

KAMPUCHEAN ACTION FOR PRIMARY EDUCATION

Educational Needs Assessment Relating to Cham and Migrant Children in Kampong Cham Province (FINAL DRAFT)



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Table of Contents

Abstract

List of Tables and Figures

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

Country Profile

Map of Cambodia

Map of Kampong Cham Province

1	Introduction.....	1
	1.1 Background	1
	1.2 Scope and Focus of the Study	1
	1.3 Educational Policy in Cambodia: Two Realities	4
2	Research Methods	6
	2.1 Review of Secondary Data Sources	6
	2.2 Primary Data Collection Activities: Focus Group Discussions and Key Informant Interviews	7
3	General Background on Kampong Cham Province	8
	3.1 Demographic, Economic, and Historical Overview of Kampong Cham Province	8
	3.2 Trends in the Formal Education Sector in the Province	9
	3.3 General Description of Minority and Migrant Populations in the Province	11
	3.3.1 The Chams of Cambodia and Kampong Cham	
	3.3.2 Migration Patterns in Kampong Cham	
4	Examination of Relevant Issues relating to Educational Service Provision for Minority and Migrant Groups	15
	4.1 The Curious Status of Cham Muslims: A Non-Minority?	15
	4.2 Educational Trends in the Cham Community: State Education and the Emergence of Independent Schools	17
	4.2.1 Language and Religion: Two Educational Taboos	
	4.2.2 Khmer Language Proficiency among Cham Children and the Responsiveness of State Schools	
	4.2.3 Representation of Cham Teachers in the State Education System	
	4.2.3 Responsiveness of State Schools to Minority Needs and the Growing Importance of Islamic Schools	
	4.2.4 Current Responses to the Special Situation of the Cham Community	
	4.3 Migratory Trends in the Province and Their Effect on Children	25
	4.3.1 Migration to Where and By Whom	
	4.3.2 Causes of Migratory Behavior among Children	
	4.3.3 Current Responses to Migratory Pressures as They Affect Children	
	4.3.3.1 Prevention	
	4.3.3.2 Pre- and Post-Migration Interventions	
5	Conclusions and Recommendations	32
	5.1 General Impressions	32
	5.2 Recommendations	34

References

Annex 1: Directory Of Educational Service Agencies in Kampong Cham

Annex 2: Data Collection Instruments

Abstract

The present study was undertaken by Save the Children/Sweden in collaboration with Kampuchean Action for Primary Education to assess the degree to which vulnerable groups that include the Cham ethnic minority and migrant children in Kampong Cham Province are able to access educational services from the state school system. In the case of minority children, the study focused primarily on Cham children, as they comprise the largest minority group in the province. The study recounts the enormous progress that Cambodia's educational system has made in recent years but also the difficulty for expectations to keep pace with what is actually happening in the country. This speaks to increasing pressures for migration among Cambodian youth as well as the sensitivities that surround the issue of minority rights and bilingual education. The study also describes the demographic, economic, and historical context of the province as well as specific problems in the formal education sector as they relate to the stated target groups. In general, Kampong Cham is slipping below the national average on several key indicators (net enrolment, repetition, etc) from a high point reached earlier in the decade. This slippage is thought to be due to several factors beyond the control of the state system such as increasing rates of migration, chronic teacher shortages, and constraints in the national curriculum.

Because the state school system does not collect student data that is disaggregated by either minority or migratory status, researchers found it necessary to explore research questions relating to educational access by looking mostly at information provided by projects of limited scope that are active in the province, as well as data generated from attitudinal surveys among target groups. Thus, most conclusions are highly inferential in nature. For example, researchers found that districts with large Cham populations also demonstrate the lowest levels of educational efficiency. It was also found that Cham parents have clear expectations with regards to their children's education and that these frequently relate to instruction in and about their native language, the tenets of Islam, and the importance that attaches to the ability of teachers to be able to speak the Cham language; expectations that are not generally met by state schools. With selected survey data indicating that only about 1% of state teachers are of Cham ethnicity, even in heavily populated Cham areas, there is a potentially great problem in terms of disaffection between the Cham community and the state schools. This situation would explain the increasing prominence of Islamic schools in the province, which are not closely regulated by state authorities. Researchers expressed concern for what appears to be the emergence of a parallel school system for the Cham minority, which could threaten the nation-building function of state schools. At the same time, it was also found that attitudes of the Chams towards mainstream Cambodian society and their own culture are complex. On the one hand, the Chams want to blend into Cambodian society and pretend that they are actually Khmer in most respects except for their religion. Yet, the fact remains that they do not speak Khmer as a first language with their children so that when they attend state schools dominated by ethnic Khmer teachers and curriculum, they have to struggle; nor do most Chams prefer to live in Khmer villages, which mutes assimilation. Thus, the challenge for any program is to address distinct cultural and language needs while maintaining a fiction that they are not culturally different from the majority ethnic group.

In the case of migratory behavior among children, the study found that general migratory behavior in the province's districts did not seem to be linked with situational factors with which it is commonly associated (e.g., children out-of-school and poverty, proximity to border areas). Nevertheless, Kampong Cham Province has historically been considered to be a major sending area for youth seeking employment opportunities in Phnom Penh and elsewhere. If anything, migration has been accelerating in recent years and the programs that have been developed to prevent it are in danger of being overwhelmed. Overall, there is not a clear picture of within province migration patterns, which may be an increasingly significant factor in dropout from the formal education system, given the recent expansion in factory construction and improvements in road infrastructure that have taken place in the last several years. This suggests the need for more systematic review of migration in the province among youth and the need to revise current assistance programs accordingly.

List of Tables and Figures

- Table 2.1:** Study Variables Investigated through Primary Data Collection Activities
Table 2.2: Breakdown of Community Informants
- Table 3.1:** Change in % of Repeaters at Primary Level, 2002-05
Table 3.2: Change in Dropout Rate at Grade 6, 2002-05
Table 3.3: Worst Performing Districts Against Six Efficiency Indicators
Table 3.4: Ranking of District by Six Key Efficiency Indicators (Primary Level Only), 2005
Table 3.5: Total Provincial Population and Cham Population by District, 2004
- Table 4.1:** The Degree of Difference between Khmers and Chams Cited by Cham Respondents
Table 4.2: Preference for Terminology Used to Describe Muslim Cultural Groupings Cited by Cham Respondents
Table 4.3: The Degree of Importance of Cham Heritage Cited by Cham Respondents
Table 4.4: Language Preference When at Home Cited by Cham Respondents
Table 4.5: Degree of Cohabitation in Village of Residence Cited by Cham Respondents
Table 4.6: The Degree of Importance Attached to Children Learning About Islam at School Cited by Cham Respondents
Table 4.7: The Degree of Importance Attached to Children Learning Cham Language at School Cited by Cham Respondents
Table 4.8: Proficiency Levels Indicated by State Teachers with respect to Cham Children
Table 4.9: Ability of State Teachers to Communicate in Cham Language Cited by Cham Respondents
Table 4.10: Cham Ethnicity of Candidates Inducted into the Provincial Teacher Training College
Table 4.11: Prevalence of Cham Teachers in State Schools in Selected Minority Areas
Table 4.12: The Degree of Importance Attached to Teachers Being Able to Speak Cham Language at School Cited by Cham Respondents
Table 4.13: The Number of Cham Children at Islamic Schools Also Attending State Schools
Table 4.14: Most Important Reasons Cited for Students Attending Islamic School Rather than State School
Table 4.15: Out-Migration as a Percentage of Total District Population, 2007 (sorted by female)
Table 4.16: Breakdown of Child and Youth Migrants by Age, 2004
Table 4.17: Breakdown of Youth Planning to Migrate by Demographic Type
Table 4.18: Ranking of Districts by % of Children Out-of-school (2005) and Poverty Rate (2002)
Table 4.19: Places Where Persons from Interviewees' Village Had Migrated, 2006
Table 4.20: Reason for Leaving Lower Secondary School Cited by Scholarships Recipients, KAPE Tracer Study, 2006
Table 4.21: Reasons for Wanting to Leave Kampong Cham Cited by Child Migrants, 2003
Table 4.22: Reasons for Going to Ho Chi Minh City for Begging by Returnees, 2004
- Figure 3.1:** Provincial and National Change in Primary NER, 2002-05
Figure 3.2: Provincial and National Change in NER at Lower Secondary School, 2002-05

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*Kape Director
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Abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
AIR	American Institutes for Research
BMC	Budget Management Center
CEFAC	Commune EFA Commission
CESSP	Cambodia Education Sector Support Program
CFS	Child Friendly School
CFSS	Child Friendly Secondary School
CIYA	Cambodia Islamic Youth Association
CRC	Committee on the Rights of the Child
CRC	Cambodian Red Cross
DoL	(US) Dept of Labor
EFA	Education for All
EMIS	Education Management Information System
ESCUP	Educational Support to Children in Underserved Populations
ESSP	Education Sector Support Program
GEI	Girls' Education Initiative
GER	Gross Enrolment Rate
GPI	Gender Parity Index
ILO	International Labor Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPEC	International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor
JFPR	Japan Fund for Poverty Reduction
KAPE	Kampuchean Action for Primary Education
LLSP	Local Life Skills Program
LSS	Lower Secondary School
MoEF	Ministry of Economy and Finance
MoEYS	Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sport
MS/F	Mith Samlanh/Friends
NEFAC	National EFA Secretariat
NEP	NGO Education Partnership
NER	Net Enrolment Rate
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
PAP	Priority Action Program
PTR	Pupil Teacher Ratio
PTTC	Provincial Teacher Training College
RGC	Royal Government of Cambodia
SBP	School Breakfast Program
SCN	Save the Children/Norway
SES	Socio-economic Status
TRIP	Tertiary Road Improvement Program
TTD	Teacher Training Department
UN	United Nations
UN CRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNOHCHR	UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights
UNICEF	United Nations' International Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VCAO	Vulnerable Children's Assistance Organization
WFP	World Food Program

Country Profile

Socio-economic Environment			Historical Background
Total Population (000)	13,091	2004	
GDP per capita (US \$)	297	2002	
Gross Domestic Product (billions USD)	3.9	2002	
Occupation Classification: Agriculture	0.74	2004	
Occupation Classification: Industry	0.07	2004	
Occupation Classification: Services	0.19	2004	
Education Expenditure (% gov't exp)	18.5	2005	
Defense expenditure (% of gov't exp)	37.0	2000	
Radio sets per 1,000 population	78	2000	
Television sets per 1,000 population	60	2000	
Average Household Size	5.1	2004	
Life Expectancy at birth	57.4	2001	
% child labor force (as a % children 10-14)	11.9	1998	
Official development (% of GNP)	11.9	1998	
Female employment rate (%)	97.2	2000	
Male employment rate (%)	97.9	2000	
Debt service (% of exports)	1	1998	
Education Indicators			
National NER (primary level)	0.913	2006	
NER for females (primary level)	0.897	2006	
National NER (lower secondary)	0.313	2006	
NER for females (lower secondary)	0.304	2006	
Total Primary School Repetition Rate	0.139	2006	
Female Primary School Repetition Rate	0.124	2006	
Total Primary Survival Rate (Grades 1-6)	0.526	2006	
Female Primary Survival Rate (Grades 1-6)	0.518	2006	
Total Transition Rate to Lower Secondary	0.806	2006	
Female Transition Rate to Lower Second.	0.787	2006	
Total Primary Schools	6,277	2006	
Total Lower Secondary Schools	670	2006	
Total Primary School Enrolment (000)	2,558	2006	
Total LSS Enrolment (000)	310	2006	
Pupil Teacher Ratio (Primary)	50.8	2006	
Pupil Class Ratio (Primary)	41.3	2006	
Total Primary School Teachers	50,378	2006	
Total Primary Classes	61,901	2006	
Teacher-Class Gap (Primary)	-11,523	2006	
Gender Parity Index for Primary Enrolment	0.90	2006	
Gender Parity Index for LSS Enrolment	0.82	2006	

An estimated 2 million people (out of a prewar population of 7.5 million) were killed during the genocidal Khmer Rouge period, 1975-79. Civil War was ended in 1991 with the Paris Peace Accords. The international community spent an estimated \$1.8 billion to organize national elections in 1993. A new constitution was proclaimed later that year after free and fair elections and continues to the present day. Parliamentary elections have since occurred in 1998 and 2003 with the next election scheduled for 2008. The former socialist party that expelled the Khmer Rouge (known as the Cambodian People's Party or CPP) is currently the majority party ruling in coalition with the Royalists (FUNCINPEC).

Economy
 Destroyed by decades of war, civil strife, political instability, and economic depletion, infrastructure, human capital, and social services are slowly being rebuilt. GDP increased from \$US 1.9 billion in 1991 to \$US 3.9 billion in 2002. Nevertheless, an estimated 38% of households still live below the poverty line.

Education System
 Basic education comprises Grades 1-9. Upper secondary extends from Grades 10-12. The education system was virtually destroyed during the Khmer Rouge era. The 1980s saw a period of reconstruction followed by major supply-side investments (e.g., infrastructure, textbooks) in the 1990s. Efficiency indicators nevertheless remained static during this period. The first decade of the 21st century inaugurated a pro-poor educational reform movement that incorporated many demand-side interventions to complement supply-side ones (e.g., school breakfasts, scholarships, etc). Access indicators have improved markedly since then but quality remains very low and textbook and teacher shortages have recently emerged as major and intractable problems.

Map of Cambodia



1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The present study has been undertaken in order to provide a preliminary overview of the situation of minority and migrant children in Kampong Cham Province with respect to educational service provision, mainly in the context of basic education. In Cambodia, the basic education sector is defined as Grades 1 to 9. Kampong Cham Province is a geographically large province located in eastern Cambodia. It is in fact the most populated province in the country, exceeding even the capital city in terms of its total population. This makes it an area of central focus for educational development activities not only because of its continuing need but also because of enormous economies of scale that accrue to investments there. The study was conducted by Kampuchean Action for Primary Education (KAPE) at the request of Save the Children/Sweden. KAPE is a local NGO based in Kampong Cham that was set up by provincial stakeholders to improve access to quality education, mainly in the formal education sector. The primary aim in doing this study was to determine the extent to which children from target groups (i.e., minority and migrant groups) receive educational services from the state education system and in cases where there are significant lapses in service provision, what the contributing factors are. The focus on minority children mainly concerns those known as Chams, or *Khmer Islam* groups, as they are known in official nomenclature. The Cham population in Kampong Cham is the largest minority group in the province, as indeed it is the largest minority group in the country. The province also includes other minority populations, mainly Vietnamese and Steang hill tribe people, but their numbers are generally small and such groups appear to have been largely assimilated into the majority Khmer culture, which is in sharp contrast to the Cham population. The situation of migrant children is also of concern because Kampong Cham has been ranked as one of the top five ‘sending’ provinces in Cambodia with respect to migration and human trafficking issues (ILO, 2004).¹

1.2 Scope and Focus of the Study

The layout of this study begins with a statement of primary and ancillary research questions and the significance of each. Following a review of research methodology, the study then provides a description of the demographic, economic, and historical context of the province as well as specific problems in the formal education sector as they relate to the stated target groups. For example, the study notes recent dramatic changes in economic activity in the province and the effect that this appears to be having on migration patterns and school participation rates. Explanations of the general context also take in national policy with respect to minority group issues and child labor. Following this description of the situational context in Kampong Cham Province, the discussion moves onto specific issues relating to Cham children such as language proficiency, the emergence of independent Islamic schools, and general attitudes among Cham parents towards the state schools. This is followed by a similar discussion on migrant children, the make-up of the migrant population, and general migratory patterns among young people in the province. The study concludes with a discussion of general needs and responses in the context of existing projects that have sought to address them as well as new suggestions for assistance.

A formalized investigation into educational service provision for children from the Cham community and among migrant children is timely for a number of reasons. In the case of Cham children, there is growing willingness to question the oft-held assumption that there is little difference between Cham children and

¹ The other four provinces include Prey Veng, Banteay Meanchey, Siem Reap, and Sihanoukville. The classification of a major ‘sending’ area was based on an 11-point criteria scale developed by ILO that includes such factors as total labor migration, natural disaster frequency, proximity to receiving areas, poverty, and other factors.

ethnic Khmer children. Until relatively recently, most education development programs both in Kampong Cham and elsewhere have tended to lump ethnic Khmer and Cham children into one group with little differentiation in the interventions provided.² Study findings may, therefore, prove useful to improving the designs of existing educational development programs as well as suggesting new ones. In addition, there is also growing interest among donors and the international community in ensuring sectarian harmony between Islamic and non-Islamic groups in Southeast Asia. This interest is occurring against a backdrop of potentially destabilizing sectarian conflict in several countries in the region. As the national school system usually plays a key role in socializing children from all communities resident in a country, these concerns often tend to focus on the education system, hence the focus of this study. To be sure, it is important to remember that the Cham community itself is not monolithic in its viewpoints and there appear to be latent fissures about how Chams should view themselves as a community and how they should interact with the majority culture. There are also additional complications in interpreting the study's findings that relate to government policy, which generally tends to view the Cham population not as an ethnic group but as a religious minority who are still inherently 'Khmer' in their ethnicity, hence the designation, *Khmer Islam*. In a more general sense, there is growing recognition of the need for bilingual education in dealing with minority populations among policy makers in the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sport (MoEYS). But this recognition has mainly adhered to the needs of hill tribe groups who are less numerous and who are defined as ethnically distinct from Khmers. This official recognition, however, has not extended to Cham children who, as noted above, are not seen as a distinct ethnic group but rather as a religious group.

In the case of migrant children, it is important to note that Cambodia's populace has often been described as a 'population on the move.' The Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC) has reported that 31.5% of Cambodians are migrants, indicating that they once had a residence different from their current one at the time of the 1998 census (Ministry of Planning & National Institute of Statistics, 1999). Although an important historical cause for migration was war and internal displacement, the most common reasons cited by migrants during the current decade appear to be economic in nature (ILO, 2004). Concerns with the educational needs of migrant children, many of whom are also child laborers, have been on-going in Cambodia and several projects have been started to help address the needs of such children.³ However, providing assistance to such groups has proven difficult because they are difficult to locate since, obviously, they are continually moving around. The problems of migrant children as they relate to education are often inextricably linked to the problems of child labor. Although not all migrant children are child laborers, many are. Indeed, the Understanding Children's Work Project (UCWP) reported that 45% of children aged 5 to 14 years of age were found to be working in 2001 (Federal Register, 2007).

