

Inequality and Disparity in Early Childhood Care and Education: The Case of Cambodia

Takashi HAMANO
Ochanomizu University

Abstract

Despite the fact that many studies have noted the need for and shown the value of Early Childhood Development (ECD), to date, aid for pre-school education in developing countries has been less than adequate. One reason for this is that the actual educational conditions in developing countries are not well understood, and thus, effective aid policies cannot be established. Using the case of Cambodia, this paper aims to clarify the realities of pre-school education through the lens of disparity. Disparity is the most serious problem of the country's early childhood educational system, and large gaps can be observed in terms of pre-school educational facilities and resources, particularly between urban and rural areas. We were able to confirm a statistically significant difference between different regions, even in terms of the number of books being read aloud at home. Gaps also exist among the different types of early childhood education, which, coupled with class and regional differences, form multiple layers of disparity.

Key words: early childhood care and education, preschool, Cambodia, inequality, regional disparity

1. Introduction

Since the 1990s, there has been a general awareness of the importance of international educational cooperation for pre-school children, including pre-school education and support for early childhood development (ECD). The 1990 World Declaration on Education For All referred to the importance of pre-school and early childhood care to a child's basic education. In addition to its focus on spreading awareness of the importance of early childhood development, this premise is based on the belief that expanding pre-school education affects the formation of a child's readiness to learn, which then connects to the expansion of the access to and quality of primary and secondary level education.

The 2000 Dakar Framework for Action set six goals, the first of which was "expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children." Although the UN Millennium Development Goals and other such agenda cite the importance of universal primary education and the elimination of gender inequalities on an international level, UNESCO and the World Bank propose ECD as a solution. This is because studies consistently indicate that ECD has various positive impacts. I will leave the details of these results to Miwa (2004), but to summarize what studies have indicated thus far, ECD 1) increases the rates of

earning; 2) is an effective step towards the development goals of poverty reduction and the universalization of basic education; 3) reduces repeats and drop outs in primary and secondary education; 4) promotes the physical, intellectual and emotional development of children; 5) strengthens cooperation in the family and community; 6) encourages mothers to work; 7) has a tremendous impact on the education of girls, encouraging them to attend school, etc.; and 8) promotes economic growth.

Many studies thus recognize the necessity of ECD, and the importance of its impact on children, and yet, aid for pre-school education remains inadequate. One reason is that the actual conditions of pre-school education in developing countries are not well understood, and thus, effective aid policies cannot be established. Using the case of Cambodia, this paper aims to clarify the realities of pre-school education through the lens of disparity. To date, studies have considered the impact of projects dealing with early childhood education in Cambodia (Nonoyama-Tarumi et al. 2008), but few have examined disparities in early childhood education in detail. This article focuses in particular on the serious problems of regional and class disparities, and on revealing the environmental conditions of child development in Cambodia.

2. A Brief History of Early Childhood Education in Cambodia

Cambodian early childhood education became formalized at the end of the 1970s, after the collapse of the Pol Pot regime. Publicly and privately run pre-school education programs existed before 1975, but were costly, and were available only in certain cities and provinces (MOEYS 2000). Under the Pol Pot administration, education was unavailable in Cambodia from 1975 to 1979. In 1979, influenced by the political frameworks of Vietnam and the former USSR, cooperative government efforts for service provision and the people's demand for early childhood education were significant, and education began to be provided free of charge. At the time, Cambodia had 96 public pre-schools with 8,229 registered students, including 230 classes and 264 teachers. All of the social service providers were public servants, and teachers were paid in rice; the government deployed them at low labor costs. In the peak of the 1980s, the number of children registered for early childhood education reached 61,349, and teachers numbered 3,209. In the 1990s, the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) gained political power, and the market economy was introduced. Along with an increase in available aid, donors influenced education policies, and as a greater emphasis was placed on primary education, early childhood education was considered by the government to be less important.¹ Pre-school teachers changed jobs to become primary school teachers, or left jobs in the educational field entirely. From FY1997 to 1998, only 52,118 pre-schoolers were registered in Cambodia, and only 2,772 teachers were employed, levels which fell below those during the peak of the 1980s (MOEYS 2000). Data shows that at the Phnom Penh City Wat Koh public pre-school, built in 1979, more children were registered in the 1980s than are registered today, and that their numbers slowly began to decrease in the 1990s.

