



Strategic Evaluation Report

Education for Ethnic Minorities Program: Cambodia

September 2019

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Acknowledgements

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Thank you to Dr Jack Frawley, an evaluation expert from the University of Sydney's National Centre for Cultural Competence, for preparing this report. Dr Frawley has been closely engaged in the multi-lingual education (MLE) sector in Cambodia over the past 10 years. Dr Frawley's research has received funding from the Australian Department of Education, Science and Training Endeavour Research Fellowship, United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Aid et Action and CARE International since 2009. His contributions include designing a longitudinal research project for the Cambodia multi-lingual education (MLE) program, developing MLE indicators and assessment tools and training for the Cambodian Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport (MoEYS) and completing several on-the-ground reviews of MLE in Cambodia over the past decade which informed this evaluation report. Over the past 10 years, Dr Frawley has received grants for research on Cambodian MLE from CARE International in Cambodia, the United Nations Children's Fund, Aid et Action and the Australian Federal Government.

The views in this paper are those of the author alone and do not necessarily represent those of the CARE or its programs, or the Australian Government/any other partners.

Cover page photo: Deng is a bright ten-year old student in Ratanak Kiri. Her dad is Teacher Bao – a multi-lingual education teacher who used to be a multi-lingual education student.

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Abbreviations

| | |
|--------|--|
| CARE | Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere |
| EEM | Education for Ethnic Minorities |
| EFA | Education for All |
| GEF | Gender Equality Framework |
| HCEP | Highland Community Education Project |
| ICC | International Cooperation for Cambodia |
| INGO | International Non-Government Organisation |
| JTWG | Joint Technical Working Group |
| L1 | First language |
| L2 | Second language |
| MDG | Millennium Development Goals |
| MEAP | Multilingual Education Action Plan |
| MENAP | Multilingual Education National Action Plan |
| MLE | Multilingual Education |
| MoEYS | Ministry of Education Youth and Sport |
| NDL | Non-dominant Language |
| NGO | Non-Government Organisation |
| PCTFI | Patsy Collins Trust Fund Initiative |
| RTTC | Regional Teacher Training Centre |
| SED | Special Education Department |
| SSC | School Support Committee |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization |
| UNICEF | United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund |

Foreword

Since 2002 CARE has helped children from remote ethnic groups in Cambodia go to school and learn in their native language for the first time. The Education for Ethnic Minorities Program’s incredible success has seen it adopted by the Cambodian Government, and replicated in state schools across the country’s north-east.

At CARE, we know that education transforms lives and helps communities break free from poverty. Yet millions of children in poor communities never make it to school, or drop out before they have learned to read and write. The situation is worst for girls and ethnic minority groups. In many families, girls are expected to stay at home to help with chores instead of going to school. In northeast Cambodia, most of the population is made up of diverse ethnic minority groups. These groups speak their own languages and have almost no command of the national language Khmer. This means they are excluded from mainstream education, as Khmer is the language of the state school curriculum. The low levels of education make it nearly impossible for minority groups to find high-paying jobs, get government services, and prevent their rights being violated.

I am proud to present this evaluation report, showing the impact of CARE’s Education for Ethnic Minorities Program over the past 17 years. Donors such as the Government of Australia and the Patsy Collins Trust Fund Initiative can be very proud of the contributions they have made to the lives of ethnic minority communities in Cambodia, including to the lives of children like Ngai:

Ngai is a very shy Grade 3 student at a primary school in Ratanak Kiri. She likes learning both Khmer and Tampuan and knows both languages will be valuable to her when she is an adult:



“Khmer is my favourite subject and my mother tongue Tampuan is my second favourite. I love the beautiful sounds of the languages when I read them out loud. Going to school helps me learn to read and write and when I grow up this will help me to find a job like some other people I know. I love learning both languages because my own language is very important to me, and it’s also important to know Khmer. My biggest goal would be to be a teacher or an English translator. My hope is to graduate, get a job and earn money to support my family, especially in case someone gets sick.”

We believe in lifelong education opportunities for everyone. CAREs work in Cambodia is helping children from ethnic minorities keep learning at school and enabling them to build a life free from poverty.

Emma Tiaree

Principal Executive, Global Engagement and Programs, CARE Australia

September 2019

Executive Summary

Background

Since 2002, CARE¹ has worked in partnership with the Royal Government of Cambodia through the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport (MoEYS) and other stakeholders such as the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) to develop and implement a multi-lingual education (MLE) model within the Education for Ethnic Minorities (EEM) program. The total amount of funding contributed to this Program since 2002 is AUD17.5million by 24 donors, not including donations from the Australian public.

