strategies for liaison with communities, and procedures for simple accounting. Matching grants could be considered, as a way to provide incentives.
4. *Monitor the scale, nature and implications of private tutoring.* Private tutoring is a major item of expenditure for some families, and has negative as well as positive implications. The government cannot easily control private tutoring, but it should at least monitor it and try to guide practices to alleviate the negative sides.

However, the report has also shown that the demands on both communities and households may be a heavy burden. It seems that the burden on poor families is causing children to drop-out

(and probably never to enrol in the first place). This is hitting girls particularly hard, which is especially problematic given the importance of education of females to national social and economic development (see e.g. King & Hill 1993). While this report has focused on primary education, it appears from other surveys (Tilak 1994) that the burden on households is even greater at the secondary level.

In addition, the report has shown that many managerial matters require attention. In particular, schools and clusters seem to need more help with basic procedures for accounting, particularly in cash but also perhaps for contributions of materials and labour. Allied to this is a need for improved school-level planning, to ensure that targets set are realistic in scope and time-scale. Several case studies have also highlighted the need for improved skills in community liaison. This case of one school located in a pagoda but having a poor relationship with the monks has been highlighted as particularly problematic.

At the same time, it is evident that much more research is needed on this topic. The case studies presented here are certainly not representative of the country as a whole, and more extensive investigation would no doubt reveal further variations, successes and problems. The numerical data are based on very small samples, and are in need of supplementation to gain a more accurate and generalisable picture. This implies a need for further quantitative and qualitative investigation, to identify the scale of community and household resourcing in different contexts, to examine the implications for the quantity and quality of schooling, and to discern its impact, particularly on the poorest groups in society. Such investigation should ideally examine the dynamics of operations. It should include urban, rural and remote areas, and it should look at minority as well as majority regions. This study did not closely compare the dynamics of small schools with those of larger ones, or annex schools compared with main ones. These too could be informative avenues for further investigation, which could be undertaken within the context of the effectiveness of cluster operation in particular settings.

Finally, considerably more research is needed on the topic of private tutoring. This is under-researched in all countries, chiefly because it is a shadowy system considered beyond the control and responsibility of government. The comments in this report echo those made elsewhere (e.g. Asian Development Bank 1996) in highlighting the fact that private tutoring consumes huge amounts

of resources and has major implications for equity. In many cases it is questionable how much the students in these supplementary classes learn that is of value and that could not be taught in ordinary classes. Questions of regulation within the free market are also raised, because at least some forms of private tutoring appear to be exploitative. Among the managerial questions, given that private tutoring is likely to remain a strong feature at least of urban schools, is how far institutions (as opposed to individuals) can control the provision of tutoring, the prices charged and the disbursement of revenues. It appears from this study that some schools are playing at least some institutional role in this, and scope probably exists for improvements in this domain. Further research in Cambodia could be of particular value not only within Cambodia but also more widely afield, where data on this topic and careful discussion are urgently needed.

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Appendix Table 1: Summary Data from Schools Represented at Workshop 1 (Takeo Province)

Name of school	No. of teachers	Buildings and their financing	Contributions per pupil (Riels)				Income from farm/garden	Other income	Remarks
			Basic	Sport	Art	Other			
Bun Rany Hun Sen Neang Khmao	19	2 built with UNICEF help, 1993 & 1994 [\$27,500 from UNICEF, \$16,000 in cash & kind from community]; 2 built from Hun Sen funds 1995, 1996 [\$48,000]	1,500	500	300	700	240,000 riels, plus 20,000 worth consumed (not sold)	1,000,000 riels from festival	This is a core school. Contributions for pupils standardised throughout the cluster. The following 5 schools are in the same cluster.
Phnom Chiso	29	All 6 buildings constructed by community. Three built in 1990s cost \$7,000 (1993), \$12,000 (1994) and \$20,000 (1995)	1,500	500	300	700	48,000 riels, plus 20,000 worth consumed	\$712 from an overseas Khmer	Satellite school
Sia Rorm	15	1 built with UNICEF help 1991 [\$11,250 from UNICEF, \$7,000 from community]; 1 built with Mong Rithy funds 1993 [\$12,000]. 3 built from Hun Sen funds 1996 [\$40,000]	1,500	500	300	700		300,000 riels from festival	Satellite school
Ang So Klaiang	13	2 built with UNICEF help, 1993 & 1994 [\$27,100 from UNICEF, \$150 in cash & kind from community]; 2 built from Hun Sen funds 1995, 1996 [\$40,000]	1,500	500	300	700			Satellite school located in pagoda. Monk chairs school committee.
Ta Yeung	20	All 5 built by Assemblies of God church. Value \$66,400.	1,500	500	300	700		church: \$410 per month	Satellite school
Orm Sophat	4	1 built by charity individual 1989 (\$13,000); other by Hun Sen 1996 (\$20,000)	1,500	500	300	700		overseas Khmer: 190,000 riels per month for teachers	Satellite school
Cham Bak	26	1 joint UNICEF & community; 1 (largest) community; 1 WCC. Total costs: \$64,000	1,000	0	0	0	130,000 riels from rice		Core school
Phnom Cha Chak	24	4 by community 1965-82; 1 joint UNICEF (\$15,000) & community (\$800) 1995	0	1,000	500	0	160,000 riels from rice	30,000 riels from festival	Core school