3. Four Types of Early Childhood Education

At present, four types of early childhood education exist in Cambodia. The first are state pre-schools, which target three to five-year olds, and are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports. The second are private pre-schools, which are run by companies or individuals, and are authorized by the Ministry of Education. The third are pre-schools established and operated by Commune Councils (the smallest units of local government determined by election) under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Women's Affairs. This group also includes community pre-schools that target three to five-year olds, and that are run by the community with NGO support. The fourth are home-based education programs (HBEP), which target children under the age of six, and are also run by Commune Councils under the jurisdiction of the Ministry

of Women's Affairs. Cambodia's Early Childhood Education Department (ECED) of the Ministry of Education has data regarding each of these different categories, and is involved in curricula and the development of educational resources. The Teacher Training Department is also involved in fostering the development of State Pre-School teachers.

1) State pre-schools

Over 90% of state pre-schools are attached to public primary schools, and use a portion of their facilities. Teachers are graduates of the Pre-School Teacher Training Center, Cambodia's only training facility for preschool teachers, or they are primary school teachers who have undergone training in early childhood education. Classes are normally available to children according to age between three and five years, but in schools where a lack of facilities or teachers exists, five-year olds are given priority and three and four-year olds are combined in a mixed class. Preschools are usually in session for three hours a day, five days a week, 38 weeks a year.

2) Private pre-schools

Private pre-schools are operated either by companies, individuals as businesses, or by religious organizations (typically Christian ones), and are recognized by the government (the actual procedures for authorization are carried out by Education Departments at the provincial level). There are many different kinds of private pre-schools, a fact that makes them difficult to define. Except for those that are run as businesses, they are often confused with community pre-schools. For example, the Phnom Penh City Department of Education considers pre-schools established by companies or individuals, where individuals pay operating costs and teacher salaries, to be private pre-schools. When they are established, these schools submit an application to the City Board of Education, after which Phnom Penh City issues a permit. The criteria considered in obtaining a permit include land, space, teacher qualifications (teachers must be high school graduates), curriculum, and assets; after applying, the teachers and curriculum come under review. The same Phnom Penh City, however, sometimes categorizes pre-schools run with the support of NGOs as community pre-schools in terms of operating costs, teacher salaries and teacher training. There is an assumption that once the community has, with NGO intervention, set up a steering committee, found land on which to establish the school, and become self-organized, the NGO will transfer its operations to the community. The number of private pre-schools according to the Early Childhood Education Department and the local early childhood education authorities sometimes differs because the reporting system between the central and local

governments is insufficient; in certain cases, private schools are run like preschools operating without authorization. The provincial and city education departments are supposed to conduct inspections, but in reality, they hardly ever visit schools that aren't applying for authorization (Kompong Thom Province, Phnom Penh City). Instead, they merely report data, such as the number of children attending pre-school, to the Education Department. As we can see, there is no uniform standard or systematized definition regarding private pre-schools, and each case is left up to the early childhood education department in each province or city to manage. A diverse range in terms of methods of operation, school curricula, class hours, and children's target ages can hence be found.

3) Community pre-schools

Community pre-schools can be found in areas where state pre-schools do not exist, and are run by the community with the backing of NGOs, mainly the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and Save the Children, who set up steering committees to run the schools as a team. UNICEF has projects in six provinces of Cambodia; the remaining provinces are served by the Ministry of Education. Schools target three to five-year old children, and although in some cases a class for each age group exists, there is sometimes a single class for children ranging from three to five years of age. Ministry-backed community pre-schools rely on the efficient use of local resources, and so teachers are found within the community; most become teachers after undertaking several days of teacher training provided by the Department of Education. Following the curriculum manuals of the Early Childhood Education Department, the schools operate for two hours a day, five days a week, and 24 to 36 weeks a year. Classes are held in temporary buildings in the community's primary schools, temples, houses of the villagers or teachers, or the shade of trees. In areas targeted by UNICEF, schooling is free of charge, with a monthly incentive of \$7.5 paid to teachers by the Commune Council. Regarding the issue of UNICEF's contribution to the operating expenses of community pre-schools, it is possible that in the future, teachers' salaries will be raised by the Ministry of Interior, via a flow of funds from the Ministry of Interior to the Commune Council in the Cambodian government's decentralization process. Some concern remains, however, regarding the sustainability of this process.