The MLE model aims to increase ethnolinguistic minority children's access to, and the quality of, primary and secondary education. Ethnolinguistic minorities (hereafter referred to as ethnic minorities) are groups of people who share a culture and/or ethnicity and/or language that distinguishes them from other groups of people and are either fewer in terms of number or less prestigious in terms of power than the dominant groups in the state. In Cambodia, ethnic minority groups are generally located in the five highland provinces of north-eastern Cambodia – Kratie, Mondul Kiri, Preah Vihear, Ratanak Kiri, and Stung Treng. There are 20 ethnic minority spoken languages across these five provinces. Brao, Bunong, Kavet, Kreung and Tampeun² are used as the L1 of the MLE program in the relevant provinces, with Jarai and Kuy in the process of being adopted (Ball and Smith, 2018).

CARE's mother tongue MLE model using ethnic minority languages and Khmer was piloted in Ratanak Kiri beginning in 2003 after a year's preparations and has been expanded to four additional north-eastern provinces (Mondul Kiri, Stung Treng, Kratie, and Preah Vihear) under the government's Multilingual Education National Action Plan (MENAP 2015-2018). In recent years, CARE shifted from its original role as direct implementer to that of a technical advisor to the Royal Government of Cambodia. The program is unprecedented internationally as having gone from a successful community-based initiative run by community school management committees and using community-selected teachers, to being institutionalized as part of government policy for improving access to and quality of education for ethnic minority learners.

Evaluation Purpose

CARE has provided several technical inputs to the MLE program, as well as contributing to a number of research and evaluation reports. CARE believes that there is value in synthesising both the published and unpublished documented evidence to assess the overall contribution that the EEM has made in Cambodia and to the international evidence base on MLE models. This allows CARE to profile the benefits of the model for potential replication by other governments. The case of Cambodia can be used to examine lessons learned for implementing MLE sustainably in low-income contexts. Also, a synthesis of advice to CARE and the Royal Government of Cambodia on sustainability strategies will help to ensure that the model produces benefits into the future, post-CARE support.

¹ CARE International is a global organisation. CARE Australia manages the Country Office in Cambodia on behalf of CARE International. CARE is used throughout this report to specifically refer to CARE Cambodia.

² Ethnologue lists alternative spelling of these and other languages (Eberhard et al., 2019). CARE complies with the spelling used by the government's Ministry of Planning.

Therefore, the purpose of this evaluation was to:

1. Document the **impact** of the EEM program, with a view to influencing other donors or national governments in the South East Asia region to replicate the model.
2. Document successful strategies for ensuring **sustainability** of the model through government systems.

Evaluation Methodology

The evaluation included questions focused on impact and sustainability and centred on two parts: an impact assessment, and a sustainability premise. The two key questions were:

- **Key question 1:** What have been the most significant impacts (negative/positive, intended/ unintended) of the EEM program over the past 16 years?
- **Key question 2:** How sustainable are the outcomes of the EEM program likely to be?

In Cambodia, CARE's programming includes a focus on women and girls from ethnic minorities, rural women who are denied multiple rights and women who have migrated to urban areas. Within the EEM program the MLE model aims to increase ethnic minority girls and boy's access to primary and secondary education. The document analysis undertaken for this evaluation focused specifically on MLE and therefore other programs are outside the evaluation scope.

The purpose of the evaluation tool was to conduct a desk-based review of all existing documentation to synthesize the program impact to date. Documents included, but were not limited to research and evaluation reports, project-level monitoring data, peer-reviewed journal articles, and book chapters, project-level donor reporting, project-level case studies/human interest stories, and education conference presentations by CARE staff and relevant researchers. The project level review documentation and monitoring data used to inform the evaluation findings involved key informant interviews and on-the-ground validation across the 17 year life-cycle of the program.



A process-outcome approach was adopted for this the evaluation. This involved research, review, and analysis of relevant content, primarily documents, generated during the program. The search for documents was purposeful, and the data includes program documents and online material associated with the program.

Content analysis uses a directed approach guided by a structured process. The documents included research and evaluation reports, project-level monitoring data, peer-reviewed journal articles and book chapters, project-level donor reporting, project-level case studies, conference presentations and website. The sources for these documents included CARE, MoEYS, PCTFI, UNICEF, UNESCO, DFAT Australia, INGOs, and Cambodian NGOs. An in-

between coding approach began immediately with the predetermined codes of impact and sustainability. For the evaluation question on impact, the themes of cultural heritage, partnerships, quality, access, capacity development and gender-responsive programming emerged. For the evaluation question on sustainability, the codes of risks, strategies and resources were assigned as initial coding categories.