Trapaing Thom	23	1 community 1979; 1 UNICEF 1991 (\$15,000); 1 UNICEF (\$4,000) & community (\$128) 1993; 2 Hun Sen (\$32,000) 1997.	0	0	0	0	0	340,000 riels from festival	Core school. Some classes in pagoda. Compulsory contributions abolished, on a trial basis. School committee seeking money in alternative ways. However, now discussing with parents who have many children if they can pay 100 riels per month.
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Appendix Table 2: Summary Data from Schools Represented at Workshop 2 (Phnom Penh)

Name of school	No. of teachers	Buildings and their finance	Contributions per pupil (Riels)				Remarks
			Basic	Sport	Art	Other	
Bak Touk	141	6 built in 1980s; 2 govt., 4 community. 3 built by govt. 1992 (\$17,000); 1 built by community 1995 (250,000 riels).	2,000	500	500	brooms 100 teaching aids 100 decoration 100 extra tutoring 100 identity card 100	Core school. Identity cards only for Grades 4-6. Extra tutoring organised by teachers from same class; taken by 50% grade 1 pupils, 90% grade 6. Previous year, flower festival was organised, to which each pupil contributed 5,000 riels.
Wat Preah Put	81	6 buildings constructed 1966-88. 2 built by pagoda, 2 by parents, 1 by charity individual, 1 unstated.	1,800	500	50	building constr 3,000	Satellite school, located in pagoda. School has poor relationship with monks.
Vatanak Vichea	45	1 built by govt. 1965; other built by govt. 1993. Cost: 55 million riels govt., 6 mill. riels community	2,000	500	500	extra tutoring 100 per session	Satellite school. Extra tutoring organised by teachers of same class. All pupils reported to take it.
Sampoeuv Meas	38	2 built by government 1993 [\$108,800]	2,000	500	500	extra tutoring 100 per session	Satellite school. 50% of compulsory contribution goes to repair, 20-30% to sport and art, and the rest to teaching aids. 90% of pupils take extra tutoring, organised by teachers of same class.
Tuol Sleng	45	3 built by government 1968-80	2,000	500	500	classroom 100 decoration 100	Core school.
Wat Tuol Toumpoung	85	2 built 1950 (source of funds not stated); 2 built by community 1980s; 1 built by community 1997. 5.3 million riels	2,000	500	500		Core school located in pagoda.
Preah Norodom	82	3 built by govt. 1935; 1 in 1973; 1 built 1993, political party in conjunction with community	2,000	500	0	unspecified 1,000	Core school. 15% of pupils in each grade take supplementary tutoring organised by class teachers (cost not indicated). Additional resources include one ton of cement and a garden financed by a government official.

Phnom Daun Penh	93	4 buildings constructed 1950	2,000	500	500	500	extra tutoring 100 per session	festival: 5,000,000 riels; rent: \$100 per month; 50 chairs and 20 trucks of sand donated by individual.	Core school. Supplementary tutoring taken by 30% of grade 1, 55% grade 6.
Beung Salang	59	5 buildings, all joint with community: 1988 UNICEF, 1995 Redd Barna, 1996 Redd Barna & CPP; 1997 (two) social funds, CPP. Total cost \$329,400, of which \$215,000 community	1,000	500	500	500	brooms, pictures, decoration etc. 1,000 extra tutoring 100 per session	festival: 1,235,100 riels; desks, chairs, white-board and well financed by Social Funds.	Core school. 85% grade 1 pupils take extra tutoring, 95% grade 6; organised by class teachers.