Primary Research Question:

In view of the above, this study has set out to explore the educational situation of Cham and migrant child populations in Kampong Cham Province from an inclusive education point of view. This means in particular investigating the inclusiveness of education with respect to its non-discriminatory aspects as defined in international conventions such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on the Rights of the Child to which Cambodia is a signatory. Therefore, the primary research question for the study is as follows:

Primary Research Question: To what degree do Cham and migrant populations in Kampong

² An important exception in this regard refers to the Educational Support to Children in Underserved Populations Program (ES-CUP), which is a relatively new program that has begun to differentiate its programming between ethnic Khmer and Cham children. This program has been in operation for about two years and will be ending in 2008.

³ Such projects include the International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (ILO-IPEC), the OPTIONS Program (World Education), the CIRCLE Project (Winrock International), and several others.

Cham Province receive educational services from the state school system and what factors affect the provision of such services?

School reporting on enrollment and retention does not generally distinguish between children in different ethnic groups or their migratory status. Therefore, it is difficult to determine with any great degree of certainty from official government reporting what the nature of educational service provision to these target groups is. In the case of Cham children, the study has sought to investigate enrolment through direct interviews with selected members of the Cham community as well as representatives from Islamic Schools. Such interviews will not only give some indication of enrolment patterns but also the causality for such patterns. Similarly, in the case of migrant children, the study has focused on anecdotal reports and surveys of other organizations on children in a number of different migratory categories. These categories include (i) children enrolled in school but who subsequently leave for migration-related reasons, and (ii) children who are already out-of-school who are planning or are in the process of migrating. A review of this data provides information on the extent of migratory behavior as it affects access to educational opportunities as well as causality.

Ancillary Research Questions:

In addition to the above core research question, there are a number of ancillary areas of investigation that the study has pursued in order to improve understanding of attitudes of parents in addressing the educational needs of their children, particularly in the case of the Cham community. These research questions include the following:

Research Question 2: How do Cham perceptions of themselves and the majority Khmer community affect decisions relating to education for their children?

The decision of Cham parents to enroll their children in the state school system ultimately depends on perceptions of themselves as a separate community within the larger national community and the degree to which they feel that they want to participate in that larger national community. As the premier representative institution of Cambodian society at the local level, the state schools may or may not be perceived as a minority-friendly institution. This perception of the state schools among Cham parents will depend on prevalent attitudes about themselves and their role in Cambodian society, underlining this area of inquiry as an important one.

Research Question 3: To what degree are Islamic Schools satisfying the desire of Cham families to provide educational opportunities for their children in comparison to state schools?

The emergence of Islamic schools as a parallel provider of educational services is already well established. Indeed, the RGC reports that there are over 86 such schools operating in Kampong Cham alone (Dept of Planning, Kampong Cham, 2007). There has been little systematic investigation about these schools including the nature of their relationship with educational authorities in the province, what they teach, or whether Cham children attend these schools to complement the education they receive from the state schools or to replace it. The role of Islamic Schools and their perception by Cham parents may, therefore, be of great importance in designing interventions that assist the state schools to increase their responsiveness to minority needs.

Research Question 4: What in general is the Khmer language proficiency among Cham children when they enroll in a state school?

As noted earlier, there is a widely held belief that Chams are not ethnically different from Khmers and that the primary point of difference between these two groups relates mainly to religion. This assumption

is based on the observed close proximity of Khmer and Cham villages to one another and the high degree of assimilation attributed to the Cham community. For example, the Cham people are represented in Parliament to some degree and indeed the former Minister of Education was himself a Cham. By extrapolating these assumptions to the language readiness of Cham children when they enroll in state schools, one would imagine that such children enter school with a high degree of Khmer language proficiency. This assumption, however, has never been systematically tested. If it were found that a large number of Cham children were not proficient in Khmer language upon enrolling in Grade 1, it would have significant consequences for the ability of state schools to retain Cham children and the overall perception of such schools to meet their needs. Such consequences bear heavily on the central research question, which seeks to investigate what may be reasons for Cham parents not to send their children to the state schools.

Research Question 5: What are the primary reasons that propel youth to migrate within and out of Kampong Cham Province.

Knowing the reason that children migrate from place to place may not by itself be enough to prevent migration. But such information could assist in the design of interventions to ameliorate the incidence of migration and lessen the hazards associated with it (e.g., through safe migration programs). Such information will also provide useful insights on the relevance of the state education system to meet the educational needs of migrant children and those planning to migrate. That is, is there a need for alternative education service provision to complement or even replace that provided by the state schools. The information generated through the investigation of this research question may prove valuable in suggesting interventions to meet the needs of migrant children.

1.3 Educational Policy in Cambodia: Two Realities

Cambodia is not without a legal framework to ensure that all children get a basic education. Indeed, the legal framework for addressing equity issues in education was first laid out in the Cambodian Constitution proclaimed in 1993. Article 68 of the constitution states that the “state shall provide free primary and secondary education to all citizens in public schools.” Similarly, the RGC has also ratified the *UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC)* as stipulated under Article 48 of the constitution; it also participated in the World Conference on Education for All (EFA) in 1990 and has agreed to abide by the resolutions of the conference. With support from UNESCO, Cambodia developed a National EFA Plan that was disseminated in 2003. The plan places a strong emphasis on vulnerable groups but does not identify the Cham minority specifically (National EFA Secretariat, 2003). In addition, although the National Plan mentions ethnic minorities as a special needs group, it does not cite bilingual education as an important mechanism to meet these needs but rather refers only to a need for ‘curriculum reform.’ More recently, RGC ratified *ILO Convention 182 on the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor* and the *UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, Prevent, and Punish Trafficking in Persons* in 2006. The government has also drafted a National Plan of Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms Child Labor and has set time-bound targets for reducing the proportion of children engaged in the worst forms of child labor by 2015. These developments are significant for interventions that seek to meet the educational needs of migrant children since they demonstrate that such interventions would be consistent with government policy.

There have nevertheless been concerns that the rights of minorities are not being addressed by RGC. For example, the UN Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights recently noted that the RGC ‘has yet to submit Cambodia’s initial report on its compliance with the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, which was due in 1994’ (OHCHR, 2007, p. 15). Similarly, in its most recent concluding observations on Cambodia’s compliance with the UN CRC, the Committee on the Rights of the Child noted that it is ‘concerned that the State party’s Law on Nationality (1996) might lead to discrimination against children of non-Khmer ethnic origin and might, in violation of Article 7 of the Convention, leave as stateless a large number of children born in Cambodia, such as children belonging to minority groups’ (Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2000, p. 6). In response to this law, the Cambo-

dian government now requires *all* citizens to declare as their nationality, 'Khmer,' and will not recognize declarations of Cham, Steang, Tampuan, or other ethnic minority groups. Thus, the RGC seeks to respond to the above concerns by ensuring that no one is indeed made stateless, but nevertheless doing so in a way that requires everyone to deny their actual ethnicity. These developments are seen as problematic by legal observers such as the Committee on the Rights of the Child, as they conflate ethnicity and nationality, which are essentially different.

Although the proclamations and legal framework established by the government to ensure equitable access to education were an important step for Cambodia, they still did not match the reality on the ground for much of the 1990s. With a crumbling educational infrastructure, inefficient resource distribution, low quality educational delivery, and a poorly as well as irregularly paid teaching force, the education system was in critical need of comprehensive support. These problems demanded the lion's share of government and donor support as educational development got under way in the mid and late 1990s. In the first decade of the 21st century, Cambodia initiated a pro-poor educational reform program that led to dramatic increases in net enrolment, particularly among the poorest quintile of the population. Pro-poor policies have mainly taken the form of changes in financing of state schools including the provision of operating budgets, which have enabled the abolition of school fees, and the introduction of need-based scholarships for vulnerable groups at lower secondary school level. MoEYS has also worked closely with the World Food Program to introduce school breakfast programs in food insecure areas as a means of improving enrolment. The most recent developments in education policy have seen the promulgation of Child Friendly School (CFS) frameworks as an official element in all future national investment plans. CFS models are currently popular among development practitioners because they espouse a holistic approach to development. In this respect, the regional framework adopted by most Southeast Asian countries encompasses five dimensions of a child's learning environment. The decision to elevate CFS models to a high level of prominence follows a long period of piloting that began in 2001. While there is generally great enthusiasm that the MoEYS has moved quickly in this regard, there is also concern that it is premature to adopt the framework as a national policy.

In spite of the above movements in national educational policy, expectations are still running far ahead of the reality. It is generally accepted by many educators that efforts to improve educational quality have shown the most disappointing results (e.g., Wheeler, 1998; Bredenberg, 2004; Bernard, 2005). Even in the area of educational access where progress has been most rapid, NER levels in the primary education sector have been relatively static at about 90% for the last several years. It is believed that the 10% of the school-going age population still not in school primarily comprises minority groups, children in remote areas where educational service provision is patchy, and migrant children. At lower secondary school level, NER levels increased from 19% in 2001 to 31% in 2005, a considerable increase relative to the base figure (EMIS, 2006). Still, it is a sobering realization when one considers that about 70% of children in this age group do not attend lower secondary school.

In view of the above, it is clear that major access impediments to a quality basic education continue to exist throughout the country. The causality underlying this situation can best be understood as a complex interaction between supply and demand-side factors. Prominent supply-side factors impeding participation rates in Cambodia's educational system include (i) chronic teacher shortages; (ii) pervasiveness of incomplete schools; (iii) low educational relevance and quality; (iv) physical constraints in educational provision; (v) poor living and working conditions among teachers; and (vi) exclusionary 'push-out' factors. The latter of these refers in particular to low sensitivity to the needs of girls, ethnic minorities, and disabled children. Important demand-side factors include (i) restrictive school access due to direct costs; (ii) exclusionary 'pull-out factors' due to the lower perceived value of education in comparison to income generating activities; and (iii) socio-economic 'pull-out' factors relating to such problems as opportunity costs, morning hunger among poor children, and other financial factors. In combination, supply and demand-side factors produce numerous negative effects that impede educational quality and access. These effects include high levels of repetition, dropout, and absenteeism as well as poor instructional quality.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

The present study has relied heavily on a review of secondary data sources, such as they are, to generate most of the conclusions and recommendations that have been formulated. In many cases, these sources include province-wide data compiled by government (e.g., census data) while in others it reviews studies and project surveys of more restricted scope that relate to the movements of migrants and a review of the associated causality. Although many of these surveys are not systematic or wide reaching, their general consistency has helped to validate the assumption that they are generally representative of social trends among target groups.

Secondary data sources have also been used extensively for purposes of examining attitudes and social dispositions of the Cham population in Kampong Cham Province. In most cases, these sources consist of anthropological studies of social and political trends within the Cham community. However, researchers found there to be a virtual dearth of information about educational matters as they relate to the Cham population. In part, this is due to the fact that official education statistics do not discriminate between ethnic minority and Khmer children. As a result, a considerable effort was made to generate some primary data for this study through focus group discussions and interviews with key informants.

2.1 Review of Secondary Data Sources

Secondary data sources used for this study fall into one of three groups. These include (i) government statistical profiles of Kampong Cham Province and the education system; (ii) seminal research reports compiled by key donors such as ILO and research tracts that are generally recognized as classics by most professional researchers in the relevant field; and (iii) project reports relating to educational development compiled by major agencies that are active in Kampong Cham such as Mith Samlanh, World Education, and KAPE.

Among government documents, the *Provincial Profile of 2005 and 2007* has been a key resource for demographic and economic data relating to the general situation of the province while *Statistical Yearbooks* for the education sector that are prepared each year by the Educational Management Information System (EMIS) have been essential for basic information on education indicators. One of the most important research reports used to facilitate understanding of migratory patterns in Cambodia as they relate to Kampong Cham Province refers to the study prepared by ILO that is entitled, *Moving Forward: Secondary Data Review of Sending and Receiving Areas for Employment Sectors*. This study, completed in 2004, presents one of the most comprehensive analyses of migration issues in Cambodia using a multi-sectoral data set that includes labor statistics, provincial infrastructure conditions, educational trends, socio-economic data relating to poverty, and the frequency of natural disasters, among others. As its name suggests, the ILO study is itself a review of secondary data sources, mainly compiled by government. Another important study in the area of Cham ethnic groups is an anthropological tract compiled by William Collins in 1996 entitled, *The Chams of Cambodia*. This study is widely recognized by many anthropologists as the most comprehensive study of the Chams in recent times. It examines the historical origins of the Chams as well as their own sense of ethnic identity today and future prospects as a minority community in Cambodia. Finally, this study has reviewed progress reports and localized surveys conducted by several projects that are currently operating in Kampong Cham. The surveys that have been examined are diverse in nature and include language proficiency surveys among Cham children, tracer studies of children leaving school, and attitudinal surveys of migrant children and adolescents. Progress reports provided by agencies working in the education sector have also proven valuable for their insights on educational trends among vulnerable social groups and an assessment of the effectiveness of interventions that have been designed to deal with the needs of target groups. These assessments have proven to be highly useful in the formulation of recommendations for future effective interventions targeted at Cham and migrant children.

2.2 Primary Data Collection Activities: Focus Group Discussions and Key Informant Interviews

General: Primary data collection activities occurred mainly to gather attitudinal information on the Cham population in Kampong Cham Province. There were four areas of inquiry that were investigated in this regard, which are summarized in Table 2.1. It should be noted that investigation of the fourth area (language proficiency) utilized results of an earlier survey conducted by KAPE and World Education under the auspices of the ESCUP Program in 2006.

Table 2.1: Study Variables Investigated through Primary Data Collection Activities

1	Attitudes towards the Cham community among Cham villagers
2	Attitudes towards the Khmer national community among Cham villagers
3	Satisfaction with the state school system among Cham community members
4	Language Proficiency of Cham Children

Key Informants: The key informants contacted to participate in survey activities fell into two groups: (i) local community members in selected Cham areas and (ii) staff members working in Islamic Schools. Community members generally included parents, village heads, community elders, *hakims* (clerics), and *tuan* (Islamic teacher). All of those interviewed were of Cham ethnicity. There were 80 individuals participating in community interviews across four districts. The largest grouping of participants were those who described their primary role in the community as parents. Participants were mainly selected through a combination of coordinating activities by local community leaders as well as availability and interest in participating. In this sense, the survey sample is not scientific or random but likely gives some sense of the prevailing world-view predominant in each community. Among those working in Islamic Schools, participants mainly included the teachers working there (*tuan*) and the headmasters who ran the school. In all, about 30 staff members from ten schools were interviewed across a wide sample of districts.

Table 2.2: Breakdown of Community Informants

Primary Community Role	Number of Participants
Parent	38
Village Leader	13
<i>Tuan</i> (Islamic Teacher)	11
<i>Hakim</i> (Cleric)	8
Commune Leader	4
Community Elder	2
Other	4
Total	80

Information was also collected from the Provincial Teacher Training College and selected primary schools to determine the ethnic make-up of annual intakes into the college and among state teachers assigned to primary schools in areas with a heavy concentration of Chams.

Site Selection: Because of the generally preliminary nature of this study, data collection activities in Cham communities were limited to four communes in each of four districts, mainly in eastern Kampong Cham where there are large concentrations of Cham people. The four districts selected included Krouch Chma, Dambae, Tbong Khmum, and Ponzea Krek Districts. The communes visited in each district were chosen in a way where there would be a mix of cultural attitudes stemming from a wide range of living contexts. These contexts included villages where local Cham community members live mainly among themselves and not in close proximity to Khmer villages to areas where the opposite conditions prevail. The Islamic Schools selected to participate in the study were selected from a wider range of districts to generate a variety of school settings that included urban and rural, big and small, as well as old and new schools. Researchers were particularly interested in including the Islamic School in the provincial capital in the sample of those selected, which is one of the largest and most prestigious such schools in the province.

Data Collection Methods and Instrumentation: Data collection methods in the Cham community relied on a combination of focus group discussions and interviews. Focus group discussions were limited to data collection activities at community level while one-on-one interviews were used both with communities (in a post discussion setting) as well as at schools. A concerted effort was made to ensure that those conducting the interviews and large group discussions were themselves of Cham ethnicity so that there would

be a maximum level of openness in answering questions, particularly with respect to those questions that pertained to attitudes towards individuals of Khmer ethnicity. A local Muslim organization based in Phnom Penh but with strong links to communities in Kampong Cham arranged for all meetings with communities and schools and assisted in the interviews. Those members of staff within the organization implementing the study who were of Cham ethnicity also assisted in this regard. Three data collection tools were developed for purposes of conducting discussions and interviews (see Annex 2). These consisted of a combination of open-ended and close-ended questions that generated both quantitative and qualitative data with regards to responding patterns.

3. GENERAL BACKGROUND ON KAMPONG CHAM PROVINCE

3.1 Demographic, Economic, and Historical Overview of Kampong Cham Province

As noted earlier, Kampong Cham has the largest population of any province in Cambodia, making it an area of some importance and where there are large economies to scale for any development project. In this respect, about 13.3% of the national population lives in the province, according to 2004 census projections. The primary geographical feature characterizing the province is the Mekong River, which neatly splits the province in half. The local topography is varied with four general types of land that include Low Land, Mekong River Basin, Red Soil Land, and Upland Mountain/Plateau. With important exceptions, the red soil and Mekong basin areas tend to be the most fertile. The red soil areas also lend themselves well to the cultivation of rubber trees leading to the elevation of this activity as one of the leading industries in the province. In all, there are seven large rubber plantations in Kampong Cham that were formerly state-owned but which are now being privatized (though maintaining some element of state control). The rubber plantations employ a significant proportion of the population and account for a large part of the migratory activity (and child labor) that occurs in the province.

Box 1: Key Facts about Kampong Cham Province	
1. Total Population:	1,746,612
2. Population Density:	178/sq km
3. Population Engaged In Agriculture:	85.8%
4. Population Growth Rate:	1.65%
5. Total Districts:	16
6. Total Communes:	173
7. Total Villages:	1,769
8. Out Migration (as % of Population):	4.3%
9. Literacy Rate:	81.9%
10. Female Literacy:	80.7%
11. Children out-of School:	17.5%
12. Families living in Thatch-roof House:	37%
13. Families with Bike:	81%
14. Families with Cow:	53%

Source: Dept of Planning, Kampong Cham Province, 2005/2007

Recently, Kampong Cham has benefited from more intensive economic integration with the construction of a major bridge spanning the Mekong River in 2001. This bridge, which is situated in the provincial capital, has served to connect the eastern and western sides of Kampong Cham. Although the eastern side of the province possesses a majority of the red soil land area, it is generally considered to be behind the western side in terms of its economic development because it was cut off from the rest of the province until the recent bridge construction. To be sure, the eastern districts are rapidly catching up and have been the site of numerous new factories and rapid electrification using power that is imported from Vietnam at low cost. Penetration of the countryside has also been greatly advanced by the rapid construction of tertiary laterite roads by a project known as TRIP, enabling the expansion of development projects to areas where it was never possible to have them before, particularly in the education sector. To give some idea of the transformation that the province has undergone as a result of recent investments in road and bridge infrastructure, travel time from the provincial capital to Memot District on the far eastern side has been cut from ten hours (in 1992) to about 90 minutes today.