4) Home-based Educational Programs

Home-based Educational Programs are the fourth type of pre-school. In areas without state pre-schools, mothers in the community form groups and, using these groups to share resources and learn from each other, provide children with educational guidance at home. In addition

to the six provinces in which they run community pre-schools, UNICEF supports these activities in two provinces. Save the Children Norway works in Phnom Penh City and six other provinces, and The Ministry of Education manages other provinces. In UNICEF target areas, a "Core Mother" represents each group and completes a training program, after which she gathers the community together and holds hour-long presentations once a week for 24 weeks. In these programs, she instructs other mothers about health, sanitation, nutrition, and ways to promote child development and education. Seminars are held in the early morning or afternoon, depending on the mothers' preference. In the case of parents who participate in local literacy programs, the literacy teacher sometimes performs a similar role to the "Core Mother", and also holds seminars on childcare. The curriculum uses a UNICEF-supported calendar format illustrating how the role of the mother is necessary in the different stages of a child's development. Save the Children Norway has also developed educational materials about life skills, which it distributes to mothers and Core Mothers who have completed the training process. No incentives are provided for Core Mothers, and the involvement of the provincial and city education departments is limited to providing support and technical guidance. Through HBEPs, mothers gain self-confidence, and there has even been one case study of a traumatized mother who stopped beating her child. The program aims to create a positive cycle. Save the Children Norway's 2007 Plan had 20 target villages, but HBEPs were actually implemented in 40 villages. This can be said to be the influence of the communities' strong ownership of the program, as well as the program's sustainability and efficiency. Save the Children Norway plans to perform an impact assessment of HBEP in FY2008 that measures the differences in the rates of drop out and repeats in grades one and two, and that compares children schooled in the HBEP program with those who have attended other types of pre-schools.²

With the budget and human resource limitations due to the expansion of state pre-schools run by the Ministry of Education, community pre-schools and HBEPs play a crucial role in making early childhood education in Cambodia more available, as well as enabling its continued growth.

4. Access to Early Childhood Education

According to the Early Childhood Education Department's (MOEYS) 2006-2007 data (the Cambodian school year takes place from October to the following July), the total number of pre-schools in Cambodia stood at 2,641, with 1,524 state pre-schools, 100 Private Pre-Schools and 1,017 community pre-schools. In the case of state pre-schools, more than 90% were attached to

primary schools. 129 independent schools, and one attached to a dormitory (ECED, MOEYS 2007), were identified. In 2004-2005, the total number of pre-schools stood at 2,223, with 1,365 state pre-schools and 778 Private Pre-Schools. The number of Private Pre-Schools today has fallen drastically, but as UNICEF-supported community pre-schools were founded in 2004, and because data in recent years has begun to distinguish between different types of pre-schools, we may assume that the number of Private Pre-Schools according to the 2004-2005 data reflects the number of pre-schools that are now considered to be community pre-schools. Furthermore, as 90% of state pre-schools are located in primary schools and 129 independent schools also exist, we can additionally say that the rise in the number of state pre-schools in the 2006-2007 data reflects a rise in the number of attached primary schools (MOEYS 2005).

5. Early Childhood Education Disparities

(1) Disparities in income bracket and region

We can cite four reasons for low pre-school attendance rates, a problem which contributes to disparities in Cambodian early childhood education. First, some communities do not even have pre-schools; the issue of access is particularly a problem in rural and remote areas. Second, there is the issue of the educational costs that must be borne by the household. State policy dictates that five-year old children can attend state pre-schools free of charge, and there are no costs involved in attending community pre-schools and HBEP. In reality, however, to cover operating costs, a monthly fee of several thousand Riel (\$1=approx. 4,000 Riel) is collected as a school fee or donation. This amount of money is significant for poor households. Third, a lack of understanding about early childhood education generally exists among parents. While they will send their children to primary school, many still strongly believe that pre-school is unnecessary. This has to do with the parents' educational level. Fourth, the quality of education in state pre-schools is low. For example, in 2004, two of the 12 state pre-schools in Siam Reap City were literally falling apart. Children were packed into small classrooms, and many teachers were absent from work. Under normal circumstances, a four-year old child would have been able to advance the following year to the five-year old class, but, due to poor management, there have been cases where the child skips a year to go straight into the first year of primary school. Inspection visits by the provincial department of education are not performed, and the authorities have little idea of what is actually happening on the ground. This is typically the situation in urban areas; sadly, rural pre-schools are typically in even worse shape.³

The gender gap is not terribly visible in Cambodian

early childhood education. In 2006-2007, of the 77,899 children attending state pre-schools, 38,796 were girls, making up 49.8% of the total number. Disparities, however, were found in terms of region and type of early childhood education. There is a significant gap in access to early childhood education between urban and rural areas. Urban areas, in which 15% of preschool-aged children live, contribute 25% of the total number of school children. Furthermore, compared to the average Private Pre-School, the quality of education in state pre-schools is considered low, and that of community pre-schools and HBEPs (UNICEF 2007) even lower.