Annex 1: Questionnaire for Headteachers on School Operation and Finance

I. BASIC DATA

1. Name of School:	
2. District:	
3. Name of Principal:	
4. Location:	(Circle one): urban, rural, remote
5. Type of School:	(Circle one): main school, annex school
6. Cluster:	(Circle one): core school, satellite school
7. Year the school was founded (after 1979)	

8. Number of pupils by grade (1996/97):			
Grade	Total	Male	Female
I			
II			
III			
IV			
V			
VI			
Total			

9. Number of Teachers:			
Type	Total	Male	Female
paid by the Government			
under contract			
supported by the community			
Monks			
Total			

10. Special circumstances, such as floods, storms, insecurity etc. that affected schools or the population in the catchment area	
11. Percentage of school-aged children in the catchment area are not attending school	
12. Main reasons for not being able to attend school	

II. SITE / LAND / BUILDINGS

13.	a) School in Pagoda	(Circle one):	Yes,	No.
	b) Only some classes are in pagoda	(Circle one):	Yes,	No.
14. School land area:	square meters			

15. Building (Please insert an additional sheet if necessary)						
		Building 1	Building 2	Building 3	Building 4	Building 5
Size (square meters)						
Used for						
Wall (palm leaves, wood, cement)						
Roof (palm leaves, tile, corrugated iron sheet, fibro-cement)						
Total number of rooms	good					
	fair					
	poor					
Constructed in year						
Constructed by (government, Community, organization)						
Total costs of construction						
Community participation	cash					
	materials					
	labour					

III. FACILITIES

16. Have sufficient number of desks, tables and chairs	(Circle one)	sufficient	insufficient
17. Have library/reading rooms	(Circle one)	yes	no
18. Have rooms for storage	(Circle one)	yes	no
19. Have playground	(Circle one)	yes	no
20. Have water supply	(Circle one)	yes	no
21. Water supply is easily accessible	(Circle one)	accessible	inaccessible

22. Have enough number of latrines	(Circle one)	enough	not enough
23. Latrines are usable	(Circle one)	usable	not usable

24. Daily or regular cleaning of school compound, building and rooms are done by (tick one)	<input type="checkbox"/> Groups of pupils <input type="checkbox"/> Voluntary worker <input type="checkbox"/> Hired worker <input type="checkbox"/> School staff (voluntary)
25. Number of persons/days since September 1996 for maintenance	(.....) persons (.....) days
26. Cost value of repair materials since September 1996	
27. How much was paid in wages for maintenance since 1996?	

IV. PUPILS' EXPENSES

28. Basic contributions per pupil at the beginning of 1996/97 school year	29. Contributions for sport per pupil for 1996/97 school year
Grade 1.....(Riels)	Grade 1.....(Riels)
Grade 2.....(Riels)	Grade 2.....(Riels)
Grade 3.....(Riels)	Grade 3.....(Riels)
Grade 4.....(Riels)	Grade 4.....(Riels)
Grade 5.....(Riels)	Grade 5.....(Riels)
Grade 6.....(Riels)	Grade 6.....(Riels)

30. Contributions for art per pupil for 1996/97 school year	31. Other contributions per pupil in 1996/97 school year (average amounts)
Grade 1.....(Riels)	(For) (Riels)
Grade 2.....(Riels)	(1).....
Grade 3.....(Riels)	(2).....
Grade 4.....(Riels)	(3).....
Grade 5.....(Riels)	(4).....
Grade 6.....(Riels)	(5).....
	(6).....