With a preponderance of fertile land and large-scale plantations (both for the production of fruit, tobacco, and rubber), Kampong Cham has a reputation for being an affluent province. However, its large population and limited economic base in combination with national trends where wealth is concentrated in the

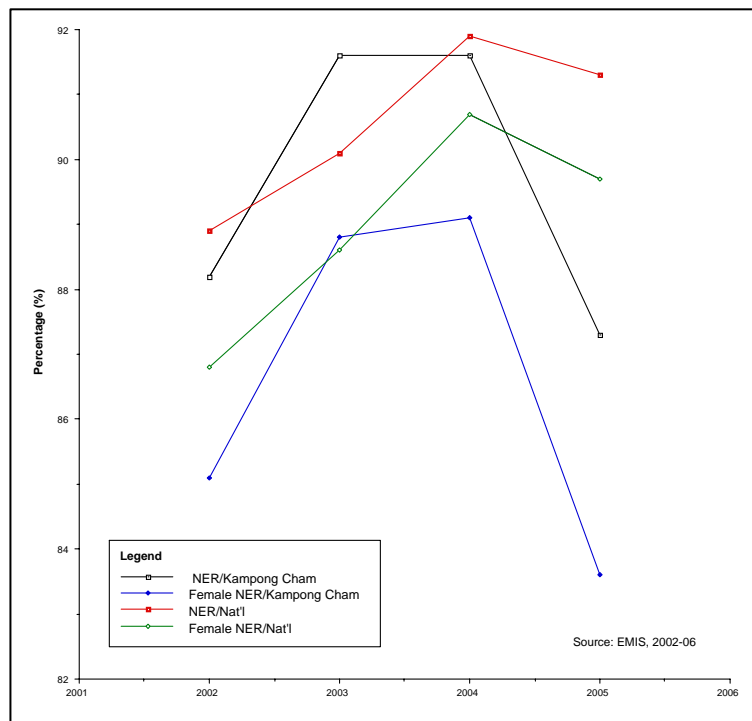
hands of a wealthy few, ensure that there is a large segment of the population that lives in poverty. The Provincial Planning Department reported that about 37% of households lived in thatch roof houses, which is frequently used as an important proxy sign of poverty (see Box 1). In spite of the recent expansion in the number of factories, the majority of the population (86%) is still engaged in agricultural production. Rice production in the province, though considerable, frequently does not meet local demand and it is reported that about 89% of the population is faced with rice shortages for a seven-month period during periods of drought and flooding (Dept of Planning, Kampong Cham, 2005). In addition, local government reports that annual migration out of the province is over 4% per year, which represents a considerable number of people, given the size of the province’s population (see Box 1). Most of this movement is motivated by economic considerations, according to census data.

Kampong Cham has a long history and is the site of several pre-Angkorian ruins as well as some recently discovered Neolithic settlements in its eastern districts, demonstrating that it is a province that has long been inhabited. In more recent times, the province has developed a reputation for strong affiliation with the Royal Family and has been the site of strong royalist sentiment during the Lon Nol era as well as at the present time. In part, this affiliation stems from the tendency of many Cham migrants fleeing from the crumbling kingdoms of Champa (in central present day Vietnam) in the wake of Vietnamese invasions to settle here. The Chams were favored by the ancient kings of Cambodia to be their bodyguards and thus were welcomed into the kingdom when they came. The Cham population of Kampong Cham retains this strong partiality to the Royal Family even today, which partly explains the political orientation of the province and its alignment with opposition parties. The Chams became so numerous in the province in the early seventeenth century that it was about this time that the province got its present-day name, which literally means ‘Harbor of the Chams.’ Indeed, the word *kampong* is itself of Cham-Malay derivation and has largely been incorporated into the present day Khmer lexicon.

3.2 Trends in the Formal Education Sector in the Province⁴

As befitting its reputation as the most populated province in the country, Kampong Cham also has the largest number of primary schools (753) and the largest student population in the country (352,721 students or 13.1% of the national primary school population)(EMIS, 2006). Recent trends in the province mirror those that are occurring nationally. These include recent slippage in Net Enrolment Rates (NER) at primary level, expansion in NER at lower secondary school level, and spiking repetition rates at primary school level. To be sure, these trends seem to be more serious in Kampong Cham, which tends to be below the national average in terms of overall enrolment or above the national average in terms of indicators such as repetition. For example, NER in the province has slipped from 91.6% in 2004

Figure 3.1: Provincial & Nat’l Change in Primary NER, 2002-05



⁴ The source for all data in this section is from the Educational Management Information System (EMIS) unless otherwise noted.

to 87.3% in 2005, the most recent year for which data is available. This compares with slippage at national level from 91.9% to only 91.3%. Among females, provincial NER at primary level has plummeted from 89.1% to 83.6% during the same time period. This too compares with a much more modest slip at national level (90.7% to 89.7%). These trends are graphically illustrated in Figure 3.1.

At lower secondary school level, the situation is much the same with respect to NER. Whereas national NER levels have quickly moved from 19.1% to 31.3 (or an increase of 64%), NER in Kampong Cham has demonstrated a much weaker expansion of 16.5% to 22.8% (a change of 38%), lagging considerably behind the national average (see Figure 3.2). A very similar situation also prevails among girls where NER in Kampong Cham is only 22.0% compared to 30.4% at national level.

This is particularly surprising given the large investment in girls' scholarships by Belgian Aid, World Bank, and KAPE where there are about 53 lower secondary schools (out of a total of 79) receiving such support in Kampong Cham. These trends may speak to the accelerated pace of factory construction in the province and the impact this has been having on children who are adolescents. Another possible factor, which must be investigated is the ambivalent attitude among large minority groups such as Cham Muslims to send their daughters to study at lower secondary school level. In this respect, KAPE reports that in Tbong Khmum District where Chams comprise 18% of the population, strenuous efforts have been made to encourage enrolment leading to a lopsided proportion of scholarship recipients in the district comprising 42% who are of Cham ethnicity (KAPE, 2007).

Among efficiency indicators such as repetition and drop-out, Kampong Cham also exceeds the national average with a gap of about 1.5% for total repeaters and 1.3% for female repeaters (see Table 3.1). Trends have demonstrated a steady rate of increase since 2002 with some

recovery in the most recent year for which statistics are available. Increasing repetition has been a problem of growing concern at all grade levels in the primary sector but particularly so at Grade 1 where rates in Kampong Cham were reported to be 25.2% (about 53% higher than the provincial average across all grades) against a national average of 21.8%. Put another way, about one child in four is required to repeat the year in Kampong Cham at the Grade 1 level. Similarly, dropout at primary level is reported to be

Figure 3.2: Provincial & Nat'l Change in NER at LSS 2002-05

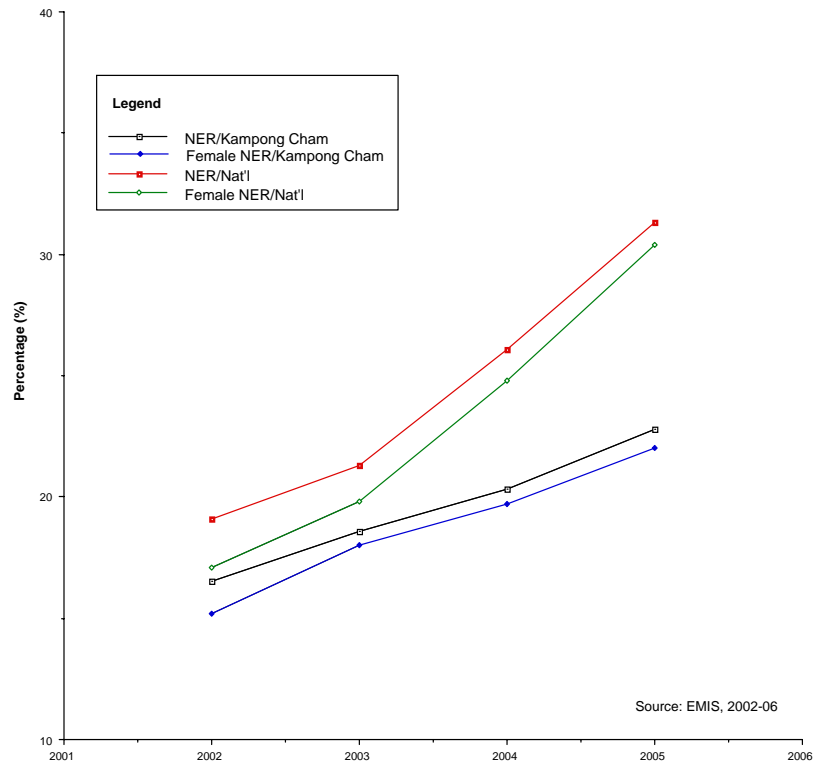


Table 3.1: Change in % of Repeaters at Primary Level, 2002-05

Parameter	Comparison Level	2002/3	2003/4	2004/5	2005/6
Total Repeaters (%)	Kampong Cham	14.5	15.4	19.4	16.5
	Whole Kingdom	10.2	10.6	13.9	12.8
Female Repeaters (%)	Kampong Cham	13.5	13.7	17.7	15.0
	Whole Kingdom	9.4	9.5	12.4	11.5

Source: EMIS, 2002-06

13.6% in Kampong Cham compared with a rate of 11.7% nationally. It is important to note, however, that dropout levels at the upper grade levels in the primary sector appear to be dropping from historically high levels earlier in the decade.

For example, dropout at Grade 6 was reported to be 13.7% in 2005, down from 18.0% three years earlier (see Table 3.2). This is nevertheless 2.8% higher than the national average or a difference of about 26%.

Table 3.2: Change in Dropout Rate at Grade 6, 2002-05

Parameter	Comparison Level	2002/3	2003/4	2004/5	2005/6
Total Dropout (%)	Kampong Cham	18.0	13.4	14.8	13.7
	Whole Kingdom	12.6	11.2	10.8	10.6
Female Dropout (%)	Kampong Cham	18.3	15.2	15.8	14.2
	Whole Kingdom	13.6	11.5	11.5	10.9

Source: EMIS, 2002-06

Of the 16 districts in Kampong Cham, a small handful seem to consistently appear among the top four or five with the worst performance against standard efficiency indicators such as repetition, dropout, and enrolment. If one defines the poorest performing districts as those, which appear four times or more among the worst performing districts, there are four districts whose performance is particularly bad. These include Dambae, Krouchma, Memot, and Steung Trong Districts, which incidentally all have sizable Cham minority populations though none exhibit out-migration in excess of 3%. The incidence of poor performance for these districts is laid out in Table 3.3 while the overall performance of all districts can be found on Table 3.4 on the next page.

Table 3.3: Worst Performing Districts against 6 Efficiency Indicators

District	Times Appearing among Worst 5 Districts for Each of 6 Efficiency Parameters	Significant Cham Minority**	Out-migration As a % of Total Pop.*
Dambae	6	Yes	0.5%
Krouchma	4	Yes	2.8%
Memot	4	Yes	1.1%
Steung Trong	4	Yes	2.8%
Prey Chor	2	No	6.0%
Cherng Prey	2	No	3.9%
Ponyea Krek	2	Yes	2.7%
Batheay	2	No	3.1%
Oriang O	1	No	4.3%
Koh Sotin	1	No	7.5%
Kampong Siem	1	No	5.5%

* Source: Dept of Planning, Kampong Cham, 2007;

** Defined as a population of 10,000 Chams or more.

3.3 General Description of Minority and Migrant Populations in the Province

3.3.1 The Chams of Cambodia and Kampong Cham

The Chams are one of Cambodia's largest ethnic groups and are distinguished from ethnic Khmers by their subscription to Islam and the language they speak. They are most heavily concentrated in Kampong Cham Province where they began settling in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries but can also be found in Kandal, Kampong Chhnang, and Takeo Provinces as well. The Chams originally lived in an Indianized kingdom called Champa in central Vietnam but were eventually conquered during a series of invasions from southern China by Viet-speaking peoples in the 14th and 15th centuries. The Chams eventually moved to Cambodia in a number of successive migrations where they formed a very close relationship with the Cambodian royal family, as noted earlier. It is estimated that there are about 500,000 people of Cham ethnicity in Cambodia comprising about 5% of the country's population (Ing-Britt and Ovesen, 2004).

In studying the Chams, it is important to note that they are far from a monolithic ethnic group and, indeed, have been classified into three distinct groups, which have been described in great detail by Collins

Note: Districts in *italics* indicate those with significant Cham minorities.

Table 3.4: Ranking of Districts by Six Key Efficiency Indicators (Primary Level Only), 2005

District	Dropout Total	District	Dropout Female	District	Repetition Total	District	Repetition Female	District	NER Total	District	NER Female
1. <i>Dambae</i>	22.6	1. <i>Dambae</i>	24.3	1. <i>Maemot</i>	19.3	1. <i>Maemot</i>	19.2	1. Cherng Prey	65.7	1. Prey Chor	61.3
2. <i>Maemot</i>	20.1	2. <i>Maemot</i>	19.6	2. Kampong Siem	18.8	2. Batheay	16.8	2. Prey Chor	71.2	2. Cherng Prey	64.3
3. <i>Steung Trong</i>	18.3	3. <i>Steung Trong</i>	18.8	3. Batheay	18.0	3. Kampong Siem	16.7	3. <i>Dambae</i>	80.9	3. <i>Dambae</i>	70.8
4. <i>Ponyea Krek</i>	16.0	4. <i>Ponyea Krek</i>	15.7	4. <i>Dambae</i>	17.7	4. <i>Dambae</i>	16.5	4. <i>Krouch Chma</i>	84.4	4. Oriang O	80.4
5. <i>Krouch Chma</i>	15.2	5. <i>Krouch Chma</i>	15.2	5. <i>Steung Trong</i>	16.7	5. <i>Steung Trong</i>	15.4	5. Koh Sotin	85.2	5. <i>Krouch Chma</i>	80.9
6. Chamgar Ler	15.0	6. Chamgar Ler	14.6	6. Cherng Prey	16.3	6. Kang Meas	14.3	6. Oriang O	87.2	6. Koh Sotin	86.6
7. Batheay	14.3	7. Batheay	14.3	7. Srei Senth	16.2	7. <i>Ponyea Krek</i>	14.2	7. Chamgar Ler	89.8	7. <i>Tbong Khmum</i>	86.6
8. <i>Tbong Khmum</i>	13.8	8. Oriang O	13.7	8. <i>Ponyea Krek</i>	15.6	8. Srei Senth	14.1	8. <i>Tbong Khmum</i>	90.7	8. Srei Senth	86.7
9. Oriang O	12.6	9. <i>Tbong Khmum</i>	13.5	9. Koh Sotin	15.1	9. Cherng Prey	13.8	9. Maemot	90.8	9. <i>Maemot</i>	87.6
10. Cherng Prey	10.3	10. Cherng Prey	12.4	10. Kang Meas	14.9	10. <i>Tbong Khmum</i>	13.4	10. Srei Senth	91.0	10. Kampong Cham	90.8
11. Prey Chor	9.9	11. Prey Chor	10.0	11. Oriang O	14.9	11. Chamgar Ler	12.6	11. <i>Steung Trong</i>	92.5	11. Chamgar Ler	91.0
12. Kampong Cham	9.5	12. Kampong Cham	8.9	12. <i>Tbong Khmum</i>	14.6	12. Koh Sotin	12.4	12. Kampong Cham	94.4	12. <i>Steung Trong</i>	91.0
13. Kang Meas	9.4	13. Kampong Siem	8.8	13. Chamgar Ler	14.5	13. Oriang O	12.2	13. Kang Meas	96.4	13. <i>Ponyea Krek</i>	94.0
14. Srei Senth	9.1	14. Kang Meas	8.7	14. Prey Chor	11.6	14. Prey Chor	10.7	14. <i>Ponyea Krek</i>	96.5	14. Kang Meas	95.6
15. Kampong Siem	9.0	15. Srei Senth	8.7	15. Kampong Cham	9.5	15. Kampong Cham	7.8	15. Batheay	98.3	15. Batheay	98.1
16. Koh Sotin	7.4	16. Koh Sotin	8.6	16. <i>Krouch Chma</i>	9.3	16. <i>Krouch Chma</i>	7.5	16. Kampong Siem	98.5	16. Kampong Siem	98.4
Provincial Average	13.6	Provincial Average	13.8	Provincial Average	15.4	Provincial Average	14.0	Provincial Average	87.3	Provincial Average	83.6
Urban	9.5	Urban	8.9	Urban	9.5	Urban	7.8	Urban	94.4	Urban	90.8
Rural	13.7	Rural	13.9	Rural	15.6	Rural	14.1	Rural	87.2	Rural	83.5

Source: EMIS, 2006

(1996). One of these groups is known as the 'Jahed' and are widely regarded as the 'preservers of ancient Cham culture' (p. 46) because they still teach their children to write the Cham language in the ancient script of Champa. This is in contrast to other Chams who write their language in Arabic or Malay script. The Jahed consider themselves 'ethnic' Chams and place a strong emphasis on their individual history, cultural heritage, and especially language. Although the Jahed are also devout Muslims, their religious practices set them apart from other Muslim sects because they only pray once a day on Friday instead of five times each day as taught in the Koran. The Jahed live mostly in the area around Oudong in Kandal Province, the former capital of Cambodia, and some parts of Kampong Chhnang Province. There are very few members of this group living in Kampong Cham.