Crosscutting income disparity is also an important factor. The gap in early childhood education within a locality is thought to bear close connection to income disparity. The per capita GDP in Cambodia in 2005 was \$339, with 35% of the total population of 13,090,000 living below the poverty line. Note that in Cambodia, the 2004 measure for poverty was set at less than approximately US \$0.45 per person per day. Of the total population, 85% are rural dwellers, and many households still make a living today by small farms and rice cultivation (UNICEF 2007).

Regarding the larger issue of urban and rural disparity, the public and private pre-school systems at the foundation of Cambodian centralized early childhood education have historically been advantageous to wealthy urban populations in terms of access. For rural and remotely located populations and the urban poor, however, access is comparatively limited. This is one of the reasons given by Save the Children Norway for their support of community-based early childhood education (Save the Children Norway 2001). For example, access is limited in the border provinces of Thailand and Laos, particularly in Mondulkiri, where there is a large gap compared to the capital and surrounding areas. Many six-year olds are not currently in school, and in areas where a high rate of first-year primary school students who must repeat that year has been observed, access to early childhood education is limited (MOEYS & EFA 2005). For children in adverse situations, it is hard for children to handle the demands of primary education without having participated in early childhood education. This signals that disparities in early childhood education are likely to be linked to disparities in primary education.

While the current community pre-school and HBEP systems promoted by the Ministry of Education are inexpensive ways to encourage efficient early childhood education, they also result in the emergence of new disparities between localities. The government promotes these programs under the assumption that each community will raise their own funds to realize them. It says that it cannot increase its budget allocation for early childhood education, which is benefiting the wealthy classes today. Government policies demonstrate a

commitment towards primary education, which in effect shows that early childhood education is not a priority. In many places, communities cannot rely on funds from the Ministry of Education, and they take on the burden of conforming to the state's early childhood education policies by using their own resources, or soliciting the help of NGOs and donors. At the same time, in provinces that are not supported by donors such as UNICEF, the rate at which community pre-schools and HBEPs are being established is falling behind. In the future, Cambodia will have to deal with the lack of political will to expand the Education Ministry's early childhood education programs, the lack of trainers at the provincial and district levels, and the fact that not enough provinces are targeted to establish community pre-schools.⁴

There is also the issue of disadvantaged areas, regions and remote places that have never had State pre-schools, as well as residential areas of the urban poor. Here, early childhood education programs have depended on the support of NGOs. Though not authorized by the government, these community pre-schools function as daycare centers and provide early childhood education for children in disadvantaged areas. There are two needs to be fulfilled regarding daycare in communities of the urban poor. The first is the need for a place where parents can feel safe leaving their children while they work (daycare centers in Japan fulfill this function), and second is the need for a place to safely nurture their children's development. In the future, as more people migrate from rural to urban areas in search of work opportunities, and the number of slum communities increases, we predict that the needs of the urban poor for daycare services will continue to rise. CYR (2007) emphasizes the importance of childcare and education in city slums, saying, "Children hit by trucks while their parents are at work, a family of 26, including relatives and acquaintances, living in a shabby house, children contributing to the household income through salvaging and day labor... We see a lot of distress that cannot be ignored." The Cambodian attitude regarding child-rearing is that, in poor families with no income or time to spare, or in families with too many children, parents will care for children while they are infants, but once the children begin to walk, they will leave the eldest child in charge. As the migration from rural to urban areas in search of employment progresses, we predict that demand for daycare will increase. Daycare for the poor, in particular, will be necessary both for child development and for reducing the number of poor households. Unfortunately, support for the idea of daycare as a way to enable parents to work is still weak in Cambodia.