Main findings and recommendations

Impact of the EEM program

In summary, the evaluation focused on the impact of the program in the key areas of cultural heritage, partnerships, quality, access, capacity development, and gender responsive programming. The analysis suggests a number of recommendations for model replication:

- a. **Cultural heritage:** CARE has had a significant and positive impact in recognising the primacy of the languages, cultures, traditions and customs of Cambodia's ethnic minority communities. This is evident in a variety of ways including CARE's support for resources that reflect community values and traditions, engaging with the cultures through the School Support Committee (SSC, formerly Community School Boards) recruiting ethnic minority teachers and trainees, and providing ethnic minority children with an education that is meaningful and relevant. The first recommendation is that programs must be built on the values of the people that the program serves, and respects the primacy of their languages, cultures, traditions and customs.
- b. **Partnerships:** CARE's approach to building partnerships can be described as 'soft advocacy' (Nowaczyk, 2015), but also one from the 'side' where CARE sits between the national/state level and the local/community-level (MTB-MLE, 2014). Establishing partnerships at international, national and sub-national levels has been a crucial element of CARE's program aimed at encouraging and supporting government ownership. The second recommendation is that partnerships should be purposeful, strategic, collaborative, and based on mutual trust.
- c. **Quality:** CARE has had a significant impact on the quality of the program by providing sound technical advice within the environments of community, school and policy. When these three enabling environments are harmonised, the result is a quality education. The third recommendation is that to ensure quality, a program must work consistently to engage with the community at all levels, provide technical support and assistance for the professional development of key implementers including teachers and teacher trainees, and actively contribute to policy development.
- d. **Access:** CARE's has made a direct contribution in providing equal and equitable access so that ethnic minority communities can take full advantage of an education that is culturally and linguistically appropriate. The fourth recommendation is that to facilitate access to education for marginalised groups, there must be appropriate financial support, such as scholarships, aligned with a model of education that is relevant and meaningful.
- e. **Capacity development:** CARE has contributed to improving the abilities, skills, knowledge, and expertise of stakeholders including MoEYS staff, MLE teachers, and communities. Capacity deals with the aptitudes, resources, relationships and facilitating conditions necessary to act effectively to achieve some intended purpose. The fifth recommendation is that when building capacity, a program must address the required resources, skills and knowledge, organisation, politics and power, and incentives of relevant stakeholders.

- f. **Gender-responsive programming:** CARE's focus on gender equality has had a positive impact in regard to transformative change across the three current GEF domains of agency, relations and structure. This is evidenced by increased enrolment of girls and the employment of women teachers. The sixth recommendation is that a gender-sensitive model of education builds on the principle of gender transformative actions and supports the involvement of women and girls at all levels of engagement through an application of the GEF.

Strategies for ensuring sustainability

The evaluation identified a number of strategies that are applicable to ensuring sustainability, but also mitigates the identified risks. To ensure the sustainability of the model through government systems, the following strategies are recommended:

- a. To support ownership, and promote a strong context for programs, strengthen and maintain synergistic relationships with relevant government departments, INGOs and local NGOs, organisations and communities.
- b. To ensure that relevant government department staff have a deep technical understanding of programs and are strong advocates and champions, create visible leadership structures and processes that are transformative, transparent and inclusive.
- c. To strengthen technical expertise of relevant staff, provide sufficient professional development opportunities that deepens an understanding of relevant theory and practice, policies, and curriculum. This includes mandating and strengthening the capacity of the Stung Treng Regional Teacher Training Centre (RTTC) to conduct specialised courses in MLE, including the provision of incentives.
- d. To build and strengthen local capacity and address barriers, facilitate public engagement opportunities.
- e. To develop a local knowledge base and create opportunities for further research, create partnerships with relevant institutions.

Introduction

CARE is an international development organisation fighting global poverty with an emphasis on working with women and girls to bring sustainable changes to their communities. In Cambodia, CARE's portfolio focuses on women who have migrated to urban areas, women and girls from ethnic minorities and rural women who are denied multiple rights. Since 2002, CARE has worked in partnership with the Royal Government of Cambodia through the MoEYS and other stakeholders such as the UNICEF to develop and implement an MLE model within the EEM program.