A second group known simply as the 'Chams' is the most numerous subdivision within the national Cham community. Members of this group are located mainly in Kampong Cham, Kampot, and in the northern environs of Phnom Penh. These Chams also trace their ancestry back to the original kingdom of Champa, but do not see themselves as an 'ethnic' minority but rather a 'religious' minority. This appears to be partly because they prefer to try to blend in with Khmer society (though retaining some distinctiveness as a unique social group) but also because the religious beliefs associated with the Hindu cosmology of ancient Champa are at odds with their present religious practice. Although the members of this group also emphasize the use of their own language, they do not place the same value on their historical origins or animistic heritage intrinsic in the culture of Champa, as do the Jahed. Rather, they emphasize their practice of orthodox Islam under the Shafi branch of Sunni Islam and have strong links with Muslims in Malaysia (Ing-Britt and Ovesen, 2004). It is this grouping of Chams who constitute the majority of Muslims living in Kampong Cham Province.

A third grouping of Chams are not really ethnic Chams at all but rather a group who trace their ancestry from emigrants from what is today Malaysia and Indonesia. This group is sometimes referred to as the 'Chvea,' which derives from the word for Java, suggesting a point of possible origin. The term Chvea is also commonly used to include Khmers who have converted to Islam. The Chvea prefer to use the term *Khmer Islam* to describe themselves (Ing-Britt and Ovesen, 2004). This usage is probably accurate because it recognizes that members of this group speak Khmer and not Cham as their mother tongue. It is important to note, however, that the usage *Khmer Islam* is now also commonly applied to the Chams of the second group described above who live in Kampong Cham and elsewhere though they do not speak Khmer as a first language. Indeed, many of the Chams themselves seem to prefer this usage. In this respect, it was found that 92% of the sample surveyed for this study in Kampong Cham indicated that they preferred to be called *Khmer Islam* (see Section 4.1). This usage of the terminology *Khmer Islam*, however politically correct, causes confusion because it equates 'Islam' with an ethnic group, which is not really accurate. This leads to some Cambodians claiming that they do not speak Islam but can speak Christian (i.e., English). The political overtones of the *Khmer Islam* usage, however, will be dealt with in a later section of this study.

Kampong Cham Province has one of the largest concentrations of Cham people in the entire country. Altogether, there are about 138,000 Chams living in the province out of a total population of 1.7 million. This represents about 8% of the people living in the province. There are also 86 mosques located in the province with 86 Islamic schools associated with them (Kampong Cham Dept. of Sects and Religion, 2007). With some notable exceptions, the Chams tend to be concentrated mostly in the eastern half of Kampong Cham, where they form a significant proportion of the total population in some districts. The district with the largest population of Chams is known as Tbong Khmum, which is also the most populated district in the entire province (see Table 3.5). The districts where Chams are the next most numerous include Krouchhma and then Dambae District. While the Chams are most numerous in Tbong Khmum, they comprise a larger proportion of the total population in Krouchhma and Dambae. In this respect, 35% of the population is Cham in Krouchhma while 20% are of this ethnicity in Dambae. This compares with a

proportion of 18% in Tbong Khmum. About six districts in the province have a very negligible Cham population of 1% or less.

Table 3.5: Total Provincial Population and Cham Population by District, 2004

District	Total Population	Female	Chams	Female Cham	% Cham	% Female Cham
1. Tbong Khmum	223,323	114,653	39,885	19,948	18%	17%
2. Krouch Chhmar	105,646	53,835	37,034	19,870	35%	37%
3. Dam bae	69,831	35,504	13,796	7,246	20%	20%
4. Ponyeakrek	130,367	66,920	10,976	5,325	8%	8%
5. Stung Trang	116,009	59,046	10,672	5,683	9%	10%
6. Memot	125,565	64,016	10,090	5,397	8%	8%
7. Koah SoTin	77,012	39,938	4,288	2,208	6%	6%
8. Kang Meas	102,222	52,898	3,642	1,839	4%	3%
9. Chamkar Leu	119,199	61,260	2,710	1,382	2%	2%
10. Kampong Cham	42,583	21,667	2,235	1,204	5%	6%
11. Prey Chhor	136,307	70,228	1,118	592	1%	1%
12. Srei Santhor	108,174	55,884	856	463	1%	1%
13. Kampong Siem	109,007	56,191	508	264	0.4%	0.5%
14. Cheung Prey	86,570	44,688	235	126	0.3%	0.3%
15. Orang Ov	92,175	47,871	63	34	0.01%	0.01%
16. Bateay	102,622	53,597	--	--	0%	0%
Total	1,746,612	898,196	138,108	71,581	8%	8%

Source: Kampong Cham Dept of Planning (2004) and Dept of Sects and Religion (2007)

3.3.2 Migration Patterns in Kampong Cham

It is difficult to acquire up to date data on migrants because they are obviously a population in movement. The most comprehensive study on migratory patterns in Cambodia was undertaken by ILO in 2004 and this was itself based on projections from the last census in 1998. Thus, descriptions of migratory patterns in Kampong Cham are based on the perhaps vulnerable assumption that general patterns of movement are still generally valid. This being said, the ILO study reported that about 39% of the population of Kampong Cham described themselves as migrants at one time or another at the time of the 1998 census (2004). About 97% of this group described the cause of their migration as work-related while the remaining 3% described the reason as stemming from natural disasters (mainly flooding). Demographic displacements caused by flooding are generally under the jurisdiction of the Cambodian Red Cross (CRC). Schools do not play a large role in addressing emergency situations that arise from floods and other natural disasters, as these are seasonal events that usually occur during the rainy season when schools are closed. To be sure, there appears to be little in the way of preparedness training for such emergencies that is carried by the schools either.

The ILO study also reported that about 28% of those migrating out of the province were under 17 years of age though it is not clear what proportion of these children were accompanied by a parent or guardian. As noted earlier, Kampong Cham has been ranked as one of the five leading provinces where out-migration patterns are significant. These migratory patterns have been found to generate significant dangers to children both in terms of child labor, sexual exploitation, and trafficking. This ranking partly explains why dropout levels tend to be higher in Kampong Cham in comparison to the national average (see above). This assessment of the province as a primary sending area is also validated by a study of garment factories by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) in which it was found that Kampong Cham was the second leading sending area (after Prey Veng) for factory workers employed in the sector (ADB & CRD, 2004). In a sample of 1,500 workers, it was found that 17.8% of those interviewed identified Kampong Cham as their province of origin.

4. EXAMINATION OF RELEVANT ISSUES RELATING TO EDUCATIONAL SERVICE PROVISION FOR MINORITY AND MIGRANT GROUPS

4.1 The Curious Status of Cham Muslims: A Non-Minority?

The issue of the minority status of Cham Muslims appears to be a highly sensitive matter in contemporary Cambodian society. As noted earlier, the official status of this social group, as defined by government, is that they are a ‘religious’ minority but not an ‘ethnic’ minority. That is, they are simply Khmers who have converted to Islam. When speaking Khmer, it is considered politically incorrect to refer to the Chams as such though this usage appears to be generally accepted in English. Rather, when referring to the Chams in formal settings or in official documents, it is customary to employ the usage, *Khmer Islam*. Several development projects have reported being officially reprimanded for using the designation ‘Cham’ in official reports, demonstrating the high degree of sensitivity attaching to this issue (e.g., Office of Special Education, 2006). Some official documents go so far as to deny that the Chams are a minority group at all since such designation can only be applied to distinct ‘ethnic groups who are indigenous tribal people and who live in the forests and mountain areas of the country over a period of long duration’ (MoEYS, 2003).⁵ To be sure, not all sections of the government appear to be consistent with respect to politically correct usages as they pertain to Cham populations. For example, the Ministry of Interior continues to refer to the Chams as such in several of its documents though it is not clear whether this is currently changing.

Though never stated directly, the reasons for the above situation are quite clear. Ethnic divisions in society are potentially divisive and such perceptions and fears have been heightened by recent ethnically charged regional conflicts in the Philippines, Thailand, and Indonesia. It is also important to remember that there appears to be a strong endorsement of this *status quo* by many of the Chams themselves. For example, when asked how different

Chams and Khmers are in general terms, the majority of Cham community respondents (58%) in the study’s sample responded that they are only ‘a little different’ while 39% said that they are ‘not very different’ (see Table 4.1). Only a very small minority (4%) expressed the belief that Khmers and Chams are ‘very different’. When asked how they wished to be designated as a social group, a significant majority (92%) endorsed the politically correct usage, *Khmer Islam* although, ominously, no one endorsed the designation of ‘Cambodian’ or ‘Khmer’ (see Table 4.2). Of course, it is highly likely that if these questions had been asked to Jahed respondents, the pattern of responding might have been quite different given their oft-expressed pride in their ethnic and historical heritage.

Table 4.1: The Degree of Difference between Khmers and Chams Cited by Cham Respondents (N=80)

Question: How different are Khmer people and Cham people?	Responses	Number	%
	Not very different	31	39%
	A little different	46	58%
	Very different	3	4%

Table 4.2: Preference for Terminology Used to Describe Muslim Cultural Groupings Cited by Cham Respondents (N=79)

Question: How would you prefer people to call you with respect to your cultural background?	Responses	Number	%
	Cham	2	3%
	Cambodian	0	0%
	Khmer Islam	73	92%
	Khmer	0	0%
	Other	4	5%

The above findings suggest that the Chams in Kampong Cham Province do not want to draw attention to

⁵ Readers are referred to a document put out by the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sport in 2003 that is known as *Circular 530 (yk.bs), Article 3*.

themselves as an ethnic group that is distinct from the majority Khmers. And ultimately, one must remember that ethnic attribution is essentially self-defined. At the same time, members of the sample sent a very different message as to how they viewed themselves as a community, in juxtaposition to how they wish to be perceived by the Khmer majority. In this respect, everyone in the sample indicated that their Cham cultural heritage was either ‘important’ or ‘very important’ to them (see Table 4.3). Similarly, a majority (89%) indicated that they preferred to speak the Cham language at home with their families even though most were fluent in Khmer language (see Table 4.4). Only about 11% indicated that they used Khmer, either exclusively or in combination with Cham language while at home. Finally, most respondents (64%) in the sample indicated that they lived in villages that were exclusively Cham while about 35% reported that they lived in a village that was mixed in terms of its ethnic composition (see Table 4.5). Only one person reported living in a village that was exclusively Khmer. What these findings suggest is that the Chams in Kampong Cham Province prefer to be seen as assimilating into Cambodian society and would rather be considered to be Khmer in every way except with respect to their religion. Nevertheless, their inward looking perspective is to see themselves as highly distinct from the majority ethnic Khmer both in terms of their separate cultural heritage and language. As a community, they prefer to be quite insular and tend to live exclusively in their own villages, though in close proximity to Khmer villages. This close physical proximity between the Cham and Khmer communities lends support to the widespread though erroneous impression by outsiders that the former are simply a different kind of Khmer, but Khmer nevertheless.

Table 4.3: The Degree of Importance of Cham Heritage Cited by Cham Respondents (N=80)

Question: How important is your Cham heritage to you?	Responses	Number	%
	Very important	59	74%
	Important	21	26%
	Somewhat important	0	0%
	Not important	0	0%

Similarly, a majority (89%) indicated that they preferred to speak the Cham language at home with their families even though most were fluent in Khmer language (see Table 4.4). Only about 11% indicated that they used Khmer, either exclusively or in combination with Cham language while at home. Finally, most respondents (64%) in the sample indicated that they lived in villages that were exclusively Cham while about 35% reported that they lived in a village that was mixed in terms of its ethnic composition (see Table 4.5). Only one person reported living in a village that was exclusively Khmer. What these findings suggest is that the Chams in Kampong Cham Province prefer to be seen as assimilating into Cambodian society and would rather be considered to be Khmer in every way except with respect to their religion. Nevertheless, their inward looking perspective is to see themselves as highly distinct from the majority ethnic Khmer both in terms of their separate cultural heritage and language. As a community, they prefer to be quite insular and tend to live exclusively in their own villages, though in close proximity to Khmer villages. This close physical proximity between the Cham and Khmer communities lends support to the widespread though erroneous impression by outsiders that the former are simply a different kind of Khmer, but Khmer nevertheless.

Table 4.4: Language Preference When at Home Cited by Cham Respondents (N=80)

Question: When you are at home, what language do you speak with your family?	Responses	Number	%
	Khmer	2	2%
	Cham	71	89%
	Both equally	7	9%

Table 4.5: Degree of Cohabitation in Village of Residence Cited by Cham Respondents (N=80)

Question: How would you describe the people who live in your village?	Responses	Number	%
	Completely Cham	51	64%
	Completely Khmer	1	1%
	Mixed	28	35%

What these findings suggest is that the Chams in Kampong Cham Province prefer to be seen as assimilating into Cambodian society and would rather be considered to be Khmer in every way except with respect to their religion. Nevertheless, their inward looking perspective is to see themselves as highly distinct from the majority ethnic Khmer both in terms of their separate cultural heritage and language. As a community, they prefer to be quite insular and tend to live exclusively in their own villages, though in close proximity to Khmer villages. This close physical proximity between the Cham and Khmer communities lends support to the widespread though erroneous impression by outsiders that the former are simply a different kind of Khmer, but Khmer nevertheless.

The above findings echo a similar assessment by Collins in which he notes that many Chams feel some insecurity about living in someone else’s house (i.e., in a country that belongs to the ethnic Khmer) and that they have to be deferential and considerate to their hosts (1996). At the same time, there is a fear of losing one’s cultural identity. He notes that many Chams have turned to Islam as a means to buttress this distinction between themselves and the ethnic Khmer:

[Some Chams] feel that Islam provides a sufficient support for the cultural identity of [their] community. . . in the near future, ‘Cham’ as a culture would completely disappear and be replaced by ‘Khmer Islam.’ This process of a redefinition of the Cham community to include fellow Muslims who are not ethnic Chams, that is, to include the Malay or Chvea, is an extremely old process, which I have called the Malaysianisation of the Chams in Cambodia. (Collins, 1996, p. 75)

Cham perceptions of their role in Cambodian society make the desire to develop educational interventions that are appropriate to their children very complicated. On the one hand, the Chams want to blend into Cambodian society and pretend that they are actually Khmer in most respects except for their religion. As a result, they actively accept and endorse their designation by government as *Khmer Islam*, thereby deny-

ing their own ethnicity. Yet, the fact remains that they do not speak Khmer as a first language with their children so that when they attend state schools dominated by ethnic Khmer teachers and curriculum, they have to struggle (see Section 4.2.2). Similarly, they have deeply different customs and dietary habits that prevent them from living in Khmer villages where there are pigs running about the place and frequent, heavy drinking among residents. This prevents their children from getting exposure to Khmer speakers that would facilitate acquisition of the majority language. Thus, the challenge for any program is to address distinct cultural and language needs while maintaining a fiction that they are not culturally different from the majority ethnic group.

4.2 Educational Trends in the Cham Community: State Education and the Emergence of Independent Islamic Schools

4.2.1 Language and Religion: Two Educational Taboos

The state religion and language of Cambodia are Buddhism and Khmer, respectively. As a result, there is a prohibition against teaching other religions and languages in the state schools. Recently, some flexibility has been extended to bilingual education programs working in the formal education sector, which cater mainly to hill tribe groups in the northern provinces (e.g., Ratanakiri, Mondulakiri). Advocacy among NGO groups have achieved tentative though as yet unofficial agreement for a three-year language bridge for ethnic minority groups in which such children may receive instruction in their native language (in successively diminishing doses) but only up to Grade 3. This kind of instruction has been occurring mainly in Community Schools supported by NGOs but in recent years there has been extension of bilingual education activities to the state system with assignments of state teachers to Community Schools and the limited introduction of bilingual education in state schools with support from UNICEF-CARE.⁶

It is important to note that the limited flexibility in the provision of bilingual education models described above has only been allowed in the context of groups that are defined as ethnic minorities, which as we have seen, the Chams are not considered to be. Thus, the state schools that serve Cham communities are allowed to teach neither the language nor religion of the local community. Survey findings from this study, however, have indicated that the Cham community places a very high degree of importance on the instruction of both religion and language for their children while at school. Indeed, everyone in the sample indicated that these things are either ‘important’ or ‘very important,’ particularly in the context of religion where 80% viewed such instructional provisions as very important compared to 69% for language (see Tables 4.6 and 4.7). The inability of the state education system to meet these expecta-

Table 4.6: The Degree of Importance Attached to Children Learning about Islam at School Cited by Cham Respondents (N=80)

Question: How important do you think it is that your children learn about Islam at school?	Responses	Number	%
	Very important	64	80%
	Important	16	20%
	Not so important	0	0%

Table 4.7: The Degree of Importance Attached to Children Learning Cham Language at School Cited by Cham Respondents (N=80)

Question: How important do you think it is that your children learn Cham language at school?	Responses	Number	%
	Very important	55	69%
	Important	25	31%
	Not so important	0	0%

⁶ CARE has been a leading proponent of bilingual education in the formal education system for many years, mainly with hill tribe groups. Its Highland Children Education Support Program (HCEP) has been operating in Ratanakiri since 2003 and has had considerable success with the development of Community Schools and bilingual education curricula. Recently, CARE and UNICEF have entered into a four-year partnership to extend HCEP models to the state education system in five provinces (Ratanakiri, Mondulakiri, Kratie, Stung Treng, and Preah Vihear).

tions may, therefore, be a problem that impacts on participation rates and dropout among children of Cham ethnicity.

4.2.2 Khmer Language Proficiency among Cham Children and Responsiveness of State Schools

The Educational Support to Children in Underserved Populations Program (ESCUP) was the first educational development program in Kampong Cham to consider the specialized needs of the Cham community. As part of its programming, ESCUP undertook a key investigative activity that helped to assess the degree to which language barriers impeded learning among Cham children in selected case study sites where it planned to pilot experimental interventions designed to increase the responsiveness of state schools to minority needs. These sites comprised communes where Cham minority populations were a significant proportion of the total population (mainly in Tbong Khmum District). The methodology of the survey employed assessments by primary school state teachers at Grades 1 and 2 as the main determiner of language proficiency level among Cham children rather than direct assessments of the children themselves. This enabled an assessment of what the situation was like across a fairly large number of state schools that took in a sample of 56 state teachers. Against a backdrop of widely differing opinions among local educators about the extent to which Cham children spoke Khmer language when they first enrolled in state schools, the survey sought to provide some empirical information to determine actual language needs, if any among this minority group.