UNICEF (2007) evaluates the six target provinces to which it provides early childhood educational support by observing children one year before they begin primary school and again directly before. They study children in

four categories: those who have attended state pre-schools, community pre-schools, and HBEPs, and those who have not participated in early childhood education. It is a joint study meant to analyze the effectiveness and efficiency of community pre-schools and HBEPs. The results are as follows: 1) Children who have participated in early childhood education appear to be more developed than those who have not; 2) The development of children who have attended state pre-schools is better than that in any other category; 3) No difference could be observed between the development of children who attended community pre-school and those who participated in HBEPs; 4) In all categories, children showed development over one year, and higher levels of development were recorded in children with childhood education than in those without; 5) The disparities between provinces seen during the pre-tests (development was especially low in provinces near border areas) basically disappeared during the post-tests; 6) In terms of three factors regarding mothers -- educational level, place of residence, and whether or not they received early childhood education -- children's development level was particularly low in the case of mothers whose educational levels were low, who were living in remote areas, and who had not received early childhood education.

(2) Regional disparities evident from surveys

We will now address the regional disparities in early childhood education found in the results of a survey conducted between December 2007 and February 2008 in Phnom Penh and Kompong Thom Province. The survey targeted 100 pre-school teachers regarding the pre-school environment, and 200 mothers of pre-schoolers regarding the family environment. Participants were randomly selected through pre-schools to secure an adequate representation for each area. In order to focus on regional disparities, the analysis below was based on the total data collected separately from urban and rural areas.

Table 1 shows whether or not picture books were available at the pre-schools. Over 80% of teachers in both urban and rural areas said that their pre-schools had a number of picture books available; in urban areas, however, only 15.9% said that the schools had enough picture books, and in urban areas, only 5.4% said the same. While no one in urban areas said that picture books were unavailable in their school, in rural areas, 13.5% said that picture books were unavailable.

A gap can be observed not only in terms of picture books but also regarding water and toilets. Because pre-schools teach children about sanitation and waste, facilities for running water and toilets are necessary. Table 2 shows whether or not running water and toilets were available. According to this, 95.2% of teachers in urban areas replied positively that a clean toilet and water were available, but about half of the teachers in

Table 1: Existence of picture books in pre-schools (by region)

	Urban		Rural	
	N	%	N	%
No picture books	0	0.0%	5	13.5%
Some picture books	53	84.1%	30	81.1%
Adequate number of picture books	10	15.9%	2	5.4%
Total	63	100.0%	37	100.0%

$$\chi^2 = 10.67 \text{ d.f.}=2 \text{ p}<0.01$$

rural areas said that they had no toilet, or that it was locked or dirty. This shows a significant difference between urban and rural pre-schools. Table 3 displays

whether or not sufficient water for drinking and washing is available to the children at school; again, a significant difference can be observed.

Table 2: Toilets and water in the pre-school

	Urban		Rural	
	N	%		%
No toilet, locked, or is dirty	0	0.0%	18	48.6%
Clean toilet is available, but there is no water	3	4.8%	7	18.9%
Clean toilet is available, AND there is water	60	95.2%	12	32.4%
Total	63	100.0%	37	100.0%

$$\chi^2 = 48.09 \text{ d.f.}=2 \text{ p}<0.001$$

Table 3: Availability of water in pre-schools

	Urban		Rural	
	Number	%	Number	%
Drinking water and washing water are inadequate	7	11.1%	16	43.2%
Either drinking or washing water is available and adequate	14	22.2%	15	40.5%
Both drinking water and washing water are available and adequate	42	66.7%	6	16.2%
Total	63	100.0%	37	100.0%

$$\chi^2 = 25.52 \text{ d.f.}=2 \text{ p}<0.001$$

Table 4: How often parents read to their children at home

	Urban		Rural	
	Number	%	Number	%
Never	62	50.0%	47	62.7%
Rarely	42	33.9%	17	22.7%
Sometimes	5	4.0%	9	12.0%
Usually	15	12.1%	2	2.7%
Total	124	100.0%	75	100.0%

$$\chi^2 = 12.43 \text{ d.f.}=3 \text{ p}<0.01$$

The above reflects the disparity in the availability of picture books in pre-schools; we can also observe differences in urban and rural areas when it comes to family environment. After a survey of the mothers of preschool children, the results of how often parents read to their children at home are presented in Table 4. In urban areas, 50% of the families said "never," compared to 62.7% in rural areas. In urban areas, 12.1% said "usually," compared to 2.7% in rural areas, confirming a significant statistical gap. We believe that this degree of

disparity has a high probability of manifesting itself as a gap in linguistic ability and becoming even more tangible in the future.