<p>32. The amount of contributions are decided by (tick one) :</p> <table style="width:100%; border: none;"> <tr> <td style="width:50%;">School</td> <td>Parents' Association</td> </tr> <tr> <td>ED/K Office</td> <td>District/Khan authorities</td> </tr> <tr> <td>EP/M Service</td> <td>Provincial/Municipal authorities</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Other(Specify</td> <td>.....)</td> </tr> </table>	School	Parents' Association	ED/K Office	District/Khan authorities	EP/M Service	Provincial/Municipal authorities	Other(Specify)	<p>33. Contributions for the school are kept by (tick one):</p> <p style="text-align: center;">School Principal Treasurer of Parents' Association Bank Monk Patron in community Other (specify).....</p>
School	Parents' Association								
ED/K Office	District/Khan authorities								
EP/M Service	Provincial/Municipal authorities								
Other(Specify)								

<p>34. School keeps written accounts for these contributions</p> <p>(Circle):</p> <p style="text-align: center; margin-left: 100px;">Yes No</p>	<p>34. Percentage of pupils who could not pay any contribution and main reasons</p> <table style="width:100%; border: none;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width:70%; text-align: center;">(Percentage)</th> <th style="width:30%; text-align: center;">(Main reasons)</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Grade 1</td> <td>.....</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Grade 2</td> <td>.....</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Grade 3</td> <td>.....</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Grade 4</td> <td>.....</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Grade 5</td> <td>.....</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Grade 6</td> <td>.....</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	(Percentage)	(Main reasons)	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 6
(Percentage)	(Main reasons)														
Grade 1														
Grade 2														
Grade 3														
Grade 4														
Grade 5														
Grade 6														

<p>36. Consequences of non-payment of contributions.</p>
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<p>37. Percent of pupils taking private tutoring and cost</p> <table style="width:100%; border: none;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="width:50%; text-align: center;">(Percentage)</th> <th style="width:50%; text-align: center;">(Riels/per pupils)</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Grade 1</td> <td>.....</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Grade 2</td> <td>.....</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Grade 3</td> <td>.....</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Grade 4</td> <td>.....</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Grade 5</td> <td>.....</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Grade 6</td> <td>.....</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	(Percentage)	(Riels/per pupils)	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 6	<p>38. Private tutoring is provided by (tick one):</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Teachers from the same class Teachers from other class Teachers from other school</p>
(Percentage)	(Riels/per pupils)														
Grade 1														
Grade 2														
Grade 3														
Grade 4														
Grade 5														
Grade 6														

<p>39. What percentage of the total tutoring cost is used for ?</p>	<p>- School maintenance.....%</p> <p>- Other (specify).....%</p>
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V. SCHOOL'S OTHER INCOME

40. School has an income earning farm/garden	(Circle):	Yes	No
41. If so, what is the area?			square meters
42. What crops are grown on it?			
43. Who controls the farm/garden?			
44. Who does the work on the farm/garden?			
45. What was the cash income from crops sold since August 1996?			
46. For what purposes the money was spent?			
47. What was the value of crops consumed but no sold?			
48. What was the system of distributing crops for consumption?			
49. What other incomes does the school receive?	From festival.....(Riels)		
	From rent.....(Riels)		
50. Donation from :	(Name of organizations)	(Amounts)	
	
	
	
	

VI. SCHOOL SUPPORTING COMMITTEE

51. Is there a school supporting committee?	(Circle):	Yes	No
52. If yes, what is it doing?			

53. What is the occupation of the Chairperson?																																			
54. How was the chair-person selected?																																			
55. What is the duration of the appointment as Chairperson?																																			
56. Who are the other members of the committee?																																			
<table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th data-bbox="104 659 656 703">(Name)</th> <th data-bbox="656 659 809 703">(Gender)</th> <th data-bbox="809 659 1373 703">(Occupation)</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr><td>.....</td><td>.....</td><td>.....</td></tr> <tr><td>.....</td><td>.....</td><td>.....</td></tr> <tr><td>.....</td><td>.....</td><td>.....</td></tr> <tr><td>.....</td><td>.....</td><td>.....</td></tr> <tr><td>.....</td><td>.....</td><td>.....</td></tr> <tr><td>.....</td><td>.....</td><td>.....</td></tr> <tr><td>.....</td><td>.....</td><td>.....</td></tr> <tr><td>.....</td><td>.....</td><td>.....</td></tr> <tr><td>.....</td><td>.....</td><td>.....</td></tr> <tr><td>.....</td><td>.....</td><td>.....</td></tr> </tbody> </table>	(Name)	(Gender)	(Occupation)		
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57. How many times did the committee meet during 1996/97?																																			
58. What were its major activities in 1996/97?																																			
59. Does the committee keep the minutes of the meeting?	- 7																																		
60. Does the committee have a treasurer and keep the accounts book?																																			