Survey results were striking in that they suggested the existence of significant difficulties in understanding the language of instruction among many Cham children in comparison to ethnic Khmer children. Given the fact that state teachers usually tend to underestimate the significance of language barriers in state schools in similar surveys,⁷ these findings were rather surprising and may even be an understatement of the actual problem. The extent of the language barriers found in the survey was particularly striking in several respects. First, it was reported that 98% of Cham children at Grade 1 spoke Cham and not Khmer as their primary language. Secondly, about a third of the teachers surveyed reported that ‘most Cham children in their classrooms could understand a little Khmer but not very well’ (see Table 4.8). These patterns were found to moderate somewhat at Grade 2; nevertheless, 21% of teachers still reported that the majority of such children still understood only a little bit of Khmer, thereby greatly complicating their instruction. While such findings are not surprising in the remote northern provinces given the ethnic homogeneity of these areas and the remoteness of minority groups from Khmer-speaking areas, such results in a majority Khmer-speaking province are.

Table 4.8: Proficiency Levels Indicated by State Teachers with respect to Cham Children (N=56 Teachers)

Description of Language Proficiency by Individual Teachers	Percentage of Teachers Responding	
	Grade 1	Grade 2
○ Nearly all understand Khmer instruction very well	36%	54%
○ Some understand Khmer language instructions very well	32%	25%
○ Most can understand Khmer language instruction a little bit but not very well	32%	21%
○ Most cannot understand Khmer instruction well at all	0%	0%

Source: ESCUP, 2006a

If one considers the finding that a third or more Cham children enroll in state schools with little understanding of the language of instruction against the prevalence of Cham-speaking teachers in the same schools, the extent of the problem with respect learning difficulties becomes apparent. For example, in the ESCUP survey cited above, about 79% of the sample of teachers interviewed indicated that Cham was not their first language. Similarly, a majority (58%) of the sample of Cham community members interviewed for this study indicated that none of the teachers in their children’s school could speak Cham. An addi-

⁷ See, for example, surveys conducted by CARE in Ratanakiri Province for the Highland Children’s Education Program (HCEP).

tional 11% indicated that only a ‘very few can’ (see Table 4.9). Combined, this would indicate that about 69% of the state schools in Cham areas have little or no capacity to deal with minority children who cannot speak Khmer or who can speak it only a little.

The findings of the ESCUP language proficiency survey run counter to the conventional wisdom on the assimilated nature of the Cham population in Kampong Cham. Although many members of the education establishment continue to maintain that all or nearly all Cham children in Kampong Cham speak Khmer Language from an early age, survey results do not appear to support this view. This speaks to the fact that Cham communities tend to be highly insular in spite of the fact that they live in close proximity to ethnic Khmer villages, as noted earlier.

Table 4.9: Ability of State Teachers to Communicate in Cham Language Cited by Cham respondents (N=64*)

Question: If your children attend a state school, are teachers there able to communicate in Cham language?	Responses	Number	%
	Yes, they all can.	10	16%
	Some can.	10	16%
	Very few can	7	11%
	None can.	37	58%

*Note: Only 64 members of the sample professed to know the Cham language proficiency of state teachers so only the view of these individuals was considered.

4.2.3 Representation of Cham Teachers in the State Education System

There has never been any systematic documentation of the prevalence of Cham teachers in the state education system in Kampong Cham. This is partly because their status as an ethnic minority group is not officially recognized but also because there was never thought to be a need to compile such information, since it is assumed all Cham children speak Khmer. As a result, the information on Cham representation in the state education system is at best spotty and mainly limited to unsystematic and scattered surveys.

In spite of the above limitations, a review of the available information acquired under this study has been able to provide some limited idea of the disparity between the representation of Chams in the general population in selected districts and their prevalence in the state school system. For example, one interesting source of information on demographic prevalence of Chams in state schools refers to intake lists for the Provincial Teacher Training College of Kampong Cham. This institution is responsible for the training of all teachers who are assigned to state primary schools. According to enrolment lists for the period 2001-05, the number of Cham students who entered the college over the period 2001 to 2004 was negligible (less than 1%) (see Table 4.10). When one considers that Chams comprise 8% of the total provincial population, the dimensions of the problem are clear. The representation of Cham students jumped in 2005 to nearly 4% due mainly to advocacy efforts by the ESCUP Program in collaboration with the Teacher Training Dept. to improve minority representation among state teachers. This was done mainly through a combination of recruitment campaigns in Cham areas, coaching on the entrance examination, affirmative action by government when considering examination scores, and scholarships for successful candidates.⁸ Still, the eventual intake was below the hoped for target of 20 candidates (ESCUP, 2006b).

Table 4.10: Cham Ethnicity of Candidates Inducted into the Provincial Teacher Training College

PTTC Intake Details	2001/02	2002/3	2003/4	2004/5	2005/6*
Total Intake	241	222	283	119	280
Cham Ethnicity	0	0	1	1	10
%	0%	0%	0.3%	0.8%	3.6%

*Introduction of Advocacy Scholarships for PTTC recruits of Cham ethnicity.

Source: Kampong Cham PTTC, 2007

⁸ Candidates applying for admission to the PTTC must take a competitive entrance examination so that not all Cham candidates who apply can easily enroll.

Researchers also consulted selected school clusters affiliated with KAPE target areas with large Cham populations to determine actual representation of Cham teachers in the state schools there. A total of 54 schools in six school clusters were reviewed in this respect. It was found that the representation of Chams among state teachers ranged from 0% to as high as 3%, which contrasted sharply with an overall proportion of Chams among the general population in each district of 8% to 18% (see Table 4.11). Clearly, Chams are very much under represented among state teachers given their overall numbers in the general population. The reason for this under representation is not clear. Certainly, exclusion has not been intentional. Reasons cited in informal interviews with education officials included the concentration of Chams in remote areas where there are few high schools, little interest in education, high dropout, as well as proneness to seasonal migration and attendant effects on school attendance. All of these reasons ensure that few Chams finish secondary education, which limits their eligibility for PTTC admission. One possible reason not cited by officials relates to the lack of responsiveness of state schools to the needs of Cham parents (e.g., religion and language), which in turn may depress participation levels.

Table 4.11: Prevalence of Cham Teachers in State Schools in Selected Minority Areas

District	% Chams in District	Selected Cluster in Cham Areas	Number of Schools	Total State Teachers	State Teachers of Cham Ethnicity	%	Locally Recruited Community Teachers	Community Teachers of Cham Ethnicity	%
Ponyea Krek	8%	Krek	5	57	1	1.8%	6	0	0%
		Steung	6	70	0	0%	12	1	8%
Tbong Khmum	18%	Koki	12	82	2	2.4%	14	8	57%
		Trawpeang Russei	13	101	1	1%	17	2	12%
		Cheas	5	34	1	2.9%	8	3	38%
		Khna	13	99	0	0%	15	1	7%
		Total	54	443	5	1.1%	71	15	21%

Source: ESCUP, 2007a

Interestingly, ESCUP also reported the representation of Chams among Community Teachers who are selected directly by communities to work in state schools (with support from ESCUP, District Offices of Education, and Commune Councils).⁹ When local communities are left to their own devices to recruit teachers for local schools, the number of individuals of Cham ethnicity represented among teachers swells from 1.1% among state teachers to 21% among Community Teachers (see Table 4.11). This suggests that Cham communities are indeed interested in education but may not be presented with many direct channels for them to realize such interests. This speaks particularly to rigidities in the manner in which new teachers are recruited into the teaching force. As noted earlier, entry requirements to PTTCs exclude many from areas where there is a lack of secondary schools. And past corruption scams in the province in which bribes were solicited from prospective individuals interested in becoming teachers (e.g., Contract Teachers) have resulted in a virtual lock down of activities to accredit teachers through other means (see, for example, Geeves and Bredenberg, 2005). Currently, ESCUP and other projects are lobbying for special measures to accredit Community Teachers. While many MoEYS officials have expressed sympathy for such measures, they have also been quite frank about the difficulties of actually getting them approved, given the unfortunate history of earlier teacher accreditation efforts in the sector.

The dearth of teachers of Cham ethnicity in the state schools assumes much greater significance when one

⁹ The support of Community Teachers in state schools is an intervention that ESCUP introduced into Kampong Cham to help meet severe teacher shortages there. Although the MoEYS has no explicit policy excluding the use of Community Teachers in state schools, it was nevertheless an intervention that had first to be cleared with Ministry (see MoU, World Education, 2005). The Provincial Office of Education has since given strong support to this intervention with the result that it has now also been endorsed by the National Ministry.

considers the opinions of community members about Cham language ability among those who teach their children. In this respect, a majority (70%) indicated that it was ‘very important’ that those teaching their children should be able to speak Cham (see Table 4.12). To the extent that the state education system is unable to field teachers with Cham backgrounds, the state schools will, therefore, also be failing on another major measure of performance expected by the local community.

Table 4.12: The Degree of Importance Attached to Teachers Being Able to Speak Cham Language at School Cited by Cham Respondents (N=80)

Question: How important do you think it is that teachers at your children’s school can speak the Cham language?	Responses	Number	%
	Very important	56	70%
	Important	24	30%
	Not so important	0	0%

4.2.3 Responsiveness of State Schools to Minority Needs and the Growing Importance of Islamic Schools

The above discussion has already highlighted a number of areas where the state schools do not seem to be meeting expectations of the local Cham community. These include the expectation that their children learn the Cham language and the tenets of Islam as well as the ability of state teachers to communicate with their children in the Cham language. Focus groups discussions also identified a number of additional areas of dissatisfaction with the state schools, the most prominent of these being the prohibition to wear the traditional head scarf characteristic of Cham women, as there is a strict uniform code in place at all state schools. They also felt unhappy with seating arrangements where boys and girls are sometimes made to sit together. In general, participants at focus group discussions did not feel that their children are actively discriminated against at the state schools, but rather that they are treated equally. Nevertheless, a significant number expressed some dissatisfaction not because of what state schools did do but because of what they did not do (e.g., teach Cham, Islam, etc.).

Because of the insecurity that Chams as a minority group feel in Cambodia, it is unlikely that they are going to be very vocal about the way the state schools are operated. As the state schools are administered by central government and are not under the jurisdiction of local government councils, it is likely that changes in matters of curriculum and medium of instruction, which are sensitive national policy issues, would be very difficult in any case. But Cham communities do not appear to be sitting idly by in the face of non-responsiveness to their expectations either. Rather, they are voting with their feet. That is, they are increasingly sending their children to Islamic Schools, the number of which is multiplying. For example, the Dept of Sects and Religion has reported that there are currently 86 Islamic Schools operating in Kampong Cham Province with about 23,665 children enrolled there (2007). These schools have 256 *tuan* or teachers providing instruction on a regular basis. Because there are no clear statistics on the number of Cham children enrolled in state schools, it is not clear what percentage of total school age population current enrolment at Islamic Schools represents. At over 20,000 children, it is certainly significant, and growing.

Given the growing importance of the Islamic Schools

Box 2: Interesting Facts about Islamic Schools Sampled (N=10)

1. Oldest School: Est. in 1980
2. Newest School: Est. in 2006
3. Average Enrolment: 206 students
4. Average No of Teachers: 3.1 teachers
5. Average Hrs in Session/day: 5.63 hrs
6. Most frequently taught subject: Koran
7. Least taught subject: Mathematics
8. Percentage Using Cham as medium of instruction: 90%
9. Percentage established with foreign funds: 60%
10. Percentage with Timetable: 60%
11. Percentage of schools where boys & girls sit separately: 100%
12. Percentage paying teachers: 10%
13. Average years of education of least educated *tuan*: 3.8 years
14. Average years of education of most educated *tuan*: 7.6 years
15. Main Source of Income is from community: 50%
16. Schools Opened with Permission from POE: 70%
17. Schools that never meet with POE or DOE: 40%

for the Cham community, researchers sought to develop a better understanding of what the average such school looks like (see Box 2). About 12% of the existing Islamic schools in the province were interviewed for this study comprising a mix of big and small schools as well as old and new. According to the information collected, the typical Islamic School is about ten years old and has an enrolment that is anywhere between 90 to 375 students, which includes both boys and girls. The average age range is from 7 to 16 years of age. Interestingly, four of the ten schools visited claimed to have been established within the last five years, validating a supposition that their numbers are growing. About 70% of schools claimed to have had permission to open from the Provincial Office of Education, although most rarely had any kind of continuous contact with local education authorities thereafter. A majority of these schools (60%) reported that they were originally established with foreign funds, mainly from Malaysia. The typical school has about three *tuans* teaching there whose average education level may vary from basic literacy to Grade 12. None of the schools reported having had *tuans* with a post-secondary education and only 20% reported providing any kind of staff development that focuses on teaching methodology. Surprisingly, the majority of schools reported that they do not pay their teachers (or if they do, not on a regular basis) and that the school is mainly dependent on community donations for its operating costs. Teachers generally teach a full load that is about 5.6 days per week. The average number of hours that schools are in session per day exceeds five hours though only 60% of schools reported having a formal timetable. As one would expect, Koranic studies are the most frequently taught subject and the language of instruction is generally in Cham.

An important point of interest that was discussed with Islamic Schools related to what researchers perceived to be a growing competition with the state schools.¹⁰ This naturally was a sensitive topic. About 40%

of Islamic Schools indicated that their impression was that all of their students also attended state schools though it was not clear how this was possible given that the state schools teach four hours each day while the Islamic Schools teach five hours a day on average (see Table 4.13). Nevertheless, another 40% of Islamic Schools reported that half or less than half of their students also attended state schools, which is of some concern.

Table 4.13: The Number of Cham Children at Islamic Schools Also Attending State Schools (N=10)

Question: Approximately what percentage your students also attend the nearest state school?	Responses	Number	%
	All of them do.	4	40%
	Most of them do.	2	20%
	About half of them do.	3	30%
	Less than half of them do.	1	10%
	None of them do.	0	0%

Table 4.14: Most Important Reasons Cited for Students Attending Islamic School Rather than State School (N=10)

Question: What are the most important reasons that children attend your school rather than the State School?	Responses	Number citing this Reason	%
	The state school is not responsive to the needs of the Cham community in terms of curriculum (e.g., Cham Language, Islam, etc.).	5	50%
	Students want to study Arabic or Malay in order to work outside the country.	7	70%
	School hours of the Islamic School are more flexible.	7	70%
	The state school is too far away.	7	70%
	The quality of education at the Islamic School is better.	1	10%
	Teachers' attendance at the Islamic School is better.	2	20%
	The children are separated by sex when they study.	10	100%
	Other: (State teachers are lazy)	1	10%

¹⁰ Those interviewing staff members at Islamic Schools were all of Cham ethnicity to maximize openness in responding.

When asked what their view was of the main reasons that Cham children preferred to attend Islamic Schools, a number of interesting points emerged. The level of incidence for each reason cited by Islamic Schools is summarized in Table 4.14. The most frequently cited reason for attendance of religious schools was that boys and girls are made to sit separately (though in the same room) when in class, whereas at state schools, they sit in a mixed manner. The next set of most frequently cited reasons included curricular issues (e.g., learning Malay and Arabic), more flexible school hours since many Islamic schools are in session in the evening, and distance to the state school. A generic reason that overlapped to some degree with some of the other reasons (non-responsiveness of state schools, mainly curriculum) was chosen by about half of the schools interviewed. Quality issues such as teacher attendance and preparation did not figure so prominently among the reasons cited for preferred attendance. It was somewhat surprising that more Islamic Schools did not cite the failure of state schools to teach about Islam as a leading cause for defection, since this is the *raison d'être* of the Islamic Schools and a leading cause cited by parents themselves. Nevertheless, it would appear that there are a number of important points of difference in the way that Islamic Schools are organized and in what they teach that gives them an important advantage over the state schools.

Although a sizable proportion of the Cham community may increasingly prefer the Islamic Schools to state schools for a variety of reasons related to cultural preferences, there are a number of points of concern that should be noted by educators in regards to the quality of education that Cham children may be receiving there. Mainly, these schools do not appear to be subject to any form of accreditation that would ensure minimum standards of educational practice. For example, only one of the schools visited indicated that it teaches Mathematics and only three indicated that it taught Khmer Language. Thus, if a Cham child attended Islamic schools exclusively, he or she would receive instruction in neither maths nor Khmer Language, which are core subjects in the state schools. In addition, many of the *tuans* who teach at the Islamic Schools seem to have highly variable levels of education themselves with many indicating that they had only studied to the level of primary education. This is at odds with Cambodia's efforts to raise the basic education level of all primary school teachers to 12 years, which is a requirement for entry to PTTCs. Furthermore, most *tuans* at Islamic Schools do not appear to have been trained in pedagogical techniques that are appropriate to young children, raising further questions about standards of educational practice there. Thus, the MoEYS is faced with an increasingly large proportion of children who are abandoning the state schools to attend a parallel school system that is not regulated in any direct way to ensure minimum standards of educational practice. This should be of concern to all.

4.2.4 Current Educational Responses to the Special Situation of the Cham Community

There have been few educational development programs that have focused specifically on the needs of the Cham community. As noted several times in this report, there has historically been a general assumption made by both government and donors that the Chams are no different from ethnic Khmer children; however, a review of language proficiency levels as well as varied parental expectations relating to cultural issues suggest that this is not true.

Encouraged by greater interest in minority issues by government and the growing realization that achievement of EFA enrolment goals by 2015 will not be possible unless strenuous efforts are made to reach out to minority groups, USAID engaged World Education and KAPE to develop a program that responded to the educational needs of Cham children in Kampong Cham. The program, known as ESCUP, began in 2005 and is scheduled to be phased out at the end of 2008, having achieved its goal of piloting effective interventions targeted at ethnic minority groups. The ESCUP Program is currently the only program in Cambodia providing specialized educational interventions for the Cham community. All of the interventions piloted have been focused on improving the responsiveness of the state education system to the expectations of the Cham community. Interventions supported by the program fall into three categories: (i) classroom-focused (ii) structural; and (iii) community-focused.

Classroom Focused Interventions: Classroom-focused interventions include mainly the use of what are known as Bilingual Classroom Assistants or BCAs in classrooms with a large proportion of Cham children. BCAs do not provide direct instruction to children but rather assist an ethnic Khmer teacher who cannot speak Cham to provide special help to young Cham children. The use of this intervention gets around the government prohibition of using a non-Khmer language for direct instruction in state schools and is also useful in classrooms, which are heterogeneous in their ethnic make-up. The assistance provided by BCAs may include translation for Cham children and one-on-one assistance for particular learning tasks. BCAs are bilingual volunteers who are recruited from the local community. They receive about \$15/month in payment for the assistance that they provide. They also receive about five days of intensive training in pedagogical issues and periodic technical support throughout the school year. In general, BCAs are fielded only at the Grade 1 level, which is when Khmer language proficiency among Cham children is weakest. The intervention was developed with direct clearance from MoEYS and has actually received strong endorsement from the Minister.