Regarding school environment, and whether or not adequate classroom space exists, no difference was confirmed between rural and urban areas. One explanation for this could be that the demand for pre-schools in urban areas is high, and many urban pre-schools accept a high number of children lots of children, whereas there is a relative lack of preschoolers in rural

areas. There is thus no gap in the amount of classroom space available in rural and urban areas.

6. Conclusion: Multiple Disparities in Cambodia

Disparities in Cambodian's early childhood educational system are not limited to class or region; differences also exist within and between the four types of early childhood education. These are closely related to family income, and these income disparities are prominently reflected in choice of pre-school. Nearly all Private Pre-Schools have expensive fees and high quality facilities, teachers and teaching materials. Compared to Private Pre-schools, the fees of public and community pre-schools are considered to be cheaper and the education to be of a low quality. The monthly fees of Private Pre-Schools are between just a few dollars to a hundred dollars. state pre-schools are either free, or cost about 10,000 Riel (\$2.50); attendance choices are thus easily influenced by the income gap. Even if pre-schools need to cover operating costs in poor or rural areas, they are not necessarily able to collect the fees. Thus, the wealthy go to private schools, the poor go to public schools, and in areas without access to schools, providing early childhood education by setting up community pre-schools and HBEPs is a rational choice. However, early childhood education attendance rates are low at 15.1% (MOEYS 2007b), so it is thought that the poor are choosing not to send their children to school, regardless of what types are available to them.

According to a UNICEF survey on community pre-schools, 1) The number of children registered at community pre-schools is greater than the number that continue to attend them (registered children: 26, attending children: 16); 2) One reason for children failing to attend school is the school's inability to distribute pocket money (100 Riel) for them to spend on sweets during their break, which are provided to motivate the children to attend school; 3) During community events, such as the Commune Council election, community pre-schools are closed, and whether or not classes are held depends on whether teachers are available; 4) Everything depends on the teachers, and they receive hardly any support from the community; 5) The level of early childhood education services depends heavily on the teacher's personality and background, such as education level, training and will; 6) Many locations used for community pre-schools are unsanitary, small, or lacking in partitions, and storage for teaching materials can be inadequate; 7) The condition of facilities and infrastructure affects the quality of learning materials and creative activities, but how they affect the quality of education, such as care provided and language, games and social development is unclear; 8) While teachers in community pre-schools create a socially appropriate environment (for example, encouraging

dancing and singing, giving children the chance to speak, and teaching them how to calculate numbers) there are practically no cases in which teaching materials drawn from the natural environment, and that cost nothing, are used; 9) Children's learning and development are not evaluated; 10) Teachers show satisfaction in their jobs and want further training; and 11) Facilities and transportation methods, storage of teaching materials, and difficulties in mixing children of different ages are issues that must be confronted in order to properly deal with problems with student attendance (UNICEF 2007).

Regarding the education level of mothers, the percentage of mothers who had not received an education was seen to be higher among those whose children were not in early childhood education (28%) compared to those whose children were in early childhood education via community pre-schools and HBEPs (20%). Even in the case of mothers who had received an education but whose children were not participating in early childhood education, education levels were found to be lower than those of mothers whose children were taking part in early childhood education. Furthermore, the education levels of mothers in remote areas (such as the provinces of Oddar Meanchey and Stung Treng) were found to be lower than those of mothers in other areas, and their children tended not to be enrolled in early childhood education. This suggests that educational opportunities are limited for both mothers and children in remote areas. We can, hence, observe the emergence of multiple disparities between regions, types of pre-schools and income levels. While it is possible to further mitigate these disparities, they are likely to become increasingly relevant in domestic policies and international aid activities in the future.

Notes

1. From an interview with Vice Director Ms. Keng Chans Sopheak, Royal University of Phnom Penh, Master of Development Studies. December 19, 2007.
2. From an interview with Mr. Keo Sarath, Save the Children Norway. December 14, 2007.
3. From an interview with former senior volunteer, Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteer (JOCV).
4. From a UNICEF interview survey. December 19, 2007.

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Author Note

Takashi HAMANO

Associate Professor, Graduate School of Humanities and
Sciences, Ochanomizu University

E-mail: hamano.takashi@ocha.ac.jp