Annex 2: Questionnaire for Parents on Household Financing of Education

(Riel per School-Year)

- A. Government Costs
1. Salary
 2. Non-salary current cost
 3. Capital cost
- B. Private Costs on School
1. School fee (unofficial fee)
 2. Compulsory donation per student / grade
 3. Individual donations
 4. Donations for school registers, accessories and materials
 5. Donation for school maintenance
- C. Private Costs for School Going (student)
1. School uniform
 2. Other school gears (such as hang-bag, cap, boot, water, lunch-box, carrying basket, etc.)
 3. Private tutoring cost
 4. Transportation (ferry, trishaw, bicycle, motorcycle – fee, buying cost or maintenance)
 5. Pocket money / petty cash for snack
 6. Accessories (exercise books, pens, ball-point pens, pencils, ruler, erasers, compass, etc.)
 7. Personal donation / gift to teacher
- D. Private Opportunity Cost
1. Expected earning – earning usually can obtain by person at that age if working
 2. Replacement cost – cost of hiring a replacement person for the child is going to school

Points in A, the government costs and B private costs on school could be obtained from the school principals for each school. However, points in B through D are more concerned with the parents. Parents really have borne these costs and know how much they used for. The group of parents should be considered how much cost for a primary pupil and how many families (or pupils) used money for such activities / items in the village. If the cost varied by grade, please mention for each grade. Please give the number of families (or) primary students in the village also. All costs should be given in Riel for an average pupil.

The followings are the explanation for each item.

School fee:	School registration fee, sports fee and arts and class decoration fee. Which is usually collected at the beginning of the school year.
Compulsory donation:	School might request to donate certain amount for each student (may vary by grade) at the beginning of the year or few amounts every month or anytime during the school year. In some cases, all households (families) might be participated. Fund collected under this title might be used for new construction (maintenance also).
Individual donations:	Donation made by individuals at their wish.
Donations for school registers, accessories and materials:	Class might request pupils to donate (or collect few amount) to buy chalk, duster, pen, register book, etc., occasionally.
Donation for school maintenance:	School might call for donation to maintain or repair some part of the school.
School uniform:	Uniform (or any dress) especially made or bought for going to school.
Other school gears:	To buy hang-bag, cap, boot, water, lunch-box, carrying basket, etc. for child.
Private tutoring cost:	Fee paying for additional learning hours by same or different teachers.
Transportation:	Cost for riding ferry, trishaw, bicycle, motorcycle. If a bicycle was bought, cost of buying that bicycle as well as for maintenance.
Pocket money:	If parents have to give some petty cash for snack.
Accessories:	Cost for buying exercise books, pens, pencils, ruler, erasers, compass, etc.
Personal donation / gift to teacher:	For giving homage to teachers at new year or at the end of Buddhist length.
Expected earning:	By attending school, the child cannot work. At that age many other children in the same village might be working or helping in their parents' work. The amount of money usually can be obtained by a child if working instead of schooling.
Replacement cost:	If a child is not going to school, he/she can help parents in house keeping, raising younger children, keeping chicken or cows. Cost of hiring a replacement person is the amount of money used for hiring an extra person for such activities for the child is going to school.

Summary Information Sheet

Name of village you refer to:

Total number of primary pupils in your village (estimate):

Total number of households (families) in your village:

Serial	Item	Cost for a pupil (if varied by grade, please mentioned for each grade)	Number (%) of pupils paid for the item	Remarks
B. I	School fee:			
B. II	Compulsory donation:			
B. III	Individual donations:			
B. IV	Donations for registers, accessories and materials:			
B. V	Donation for school maintenance:			
C. I	School uniform:			
C. II	Other school gears:			
C. III	Cost of private tutoring			
C. IV	Transportation:			
C. V	Pocket money:			
C. VI	Accessories:			
C. VII	Personal donation / gift to teacher:			
D. I	Expected earning:			
D. II	Replacement cost:			
E. I	Other costs I			
E. II	Other costs II			