Education Structure Focused Interventions: Interventions relating to structural changes in the education system focus mainly on increasing the representation of Chams in the teaching force in the state schools. This is done through advocacy (mainly recruitment drives and scholarships) in the selection of minority candidates for PTTC entry and also through locally led initiatives to recruit Community Teachers to work in state schools in response to severe teacher shortages in the province. The recruitment of Community Teachers by local communities themselves ensures greater representation of minority groups among teachers, which in turn often leads to *de facto* bilingual education in the classroom, as such teachers have great facility in moving back and forth between Cham and Khmer Language during instruction. Both PTTC scholarship activities and the recruitment of Community Teachers have received strong support from MoEYS. The original design of these two interventions intended for graduating PTTC candidates to replace Community Teachers after two years of study. However, the need for Community Teachers has been so great that it is unlikely that there will be enough PTTC graduates to go around. This has led to intensive advocacy efforts to enable Community Teachers to take certifying examinations that would allow them to become state teachers. This has proven to be very difficult as the MoEYS requires clearance from the Ministry of Economy and Finance (MoEF) to allow these individuals to be placed permanently on the state payroll, a very difficult process.

A third intervention focusing on structural change to accommodate the needs of minority groups relates to the construction of what are known as Intermediate Classrooms (ICRs). These are temporary buildings made of local materials (mainly thatch covering a wooden frame) that can be built quickly in remote areas with no access to education. As noted above, distance to state schools was cited by Islamic Schools as a leading cause for the preference for the latter. These one-room, intermediate classroom structures are generally staffed by a Community Teacher and enable educational service provision within a very short period of time. This approach is vastly superior to cumbersome school construction projects, which usually take years to complete from the time of program start-up through environmental impact assessments, actual construction, and eventual registration with government, excluding the additional time required to staff such structures with state teachers. In combination with the provision of Community Teachers and community mobilization activities, it has been found that support for ICRs can reach a large number of children in a very short period of time (six to eight weeks). After their establishment, they generate a local culture of school attendance and eventually put these remote areas on the radar screen for more formalized school construction by Government or an international development bank. ICRs can, therefore, play a crucial role in jump-starting an important process leading to expanded educational provision in remote areas.

Community-focused Interventions: Another genre of interventions designed to improve the engagement of Cham groups in the state education system can generally be described as community outreach activities. These activities include such things as Cultural Life Skills, Cultural Centers, and general Community

Mobilization. Cultural Life Skills activities are extra-curricular classes relating to cultural topics that are taught by an ethnic minority community teacher. Classes usually occur two hours per week and are intended to heighten responsiveness of state schools to local expectations with respect to local culture. Topics include traditional musical instruments, fish net weaving, and local handicrafts. Although the program had wished to include Cham language and Koranic studies as additional cultural life skills, this was thought to be too sensitive since the activities occur on the grounds of the state school. The development of Cultural Centers is an intervention that was borrowed from Save the Children/Norway's program in Preah Vihear Province. Cultural centers are intended to provide a visible cultural point in the school to facilitate community meetings, student culture clubs, and display of cultural artifacts. Finally, Community Mobilization activities complement some of the interventions mentioned earlier such as community-led recruitment of Community Teachers, BCAs, and ICR construction.

The assessment of the activities described above has generally been positive. For example, schools with BCA interventions have reported an average rate of decline in dropout from baseline levels of 2% while repetition has decreased by 9%. The local recruitment of PTTC candidates and Community Teachers has dramatically increased the representation of Cham teachers in state schools as seen in Tables 4.10 and 4.11. In addition, these additions of Community Teachers have led to dramatic declines in Pupil Teacher Ratios from a baseline of 73:1 to 58:1 with attendant effects on school capacity, access, and quality (ES-CUP, 2007b).

4.3 Migratory Trends in the Province and Their Effect on Children

Table 4.15: Out-Migration as a Percentage of Total District Population, 2007 (Sorted by female)

4.3.1 Migration to Where and By Whom

According to the Provincial Planning Dept, the annual out-migration of individuals from Kampong Cham is 4.3% of the population, which comprises about 77,809 persons (2007). The districts that seem to have the highest rates of out-migration as a percentage of total population are Srei Santhor, Koh Sotin, and Oriang O though in terms of absolute numbers of migrants, Tbong Khmum and Prey Chor are also leading source areas for migrants (see Table 4.15). In-migration and migration between districts is believed to be much less and was reported to be about 8,018 persons or less than 0.5% of the provincial population (ILO, 2004). Surprisingly, districts that share a border with Vietnam (e.g., Poneya Krek and Memot) did not show high rates of migration. The rate of migration among females appears to be much higher than for males with government reporting migration rates of 5.5% among females and 3.2% among males (2007). These demographic trends seem to reflect the general impression of wide scale migration to Phnom Penh among females to work in the garment factories. Although it is a major sending area, Kampong Cham only ranks sixth among receiving areas, with Phnom Penh and Kandal Province being the main receiving areas.

District (Ranked by rates for female)	Out-Migration as % of Total Pop.		
	Total Migrants	As % of Total Pop	As % of Female Pop.
1. Srei Santhor	9,002	8.1%	10.0%
2. Koh Sotin	5,389	7.5%	9.7%
3. Oriang O	6,390	4.3%	8.5%
4. Prey Chor	8,297	6.0%	8.3%
5. Kampong Siem	6,080	5.5%	7.7%
6. Kang Meas	5,282	5.1%	7.4%
7. Chamgar Leu	5,923	5.2%	6.7%
8. Tbong Khmum	11,212	5.0%	5.5%
9. Cheung Prey	3,484	3.9%	5.0%
10. Batheay	3,382	3.1%	4.4%
11. Kampong Cham	1,324	2.0%	3.8%
12. Steung Trang	3,332	2.8%	3.4%
13. Krouch Chmar	3,066	2.8%	2.9%
14. Poneya Krek	3,676	2.7%	2.9%
15. Memot	1,576	1.1%	1.3%
16. Dambae	394	0.5%	0.6%
Provincial Total	77,809	4.3%	5.5%

Source: Dept of Planning, Kampong Cham 2007

The make-up of migrants leaving Kampong Cham generally has a very young complexion with about

51% being 24 years of age or less and 27.6% being less than 17 years old (see Table 4.16). Although the census data indicates that a large proportion of migrants are children, it is not clear what percentage of them are also accompanied by a parent. In a relatively recent survey in Kampong Cham conducted by Mith Samlanh, it was found 43% of a sample of young migrants had moved with their parents and that only 17% had migrated alone (Mith Samlanh, 2006). In any case, it is apparent that young people have a very strong predisposition to migrate in comparison to other age groups. In another small survey of young people ranging from 12 to 22 years in age that was conducted by Mith Samlanh, it was found that about 29% planned to migrate, a rather significant proportion (Mith Samlanh, 2003).

The conventional wisdom is that a large proportion of young people who migrate tend to be girls since female labor has a much lower value in the agricultural sector, which tends to be dominated by male labor. This factor, combined with the strong pull of the garment factory sector for female laborers, ensures that young girls are a prime demographic group who are involved in migration. These observations seem to be borne out by the significant difference in migration among males and females in Kampong Cham as noted above.

In the sample of young people interviewed in the Mith Samlanh survey, it was also found that the demographic youth type most likely to migrate were those who described themselves as living in poor communities (30%) and those who described themselves as being out-of-school (37%) (see Table 4.17). Indeed, the latter group appeared to be the group most likely to migrate. In addition, it was found that 74% of those planning to migrate were over the age of 16 and 93% described themselves as coming from rural areas. Over two-thirds of the sample indicated that they planned to migrate to Phnom Penh. Ominously, of the 26% who were less than 16, all were female.

The above findings would suggest that those districts with the largest out-of-school child populations combined with the highest poverty rates would also be the ones most prone to have major problems involving child migrants. Based on these specifications, the districts with the most children out of school as a proportion of the school-going

Table 4.16: Breakdown of Child & Youth Migrants by Age, 2004

Age Range	%
Under 10	13.8%
10 to 14	6.9%
15 to 17	6.9%
18 to 24	23.1%
Total under 24	50.7%

Source: ILO, 2004

Table 4.17: Breakdown of Youth Planning to Migrate by Demographic Type (N=27)

Type of Youth	%
Living in Poor Communities	30%
Worker	7%
Seller	7%
Youth out-of-school	37%
Youth in school	19%

Source: Mith Samlanh, 2003

Table 4.18: Ranking of Districts by % of Children Out-of-School (2005) and Poverty Rate (2002)

District	Boys out-of-school	Girls out-of-school	District	Poverty Rate
1. Dam bae	36%	40%	1. Kang Meas	58%
2. Stung Trang	31%	34%	2. Poneyakrek	54%
3. Memot	28%	30%	3. Dam bae	49%
4. Krouch Chhmar	23%	23%	4. Batheay	48%
5. Orang O*	18%	20%	5. Cheung Prey	46%
6. Tbong Khmum	16%	18%	6. Orang Ov*	37%
7. Poneyakrek	15%	17%	7. Srei Santhor*	37%
8. Batheay	14%	14%	8. Koah SoTin*	36%
9. Chamkar Leu	17%	14%	9. Chamkar Leu	35%
10. Kang Meas	14%	14%	10. Kampong Siem*	35%
11. Koah SoTin*	9%	12%	11. Tbong Khmum	34%
12. Prey Chhor*	13%	12%	12. Memot	32%
13. Srei Santhor*	12%	12%	13. Krouch Chhmar	29%
14. Cheung Prey	10%	11%	14. Prey Chhor*	28%
15. Kampong Siem*	5%	7%	15. Stung Trang	27%
16. Kampong Cham	5%	2%	16. Kampong Cham	11%
Provincial Average	17%	18%	Provincial Average	--

*Districts with high rates of out-migration

Source: Dept of Planning, Kampong Cham, 2005 & WFP, 2002

age population are Dambae, Stung Trang, and Memot while the districts with the highest poverty rates include Kang Meas, Ponyea Krek, and Dambae (see Table 4.18). The resulting ranking of districts is not always convergent, except in the case of Dambae, which consistently comes out among the top three districts in terms of these two risk factors. It is, therefore, surprising that Dambae has such a low rate of out-migration given the number of children who are out-of-school and its high rates of poverty. Indeed, Dambae District has the lowest rate of out-migration of any district in Kampong Cham, according to the Dept of Planning (2007). The failure of districts to converge on measures of migration, poverty, and number of children out-of-school suggests that other factors are at work, which serve as catalysts for this behavior to occur (e.g., social learning networks, see discussion below).

The recent youth survey mentioned earlier that was conducted by Mith Samlanh found that Phnom Penh was the preferred point of destination of the vast majority of migrant youths interviewed in Kampong Cham.¹¹ Of those who planned to migrate in the near future, 70% intended to go to Phnom Penh (2006), while another 8% were considering going to Thailand and another 4% to Malaysia. Surprisingly, although the vast majority of prospective migrants indicated that they were migrating for economic reasons, 50% said that they already had a job. Another interesting piece of information discovered in the course of this youth survey was that 92% of those interviewed said that they knew of at least one person in their village who had migrated, suggesting a highly mobile population. As noted above, Phnom Penh was the most commonly cited destination among these village acquaintances who had migrated (see Table 4.19). Given the proximity, to Vietnam, it was surprising that few cited this country as a common destination while Thailand, half way across the country, comprised 22% of those migrating.

Table 4.19: Places Where Persons from Interviewees' Village Had Migrated, 2006

Location Cited	Number	%
Phnom Penh	121	49%
Thailand	55	22%
Malaysia	18	7%
Pailin	10	4%
Korea	9	3.6%
Other	36	14.4%

Source: Mith Samlanh, 2006

4.3.2 Causes of Migratory Behavior among Children

There are few province-wide studies of migratory patterns and their causality among youth in Kampong Cham Province. Once again, project specific data targeting vulnerable children, though limited in scope, can be a useful tool to assess the causes for leaving home and school to migrate. For example, the Girls' Scholarship Program operated by KAPE since 2001 is targeted at girls in vulnerable circumstances in five districts. About 1,400 girls at risk are currently receiving support through this program. The program has been conducting tracer studies on girls leaving the program since 2002. In the most recent year for which data is available, about

156 girls dropped out of lower secondary school and the program (or 11% of total beneficiaries) (KAPE, 2006). The primary reason cited by those dropping out was to seek factory employment in Phnom Penh. About 40% of those leaving school cited this reason followed

Table 4.20: Reason for Leaving Lower Secondary School Cited by Scholarship Recipients, KAPE Tracer Study, 2006

Reason Cited	Number of Students Dropping Out by Cohort				
	Grade 7	Grade 8	Grade 9	Total	%
1. Factory employment	0	20	42	62	40%
2. Work at home	0	18	31	49	31%
3. Marriage	1	2	13	16	10%
4. Household Employment	1	4	3	8	5%
5. Migration	0	4	5	9	6%
6. Crushing poverty	2	3	6	11	7%
7. Illness	0	1	0	1	1%
Total Dropouts	4	52	100	156	100%

Source: KAPE, 2006

¹¹ This survey comprised a sample of 148 young people who were 25 years or younger. The sample was constructed through random interviews of young people at taxi stands, bus terminals, and main roads. Interviews took place in five districts including Kampong Cham Town, Tbong Khmum, Oriang O, Batheay, and Chamgar Ler.

by the need to work at home and marriage (see Table 4.20). It is interesting to note too in the data reported by KAPE that migratory patterns become more pronounced at the upper grade levels when girls are older. This would explain why no scholarship beneficiaries dropped out at Grade 7 but that the number jumped to 20 at Grade 8 and then double again at Grade 9. This makes sense when one considers that the value of a child’s labor increases with age. Thus, the decision to migrate would appear to be an interaction of both economic need as well as the age of a prospective migrant.

According to the surveys by Mith Samlanh, economic reasons also predominated as the primary reason for migration. In this respect, 53% of those interviewed in 2003 indicated that they would be looking for work in Phnom Penh (see Table 4.21). In all, those citing reasons with economic overtones (Reasons 1, 2, and 9) accounted for 66% of respondents while the remaining respondents (34%) cited social problems as the main reason (e.g., domestic violence, homesickness, wanted to live with family, etc.).

An important factor that also serves to both catalyze and facilitate the migration of youth refers to the ‘job agent’ or *me khyol* in Khmer. The job agent may be a trafficker or someone who is more innocuous in function

but who renders an important function in the migratory process. In the Mith Samlanh survey sample of 2006, 42% of interviewees indicated that they knew a job agent or broker who was active in their district or commune but that only 14% reported actually ever using one. Ominously, 45% of these were under 19 years of age. The fees charged by job agents vary greatly. Those who said that they had used such services reported paying between \$12.50 to \$45 for assistance ranging from getting a job, acquiring ID papers, or translating (Mith Samlanh, 2006).

An important set of reasons for migration that is not dealt with in any of the project reports available from programs working in Kampong Cham relates to migratory street begging. However, there have been research studies done by other programs in nearby provinces that share a border with Vietnam (e.g., Svay Rieng) where this problem is particularly widespread. It is likely that the results of these studies are also relevant to Kampong Cham. For example, a study conducted by IOM using ethnic Khmer returnees from Vietnam found that the two leading causes for going to Vietnam to beg included ‘earning income’ (41%) and ‘paying family debt’ (32%) (see Table 4.22). The researchers found, however, that uni-dimensional consideration of socio-economic factors did not fully explain the occurrence of migratory begging. Rather, they found that the behavior of sending children to Vietnam for begging was ‘spread by example through social networks’ (IOM, 2004, p. 18). That is, people in a village would learn about the behavior from others and then model it. This would explain why the incidence of migratory begging does not seem to correlate well with commune-specific levels of

Table 4.21: Reasons for Wanting to Leave Kampong Cham Cited by Child Migrants, 2003

Reason Cited	Male	Female	Total	%
1. Finding a Job	10	10	20	53%
2. Generate Income	2	2	4	11%
3. Death of Parent	1	2	3	8%
4. Domestic Violence	2	1	3	8%
5. Step Parents	1	1	2	5%
6. Study	1	1	2	5%
7. Family Break-up	1	0	1	2.5%
8. Return to Birth Place	1	0	1	2.5%
9. Cannot Support One-self in KC	0	1	1	2.5%
10. Want to Live with Family	0	1	1	2.5%
Total	19	19	38	100%

Source: Mith Samlanh, 2003

Table 4.22: Reasons for Going to Ho Chi Minh City for Begging by Returnees, 2004

Reason Cited	Total	%
Earn Income	156	41%
Pay Family Debt	123	32%
Accompany Parents	83	22%
Other	10	2.6%
Invited by Friend/Relative	4	1%
Rented by Parents	4	1%
Abducted	1	0.3%
Total	381	99.9%

Source: IOM, 2004

poverty. Anecdotal evidence also suggested that the attitude of the local village chief played a key role in the degree to which migratory begging occurred in a locality. In areas where the attitude of local authorities was strongly against such behavior, few families engaged in it, whereas a less hostile or apathetic attitude was a key condition for high prevalence.

In general, it is difficult to know whether to classify migratory begging as trafficking or family migration, since in many cases it would appear that the primary ‘facilitator’ for the behavior is actually the biological parent of the child. That is, the child goes to Vietnam with a leader who is in fact the child’s parent. In this respect, it was found that a parent played the role of the facilitator in 45% of the cases that were studied. On the other hand, the fact that the child went to Ho Chi Minh with a parent is no guarantee that they were not ‘rented’ out or trafficked, especially since 57% of those interviewed ‘reported experiencing one or more conditions that would define them as a victim of trafficking,’ e.g., deception, emotional abuse, coercion, etc. (p. 26).

The IOM study also found that the border with Vietnam was highly porous and that it was possible for Cambodians to easily acquire day passes to cross the border or to do so through illicit means. The incidence of begging behavior is probably greater in places like Svay Rieng than in Kampong Cham due to the greater geographical exposure to Vietnamese territory there as well as the fact that the border crossing in Svay Rieng is a major crossing point. In contrast, the border crossings in Kampong Cham are fewer and much smaller in terms of the overall level of activity that occurs there.

4.3.3 Current Responses to Migratory Pressures in the Province as They Affect Children

4.3.3.1 Prevention

Much of the current programming in Kampong Cham to address problems relating to the migration of children to Phnom Penh and border areas focuses on prevention. Many of these interventions, which are funded by the US Dept of Labor’s OPTIONS Program in collaboration with the Provincial Office of Education, are embedded in the education sector where they take the form of vulnerability surveys to identify children at risk followed by scholarships and life skills education linked with continued enrolment in school (see, for example, KAPE programming). Recently, peer support groups, school-based girls’ counselors, and youth clubs have also been introduced to heighten awareness of the dangers of migration and trafficking. Other agencies such as Vulnerable Children’s Assistance Organization (VCAO), which is supported by both SCN and OPTIONS, do extensive awareness raising about issues relating to migration and trafficking in several districts. These umbrella programs have also provided support for youth surveys that provide information on children’s enrolment status, future plans as they relate to migratory activities, and the general dynamics of migratory patterns in the province. The surveys help agencies working with youth to better plan and target their assistance. Although these surveys must necessarily be of limited scope, they are among the few sources of up to date information available that describe patterns and causes of migration among youth. They have been an invaluable source of information for the present study as well.

The rationale underlying these preventive interventions is that if children can be kept in school, they will also be kept out of harm’s way until they are young adults, at which time they will be better equipped to deal with life in the big city. At the time of the inception of many of these programs, impacts seemed to be great. But with improved road infrastructure and the expansion in the number of factories in Kampong Cham itself, impacts seem to be diminishing to some degree. For example, dropout from the scholarship program operated by KAPE has been steadily increasing from about 7% during the first year of operation to over 19% in recent years (KAPE, 2006). Similarly, participation rates in general in the province also seem to be decreasing, as was noted in Section 3.2. Of course, dropout patterns are also strongly linked to seasonal variations in the weather (e.g., floods, droughts) that affect rice production. Dropout always spikes during periods when rice harvests are badly affected by weather. Nevertheless, there appears to be

an increasing need to review situational factors and adjust interventions accordingly.

Box 3: Summary of Preventive Interventions Addressing Child Migration

1. Secondary School Scholarship Programs

Lower Secondary School: There are a large number of scholarship support activities at lower secondary school in Kampong Cham to keep children in school. These are mainly targeted at girls but also reserve about 20% or more of slots for poor boys. Scholarships are generally of two types: (i) in-kind assistance (e.g., bicycles, uniforms, stationery, room & board support) or (ii) cash payments of \$40-\$60 per year. The former are supported by KAPE and Room to Read, while the World Bank and Belgian Aid provide cash payments two or three times per year. Each approach has its advantages. In-kind programs are better at ensuring that assistance is actually used for the direct costs of education but are harder to administer because of the procurement logistics while cash-assistance programs are easy to administer but often miss the poorest of the poor and cannot ensure that assistance is used for education.

Upper Secondary School: As more and more cohorts of scholarship recipients at lower secondary school level reach the end of the basic education cycle, the question has inevitably arisen as to what comes next. Because the answer increasingly seems to be migration to Phnom Penh, at least one local NGO (KAPE) has set up continuing scholarship support for children at upper secondary school, if they pass the terminal *Diplome* Examination at the end of Grade 9. Scholarship support at this level tends to be very expensive and often entails room and board support since most districts have at most only one or two lycees. Thus, travel distances from home to the nearest lycee can be great (over 15 km). In addition, upper secondary school teacher fees are traditionally higher (though still technically illegal) than at lower secondary school and the state does not pay for textbooks, as it does in the basic education sector

2. Peer Support Clubs:

The objective of this activity (supported by KAPE) is to enhance teenagers' understanding of social problems that may affect vulnerable girls. Set-up begins with awareness raising about social issues of relevance (e.g., child labor, trafficking, domestic abuse, etc). Preparatory activities stress developing tool skills in analysis, discussion, group work and community activism as a means to help girls to improve their understanding of social problems. Participation in girls' clubs is voluntary. After learning tool skills, club members undertake activities in the community that may involve campaigns to increase enrolment, stop dropout and other social issues. A club normally has 25 members. All clubs are supported by a girls' counselor, who acts as a mentor/advisor of the club and provides training to the participants when appropriate.

3. Community Awareness Raising:

General awareness raising campaigns supported by VCAO, KAPE, The Asia Foundation, and others are aimed at building the understanding of local social structures (e.g., Commune EFA Commissions, Commune Councils, local Social Affairs Offices, etc) to better prevent or address serious social problems that affect children. These include trafficking, child labor, domestic abuse, run-aways, and the dangers that children face when they migrate to the cities and towns. Stake holders attending these sessions learn about the social services available in their community, the importance of reporting problems to local law enforcement, and useful devices for addressing social problems that may arise in the family such as social contracts with parents to stop drinking, etc. Networking and referral also are important common themes in awareness raising activities that take place at this level.

4.3.3.2 Pre- and Post-Migration Interventions

Agencies working with migration issues relating to children understand that in many cases, in spite of all that is done, the economic needs and pressures are so great that many children are going to migrate no matter what is done. Mith Samlanh has developed a comprehensive program that seeks to assist migrant children who plan or have already migrated on their own out of the province. One of these interventions includes a 'safe migration' program, which is funded with support from The Asia Foundation. Under this program in Kampong Cham, Mith Samlanh provides an orientation about how to migrate safely with explanations about do's and don'ts, the location of safe houses, contact numbers, drop-in centers, and other information that may prevent the worst from happening. In association with other donors, the Dept of Social Affairs also operates a social re-integration program that helps rescued children (i.e., those who have

been trafficked, fallen into exploitive child labor situations, etc.) return to their villages of origin. Upon their return, a monitoring agency such as Mith Samlanh tries to ensure that their re-integration is successful. The use of umbrella programs and the links that they bring with social service networks have proven increasingly important in the success of such reintegration activities.

Umbrella programs like OPTIONS/DoL, which provides funding to both KAPE and Mith Samlanh in Kampong Cham to prevent the exploitation of children, have supported referral networks so that children leaving the Girls' Scholarship Program get referred to the Safe Migration Orientation Program developed by Mith Samlanh. The referral network can also work the other way around as well so that if children have been rescued from a particularly difficult situation such as trafficking or child labor, and re-integrated into their village of origin, they are referred to agencies providing social and educational services, such as KAPE. Thus, they may be eligible for scholarship support, vocational training, rice rations, and other services provided by OPTIONS partners and government. Agencies in Kampong Cham also provide counseling support (e.g., VCAO) and access to drop-in centers, which are operated by Mith Samlanh. Although all these interventions appear to be having impact (e.g., USDoL, 2007), it is not clear to what extent they are solving the overall problem of migration in Kampong Cham, as systematic and province-wide information is difficult to come by.

Box 4: Summary of Key Pre- and Post Migration Interventions

1. Safe Migration Program:

Mith Samlanh has done the most work in this area. They have developed a series of modules about how to migrate safely to the city, which they have shared with other agencies through the OPTIONS network. The module and accompanying literature is intended to raise awareness of how accidents and tragedies usually happen and what precautions to take. Prospective migrants are also introduced to Mith Samlanh's service network that is available in Phnom Penh including drop-in centers, vocational training centers, and job placement services. Mith Samlanh's also makes available its safe migration procedures and documentation to other agencies through the OPTIONS Program network. One of the difficulties encountered by safe migration activities is to help prospective migrants in a way that does not actually encourage children to migrate - a sometimes difficult distinction to make.

2. Drop-in Centers:

Drop-in Centers are mainly operated by Mith Samlanh in child migrant source areas such as Kampong Cham, as well as major receiving areas such as Phnom Penh. The centers provide a safe haven for migrants and street children including a place to link up with protective peer networks, counseling services, as well as a place to learn about self-protection from social and health hazards.

3. Re-integration Program:

The Department of Social Affairs, in collaboration with UNICEF, Mith Samlanh, IOM and others, have set up a re-integration program for migrant children who have been rescued from child labor, trafficking networks, and other exploitive situations. The children are re-integrated back into their villages of origin and monitored by government social affairs officers. Through networks provided by the OPTIONS Program, these children are linked up with social service networks that enable them to access scholarship support from KAPE, rice rations from WFP, and income generation credits from Mith Samlanh, among others.

4. Vocational Training Programs:

Vocational training programs in Kampong Cham are mainly operated by ILO (in the provincial capital) and women's associations at district level. Rather than setting up their own centers, which is a very expensive proposition, several agencies (e.g., KAPE) in the province are increasingly referring beneficiaries to these centers and providing cash subsidies to help pay the costs. This is particularly true of scholarship beneficiaries who fail the *Diplome* Examination and have no further study options in the formal education sector (other than to repeat the year). These subsidies have been increasingly important, as many Women's Associations have been losing traditional sources of support from WFP for rice rations and the Royal Family. The Vocational Training Centers provide an important option for further study to enhance employment options either in Kampong Cham or in Phnom Penh.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 General Impressions and Discussion

The key research question investigated under this study relates to the degree to which minority and migrant children are receiving educational services from the state school system in Kampong Cham Province and the factors that affect provision of such services. Because there was little in the way of direct statistics on participation rates and efficiency indicators for either of these vulnerable groups, it has only been possible to make conclusions based on inference and indirect data reviewed in the course of compiling this report. For example, it may not be a coincidence that the three or four districts with the highest repetition and dropout rates and lowest participation rates in the province also have significant numbers of minority children. In the case of migratory behavior among children, the study found that information on migrants was not disaggregated in a way that indicated whether migrating children were accompanying their parents or moving without them. Surprisingly, the study found that general migratory behavior in the province's districts did not seem to be linked with situational factors with which it is commonly associated (e.g., children out-of-school and poverty, proximity to border areas). Nevertheless, it would appear that participation rates at primary level are down and out-migration is significant, particularly in certain districts

For the leading minority group in the province, which is the Chams, there would appear to be serious issues in the provision of educational services that have not only been suggested by low levels of educational efficiency and language proficiency in Cham areas. Rather, there are also increasing concerns suggested obliquely by Cham parents about what and how they would like their children to be learning and, which they are clearly not getting from the state schools. These expectations relate to instruction in and about their native language, the tenets of Islam, and the importance that attaches to the ability of teachers to be able to speak the Cham language to their children. There is also latent resentment about prohibitions against wearing the traditional scarf among Cham girls and co-ed seating arrangements in state school classrooms. With selected survey data indicating that only about 1% of state teachers are of Cham ethnicity, even in heavily populated Cham areas, there is a potentially great problem in terms of disaffection between the Cham community and the state schools, since it is unlikely that ethnic Khmer teachers can easily see things from the perspective of Cham parents. On the other hand, the failure of state schools to meet community expectations does not appear to be one of intentional discrimination either, but rather one of omission. That is, the state education system does not intentionally do things to discriminate against Cham children, but yet does not appear to be very sensitized to their needs and expectations.

The attitude of the state school system in terms of its response to minority community needs is largely constrained by national policy, which is sometimes unclear and contradictory. On the one hand, the Royal Cambodian Government has made a commitment to address the special needs of minority groups in its National EFA Plan and is a signatory to the International Convention on the Rights of the Child, which protects the rights of minority children. However, the MoEYS does not have a clear or standard policy about Mother Tongue-based Multilingual Education, the number of years that it will allow bilingual education in the state schools (e.g., one-year language bridge, three-year bridge, etc.) or to what extent bilingual instruction may occur in the state schools at all. Indeed, bilingual education is not explicitly mentioned as a desirable intervention for minority groups in the National EFA Plan. RGC also does not recognize certain groups such as the Cham as an ethnic minority so that whatever existing provisions there are to meet minority language needs through bilingual education do not pertain to what are known officially as *Khmer Islam* groups, since they are considered to be Khmer. Because policies relating to minority issues are set at national level, local educational authorities have little latitude in making changes in either the language of instruction or curriculum, since these are sensitive issues that relate to national sovereignty. There are also apprehensions about foreigners meddling in such matters since such activities are often construed as challenging Cambodia's sovereignty over its internal affairs. Yet, it must be acknowl-

edged that the MoEYS has also shown great flexibility for projects working with Cham populations and have demonstrated appreciation for close consultation and also endorsed specialized bilingual education interventions that are aimed at Cham children (so long as they do not challenge strictures on the medium of instruction and curriculum content).

This study has also sought to assess the completeness of educational service for the Cham community in the broader context of how they view their role in Cambodian society as well as how they view themselves as a community. The data generated by these investigations presents a complex picture. The Cham community in Kampong Cham clearly has a strong sense of its own identity, but is highly deferential to the majority ethnic group and does not wish to cause friction through advocacy activities that may be perceived as self-serving. Thus, the Cham community seems to feel that the state education system does not really belong to them and is not particularly responsive to their cultural needs as a distinct group; at the same time, they also feel that this unresponsiveness is all right. Rather than risking possible friction with the majority community, which dominates the state schools, the Chams seem to be turning to their own devices to meet their desires for their children's education. This device is increasingly taking the form of independent Islamic Schools, which seem to be increasing in number rapidly.

Although a majority (that is, more than half) of Cham children still seem to attend both state and Islamic Schools, there would appear to be a pattern of increasing defection of Cham parents from the state schools, according to key informants in Islamic Schools. Such defections should be something of growing concern to government, given the major role that the state schools play in building a common national identity in Cambodian society. It is admittedly difficult, however, for government to acknowledge that there is a problem since doing so may require concessions in terms of curricula, the medium of instruction, and general control, which may in turn be very threatening given what is going on in other countries in the region. To be sure, it is highly unlikely that MoEYS would make major changes in the current policy about Cham language instruction and religion in the state schools in any case, given recent tendencies towards retrenchment that is occurring with respect bilingual education activities. It is also unlikely that local communities will feel themselves to be in a position to advocate for these expectations given their insecurities about their role in Cambodian society, which ensures the strong likelihood for a parallel education system to emerge along side the state schools. As things stand currently, this parallel system has absolutely no oversight from government including review of curriculum content, standards for teacher qualifications with respect to pedagogical competence and minimum education levels, or operational standards. This is far from an ideal situation.

Kampong Cham Province has historically been considered to be a major sending area for youth seeking employment opportunities in Phnom Penh and elsewhere. If anything, migration has been accelerating in recent years and the programs that have been developed to prevent it are in danger of being overwhelmed. In terms of the central research question addressed under this study, it would appear that migration cuts short the education of many children, particularly at secondary school level. According to tracer studies by agencies working in the formal education sector, as many as 40% of those leaving school indicated that they were doing so to seek factory employment in Phnom Penh and elsewhere. In addition, an examination of migratory trends in Kampong Cham has highlighted several anomalies that may complicate future programming. For example, out-migration patterns do not seem to be well correlated with poverty levels or the number of children out-of-school (as a proportion of the total population) in individual districts. Neither do migration patterns tend to be very strong in areas that share a border with Vietnam where one would think there would be significant numbers of child migrants going to Ho Chi Minh for begging, as in Svay Rieng Province. Since poverty levels, food security, and participation rates are the basis for major assumptions regarding the way that projects target their assistance, there may be a need to review program target areas across the board. In addition, information on migrant children has not been collected systematically so that there is not an overall picture of its incidence or magnitude. Similarly,

there is not a clear picture of within province migration patterns, which may be an increasingly significant factor in dropout from the formal education system, given the recent expansion in factory construction and improvements in road infrastructure that have taken place in the last several years.

There are currently a large number of interventions occurring in Kampong Cham to both prevent and mitigate the migration of children to areas outside the province, mainly for economic reasons. These include scholarship support at all levels, counseling, drop-in centers, and safe migration activities among others. Nevertheless, several projects have been reporting a rise in dropout rates and increased departures of female students at lower and upper secondary school level from the formal education sector to look for work in the garment industry. In addition, many of the areas targeted under current assistance programs were selected on the basis of dated census data and may need to be reviewed. Such a review may also provide a good opportunity for assessing social service coordination and the overall effectiveness of various interventions such as school scholarships.

5.2 Recommendations

The following recommendations have been formulated for relevant agencies working in Kampong Cham and local government officials to take under consideration for purposes of future programming to meet the needs of Cham minority children and children planning to migrate.

General

1. Data Collection and Management: Decisions should be based on information, but this is difficult given that enrolment data is not disaggregated by ethnic group or by migrant status. Thus, it would be useful to institute more systematic data collection in schools on target groups as the basis for future programming. In the case of migrant children, this would entail tracking children who dropout of school both at upper primary and secondary school level. Alternatively, it might be helpful to conduct additional studies such as the present one but which occur when schools are open so that information is more accessible.

Minority Education Issues

2. Sustained Funding of Bilingual Education Interventions Acceptable to MoEYS: Agencies such as KAPE should start intensive dialogues with Commune Councils to find ways that would make acceptable bilingual education interventions designed for the Cham populations (e.g., Bilingual Education Assistants) sustainable in the long-term. Such means might include accessing commune investment funds, which are supposed to be available for social services and not just infrastructure. At the same time, it would be useful to work with the Provincial Office of Education to discuss the possibility of accessing funds for this purpose under the new program-based budgeting regime that is planned to start soon.¹²
3. Language Proficiency Topics in PTTC Curriculum: Related to the above, it might be advisable to discuss with TTD the possibility of including instruction on discrete methodologies on working with minority children with limited Khmer language proficiency for prospective teachers enrolled at the PTTC.
4. Multi-cultural Education: Pilot activities relating to multi-cultural education in selected schools in collaboration with POE and DOE. Such activities could begin with a foundational workshop (see Box

¹² In the past, school operating budgets have been provided through what is known as PAP or Priority Action Program. These funds were provided to schools via Budget Management Centers (BMCs) on the basis of school plans and per capita allocations (6,000 riels per child). Under program based budgeting, this will soon change so that schools will receive funds based on more central level planning at POE level.

5 for an example) that defines local cultural needs (for both Khmers and Chams) and then identifies concrete activities to address those needs. Possible interventions may include affirmative action in the selection of teachers, culture-focused youth clubs, and cultural life skills. Similar modules about promoting cultural understanding in society might also be included on an extracurricular basis in the training program for PTTC candidates, pending agreement from the Teacher Training Dept.

5. Affirmative Action in PTTC Teacher Candidate Recruitment: The ESCUP Program has already made a good start in recruiting more Cham candidates into the PTTC through added incentives in the form of scholarships, special quotas for Chams (in collaboration with TTD), and local recruitment in mosques. These efforts should be extended beyond the life of the ESCUP Program and should link up with recent opportunities for more flexible teacher recruitment recently announced by MoEYS. These opportunities refer to a new policy allowing 9+2 recruitment in communes suffering from acute teacher shortages in Kampong Cham.¹³ These provisions, which become effective from October 2007, will greatly enhance the prospects for Cham recruitment in areas where there is difficult access to upper secondary schools.

6. More Active Sensitization of State Schools to Very Basic Cultural Expectations: There are several common practices in place in the state schools that are not subject to national policy strictures (such as language and curriculum), but which do much to annoy Cham parents. These relate to co-ed seating in classrooms and uniform rules that do not accommodate the use

Box 5: Excerpt from a Sample Module on Multi-cultural Education (Source: ESCUP, 2006)

1. WORKSHOP OBJECTIVES

- Participants can describe the process for implementing activities, which will help children better understand their own local culture.
- Participants can describe the primary characteristics of Multi-cultural Education.

2. ABOUT MULTI-CULTURAL EDUCATION

2.1 What Is 'Culture'?

In this session, the facilitator should try to lead a guided discussion about the meaning of culture. Defining 'culture' is not an easy task and the facilitator will need to be very careful in leading a discussion in this area. One way to begin this discussion might be to use pictures such as those shown below. Post the two pictures shown on the wall for all to see. Next, ask participants to consider how the individuals in the pictures below differ and how they are alike. Ask participants to identify the differences and similarities, listing these on the board as the discussion unfolds.



Based on the above discussion, ask participants to consider some of the attributes of individuals and groups that might indicate cultural differences/similarities. List these attributes together as a large group.

What are some of the attributes that indicate cultural differences/similarities?

Sample Responses:

- the clothes people wear
- the foods people eat
- the language people speak
- the religion that people follow
- the customs people follow (what are these? Greetings, ways of sitting, dance, music, marriage, etc.)
- people's beliefs
- the holidays that people respect
- how people live
- Etc.

Next, try to make a simple definition for the 'term' that everyone can agree on that takes in the discussion that occurred earlier. Here is a sample definition:

Culture is that which takes in the customs, beliefs, and social practices of a particular group of people. . . .

Once the group has agreed on a definition of culture, try to identify different cultural groups in Cambodia. These may include Khmers, Chams, Kruoy, Phnong, Vietnamese, Chinese, etc

¹³ Teacher recruitment in Kampong Cham has traditionally been governed under a 12+2 regime, which means that candidates must have completed 12 years of basic education as an eligibility requirement for PTTC entry. These strictures have now been relaxed for a period of three years with effect from 2007 to address continuing shortages of teachers.

of the head-scarf among Cham girls. These practices seem to needlessly create antipathy between the state schools and the Cham community. It would not be difficult to request state schools to accommodate local expectations that boys are not seated next to each other in classrooms and that Cham girls are allowed to wear scarves. Very small measures such as these might be significant in their impact on Cham perceptions of the state schools.

7. Building a Bridge between State and Islamic Schools: This study has voiced concerns about the emerging parallel nature of education services provided by the state schools and independent Islamic Schools. It is suggested that regular forums for discussion between the two school systems be sponsored by third parties, such as a project or agency working in the province. These discussions could lead to concrete forms of future collaboration. Such collaboration could include allowing *tuans* to attend methodology training workshops to improve their teaching (e.g, ESCUP sponsors such workshops every summer vacation); access to teaching aids and textbooks used in the state schools (e.g., for Islamic Schools that teach Mathematics or Khmer Language), etc. Collaboration of this nature would help establish official channels of communication and a more formalized link between the two school systems.
8. Extracurricular Possibilities of Cham Language Instruction in Association with the State Schools: It is clear that Cham language instruction is not allowed as part of the regular state curriculum and this cannot be changed. It may be possible, however, to introduce such instruction on an extracurricular basis in association with the state schools (e.g., use of state classrooms in the evening). Community Teachers could be recruited to provide this instruction. The attraction of sponsoring such activities is that they would demonstrate responsiveness of the state schools to a very real community desire and increase ownership of the state schools. The organization of such activities, however, would need to be discussed carefully with the Provincial Office of Education and may require clearance from the central Ministry.
9. Evaluation of BCA Activities: Although informal assessments of Bilingual Classroom Assistants appear to be positive, it might be advisable to undertake more systematic evaluation of the intervention in order to refine and improve it.

Migrant Children

There are many changes that need to happen in Kampong Cham Province to address migration issues. The problem is that these changes are really beyond the scope of any one agency or even consortium of agencies to change. These include expanded job opportunities for youth, more flexible school hours, improved educational relevance, and more vocational training opportunities. Doing any one of these things would require major investment and social mobilization. For the modest purposes of this report, the researchers make two key recommendations as follows:

10. Conduct Mapping Surveys of Social Service Availability: There are currently many social services available for prospective and current child migrants in Kampong Cham but poor coordination and knowledge of these services in local communities ensures that access is often *ad hoc* in nature. It would be very helpful to conduct a mapping exercise of the social services available from different agencies and government in Kampong Cham followed by structured orientations to disseminate this information to Commune Councils. The Woman-Child Focal Persons who are assigned to each council would be an especially important target audience for orientations about service availability in different communities.
11. Pilot Migratory Prevention Activities Using a Social Marketing Approach: Social marketing involves making a contract with a community relating to the prevention of certain social ills such as trafficking or migratory begging. The contract is negotiated with communities using participatory approaches, e.g., setting a target that is mutually agreed. Achievement of negotiated goals such as increasing enrolment of children out-of-school would lead to 'rewards' for the community, which may take many forms (e.g., a well, renovations to the school, etc.).

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ANNEXES

**ANNEX 1: DIRECTORY OF EDUCATIONAL SERVICE AGENCIES
IN KAMPONG CHAM**

AGENCY	RELEVANT PROJECTS AND ACTIVITIES
Belgian Aid/VVOB	○ Basic Education Technical Training Project (BETT)
Kampuchean Action for Primary Education	○ Educational Support to Children in Underserved Populations (ESCUP) ○ OPTIONS ○ Child Friendly Schools Initiative (CFSI) ○ Child Friendly Schools in Remote Areas (CFSRA) ○ Girls' Education Initiative ○ School Breakfast Program
Mith Samlanh (Street Friends)	○ Safe Migration Program ○ Drop-in Centers
New Humanity	○ School for the Disabled
Plan International	○ Child Friendly Schools in Remote Areas (CFSRA)/Implemented in collaboration with KAPE
Save the Children/Australia	○ Health Outreach Programs
Save the Children/Norway	○ Primary Education Quality Improvement
Vulnerable Children's Assistance Organization	○ Shelter for Vulnerable Children ○ Village-based Children's Protection Network
World Education	○ OPTIONS (Implemented by KAPE in Kampong Cham) ○ HIV/AIDS Awareness Raising
World Food Program	○ School Breakfast Program (SBP)/Implemented in collaboration with KAPE and POE

ANNEX 2: DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

Questionnaire: Islamic School Key Informants

Name of School: _____	
Commune: _____	Position at School: _____ Sex: M/F
District: _____	School Location: (Pls circle one) Mosque Free-standing Other
Student Enrolment Total: _____; Female: _____	Number of Classes or Groups: _____
Number of Teachers Employed at the School: Total _____ Female: _____	

Directions: Please listen to each question item below and answer as honestly as you can by choosing the appropriate response. Your responses to these questions will help KAPE better understand what needs Islamic Schools are serving in local communities. Please know that all completed forms will be kept completely confidential. When you have completed the form, place it in the envelope provided and seal it completely. Upon completing this the form to the KAPE Office, you will receive a \$10 donation for your school.

Section 1	
1	When was this school established? _____ Who provided the funds to build this school? _____
2	What subjects are taught at this school? (Check all that apply) Cham Language Khmer Language Malay Arabic Mathematics Koranic studies Other Please specify: _____
3	How many hours/days do children study here on average? _____ Hours per Day ___ Days per Week
4	Does your school have a timetable? Yes No
5	About how old is the youngest child enrolled at your school? _____ yrs old About how old is the oldest child enrolled at your school? _____ yrs old
6	Do you have both boys and girls enrolled at this school? Yes No If you have girls enrolled at the school, do you allow them to sit in the same room or to you teach them in separate rooms? They sit in separate rooms They are put into the same room but asked to sit separately They sit together in the same room in a mixed manner
7	What is the <u>lowest</u> level of previous education of teachers employed here? (Pls circle one) Highest Grade Completed: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13+ What is the <u>highest</u> level of previous education of teachers employed here? (Pls circle one) Highest Grade Completed: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13+

8	<p>Do you provide any teacher training opportunities for your teachers?</p> <p>Yes No Don't know</p> <p>If yes, please explain:</p>	
9	<p>Do you pay your teachers?</p> <p>Yes No</p> <p>If yes, how much do you pay them on average?</p> <p>\$10/month or less Between \$10 and \$20/month Between \$21 to \$30/month Between \$31 and \$40/month More than \$40/month</p>	
10	<p>What is your approximate annual budget?</p> <p>More than \$1,000/yr Between \$500-\$1,000/yr Between \$200-\$500/yr Less than \$200/yr Don't know</p>	
11	<p>What is the main source of income here at the school? (Pls check all that apply)</p> <p>Student Fees Community Donations Local Organization/Association Int'l Organization/Association Khmer Philanthropist inside the country Islamic Philanthropist inside Cambodia Islamic Philanthropist from Outside Cambodia Philanthropist from outside Cambodia Government</p>	
12	<p>About what percentage of your annual budget do you spend on teacher salaries?</p> <p>All of it Between 70-90% Between 50-70% Less than half None of it Don't know</p>	
13	<p>About what percentage of your annual budget do you spend on learning materials such as books, stationery, teaching aids, etc?</p> <p>All of it Between 70-90% Between 50-70% Less than half None of it Don't know</p>	
14	<p>Do you have permission from the POE to operate your school? Yes No</p>	
15	<p>How often do you meet with any educational officials at district or provincial level?</p> <p>Once a month or more Once every 2 months or more Once every 3 months or more Less than 3 months or more Never</p>	
16	<p>Approximately what percentage of your students also attend the nearest state school?</p> <p>All of them do Most of them do About half of them do Less than half do None of them do Don't know</p>	
17	<p>We would like to know what the reasons are that children attend your school. Please check all possible reasons that your students attend this school. You may check as many boxes as may apply.</p> <p>The state school is not responsive to the needs of the Cham community in terms of</p>	

	<p>curriculum (e.g., Cham language, religion, etc.) Students want to study Malay or Arabic in order work outside the country. The school hours of the Islamic school are more flexible than those at the state school The state school is too far away The quality of education at the Islamic school is better than at the state school Teachers attendance at the Islamic school is better than at the state school The children are separated by sex when they study Other reasons: Please specify: _____</p>	
18	<p>For all the reasons that you identified above, please indicate the <u>most important</u> reason by writing the number '1' in front of the reason below.</p> <p>___ The state school is not responsive to the needs of the Cham community in terms of curriculum (e.g., Cham language, religion, etc.) ___ Students want to study Malay or Arabic in order to work outside the country. ___ The school hours of the Islamic school are more flexible than those at the state school ___ The state school is too far away ___ The quality of education at the Islamic school is better than at the state school ___ Teachers' attendance at the Islamic school is better than at the state school ___ The children are separated by sex when they study ___ Other reasons: Please specify: _____</p>	

Questionnaire: Cham Community Members

Commune: _____	Sex: Male Female (Please circle one)
District: _____	Age: ____ Yrs
Education Level (Please circle the number that shows the total number of years that you have studied at school)	
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 or more	
Please circle all words below that describe yourself:	
Parent Grandparent Community Elder Village Head Religious Leader Gov't Official	

Directions: Please listen to each question item below and answer as honestly as you can by checking the appropriate box. Your responses to these questions will help KAPE better understand what the Cham community is thinking and will help it to improve its programming accordingly. Please know that all completed forms will be kept completely confidential. When you have completed the form, place it in the envelope provided and seal it completely. Then, give it to the facilitator

Section 1		
1	How well can you speak the Cham Language? Not at all A little Well Very Well	
2	How well can you speak the Khmer Language? Not at all A little Well Very Well	
3	When you are home, what language do you speak with your family? Khmer Cham Both equally	
4	How different are Khmer people and Cham people? Not very different A little different Very different	
5	How important is your Cham heritage to you? Very important Important Somewhat important Not important	
6	How f? Every day At least once a week At least once a month Less than once a month Once a year	
7	How important is religion to you? Very important Moderately important Not very important	
8	How would you describe the people who live in your village? Completely Cham Completely Khmer Mixed	
9	Do you get upset when people say that you are Cham rather than Khmer Islam? Yes, it bothers me a lot Yes, it bothers me a little No, it doesn't bother me	

10	How would you prefer people to call you with respect to your cultural background? Cham Cambodian Khmer Islam Khmer Other (Pls specify) _____	
Section 2: Only complete this section if you have young children between 6 and 18 yrs old.		
11	Do you have any children who are of school-going age? Yes No	
12	If yes, what kind of school do your children attend? A State School An Islamic School Both a State and Islamic School They don't attend school	
13	If your children attend a state school, how responsive do you feel the school is to your children's cultural and language needs? Very responsive Adequately responsive Not very responsive	
14	If your children attend a state school, are teachers there able to communicate in Cham language? Yes, they all can Some can Very few can None can	
15	How important do you think it is that teachers at your children's school are able to speak Cham language? Very important Important Not so important	
16	How important do you think it is that your children learn Cham language at school? Very important Important Not so important	
17	How important do you think it is that your children learn Khmer language at school? Very important Important Not so important	
18	How important do you think it is that your children learn about Islam at school? Very important Important Not so important	
19	If your children attend a state school, how happy are you about the education that they receive there? Very satisfied Satisfied Not so satisfied Not at all satisfied	
20	If your children attend an Islamic school, how happy are you about the education that they receive there? Very satisfied Satisfied Not so satisfied Not at all satisfied	
	Subtotal for Section 1:	
	Subtotal for Section 2	
	<i>Total Score</i>	

Interview Schedule for Focus Group Discussion (Cham Community Members)

Directions for Facilitator: Please refer to the directions accompanying this interview guide in order to receive instructions about how the discussion process should be facilitated as well as how each question should be clarified and answers recorded.

Name of Relevant School(s) _____ _____ Province/City: _____ District/Khan: _____ Commune: _____	Name of Facilitator: _____ Persons Interviewed: No. _____ <u>Describe by circling all that apply:</u> Mothers, Fathers, Members of SSC, Imam, Village Heads, Commune Council, Other: _____ Date of Interview: _____
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Introductory Statement: Today, I would like to talk to you all a little bit about what you think about provision of educational services in your community. We are especially interested in knowing about the feelings of the Cham community regarding its satisfaction with educational services in the local area. In order to better understand these feelings, I would like to have a large group discussion about your feelings and opinions on these matters. In all the things that we will discuss today, I want to stress that there is no right answer, only what you think. So let's begin.

No	Suggested Questions	Variable Reference
1	How many of you have children attending the local state school? Indicate the Number of respondents: _____ In general, how satisfied are you with the education that your children are receiving there? Facilitator Notes: _____ _____ _____ _____ <u>Discussion Notes:</u> Try to get some sense of the degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the educational service provided. Are people really happy with the school or are they just neutral about it, or are they hostile to the school?	D
2	What are some of things that you are most happy about at the school, if any? ❖ _____ ❖ _____ ❖ _____ ❖ _____ Facilitator Notes: _____ _____ _____ _____	D

	<p><u>Discussion guide:</u> Try to elicit responses that cover all aspects of the school. Is the teacher competent and reliable, is the environment at the school appealing, is the director reliable and responsive to parents, is there strong contact between school and community, is the school support committee strong and effective, are there cultural and language issues that the school is not responsive about, etc.?</p>	
3	<p>What are some of things that you are not happy about at the school, if any?</p> <p>❖ _____</p> <p>❖ _____</p> <p>❖ _____</p> <p>❖ _____</p> <p>Facilitator Notes:</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p><u>Discussion guide:</u> The same issues apply as in Question #2.</p>	D
4	<p>How much contact do you have with Khmer people in your everyday activities?</p> <p>How would you describe the quality of the contact that you have with Khmer people in your area?</p> <p>Facilitator Notes:</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p><u>Discussion Notes:</u> The facilitator should first try to gauge how much content people have with Khmer people (a lot, a little, etc.). Then, try to get some sense of people’s feelings about the potential for conflict with the Khmer community. Is their contact mostly negative, positive, or neutral? Are they suspicious of Khmer people and try to avoid contact? Do they feel people look down on them or are distrustful of them? If conflict ever does arise, what are the reasons for this?</p>	C
5	<p>When you send your children to the state school, do you feel that your children are treated the same as Khmer children? If not, why not?</p> <p>Facilitator Notes:</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>	C/D

	<p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p><u>Discussion Notes:</u> If people say no, move onto the next question. If people say yes, try to find out what is the nature of the unequal treatment? For example, do they feel that the state school represents the needs of Khmer people more than Cham people? Do they feel that the state school is trying to make their children Khmer? Do they feel that the state undervalues Cham culture?</p>	
6	<p>If there is an Islamic school in your community or if your children had access to one, do you (or would you) send your children there rather than the state school?</p> <p>Facilitator Notes:</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p><u>Discussion Notes:</u> The facilitator should first try to ascertain whether most people have a preference for Islamic school over state schools or vice versa or whether they prefer them equally. After determining what most people's preference is, try to discover why they feel that way. For example, if they prefer to send their children to the Islamic school, is it because they teach fewer hours than at the state school or is there some cultural reason at work (e.g., they want their children to learn Cham language or perhaps their children do not speak Khmer well enough to understand the teacher). If they prefer the state school, what is the reason? Is it because they feel that it is important for their children to learn Khmer to compete in the market place? Try to discover all the reasons for people's preferences.</p>	D
7	<p>Do you think that there are differences in dropout and repetition between Cham children and Khmer children? If there are differences, what are they and what are the reasons for the differences?</p> <p>Facilitator Notes:</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p><u>Discussion Notes:</u> The facilitator should first try to determine what the differences are, if any. That is, do Cham children repeat and dropout more than Khmer children or is it the opposite? What are the reasons if there are differences? Is it because of language? Is it because of engagement in economic activity? Is it because of migratory patterns? Is it because of cultural attitudes?</p>	F

Notes for the Researcher

Reference Code	Research Variable
A	Basic Background on Demographic, Economic, and Cultural Factors relating to the Cham community
B	Attitudes towards the Cham community among Cham villagers
C	Attitudes towards the Khmer national community among Cham villagers
D	Satisfaction with the state school system among Cham community members
E	Language Proficiency among Cham children
F	Comparative Retention Levels among Khmer and Cham children
G	Migration Patterns among children
H	Causes of Migration