Figure 1. Language families, Cambodia (Eberhard et al., 2019)

MLE is defined as the planned and systematic use of two or more languages in a program of instruction for children. MLE programs focus on helping students build a strong educational foundation in their first language (L1) and uses this as a bridge to the new second language (L2). L1 is the language that an individual has learnt first, identifies with, knows best, uses most, and speaks and understands competently enough to learn age-appropriate academic content. MLE involves teaching initial literacy (reading and writing) in the L1, teaching an L2 as an additional language using the appropriate methodology, gradually promoting the transfer of literacy skills from L1 to L2, and progressively moving from L1 as the language of instruction to using both L1 and L2 through MLE methods. This additive approach builds a strong foundation of literacy and cognitive skills in the L1 that can be transferred to L2 (Benson & Kosonen, 2013).

This model aims to increase ethnic minority children's access to, and the quality of, primary and secondary education. Ethnic minorities are groups of people who share a culture and/or ethnicity and/or language that distinguishes them from other groups of people and are either

fewer in terms of number or less prestigious in terms of power than the dominant groups in the state. In Cambodia, ethnic minority groups are generally located in the five highland provinces of north-eastern Cambodia – Kratie, Mondul Kiri, Preah Vihear, Ratanak Kiri, and Stung Treng. There are 20 ethnic minority spoken languages across these five provinces (Fig. 1). Brao, Bunong, Kavet, Kreung and Tampeun are used as the L1 of the MLE program in the relevant provinces, with Jarai and Kuy in the process of being adopted (Ball & Smith, 2018).

CARE's mother tongue MLE model using ethnic minority languages and Khmer was piloted in Ratanak Kiri beginning in 2003 after a year's preparations and has been expanded to four additional north-eastern provinces (Mondul Kiri, Stung Treng, Kratie, and Preah Vihear) under the government's Multilingual Education National Action Plan (2015-2018). In recent years, CARE shifted from its original role as direct implementer to that of a technical advisor to the Royal Government of Cambodia. The program is unprecedented internationally as



having gone from a successful community-based initiative run by community school management committees and using community-selected teachers, to being institutionalized as part of government policy for improving access to and quality of education for ethnic minority learners.

The MLE program requires in the first instance an agreed orthography and the International Cooperation Cambodia (ICC) has been instrumental in contributing to this process for some on the MLE L1 (Benson, 2015). Other activities core to the MLE program includes development and production of textbooks, and gender and culturally-sensitive learning materials in ethnic minority languages. The

training of ethnic minority teachers, core trainers and the establishment and ongoing training of school support committees is also central. The provision of scholarships for students to attend school provides support for access to MLE programs. Ongoing evaluation through an established monitoring and evaluation framework assists in the continuous improvement of the MLE program. Since 2003, CARE's MLE program has been the focus of research and evaluation (Middelborg, 2005; Benson, 2011; Messmer, 2011; Archer Consulting, 2012; Wong & Benson, 2015; Benson, French & Khieu, 2018; Ball & Smith, 2018).

The total amount of funding contributed to this Program since 2002 is AUD17.5million by 24 donors, not including donations from the Australian public. Over the past 16 years, the Governments of Australia, Sweden, the European Union, and many private donors have contributed funds to the EEM program resulting in a successful MLE model which is positively impacting on the lives of many who are directly and indirectly involved in the program (Nowaczyk, 2015). At a private donor level, the Patsy Collins Trust Fund Initiative (PCTFI) through the 'Bending Bamboo' initiative contributed funds that focused on improving ethnic minority girls' access to relevant education and the community's support of that education, in order to address the issues of attainment, equality, quality, and empowerment (Archer Consulting, 2012).

Purpose of Evaluation

To date, CARE provided several technical inputs to the MLE program, as well as contributing to a number of research and evaluation reports (Ball & Smith, 2018; Benson, French & Khieu, 2018; Benson, Garber & French, 2017; Wong, Li & Benson, 2015; Benson, 2011; Middelborg, 2005). There is value in synthesising both the published and unpublished documented evidence to date to assess the overall contribution that the EEM has made in Cambodia and to the international evidence base on MLE models. This will allow CARE to profile the benefits of the model for potential replication by other governments. The case of Cambodia can be used to examine lessons learned for implementing MLE sustainably in low-income contexts. Also, a synthesis of advice to CARE and the Royal Government of Cambodia on sustainability strategies will help to ensure that the model produces benefits into the future, post-CARE support.

The following sections of this strategic evaluation of the EEM outline the purpose and intentions of the evaluation, the functions and scope, the approaches and procedures, key findings, recommendations, and overall conclusions. The synthesis of evidence focuses not only on outcomes but also on the processes and conditions under which they have been successful, as well as challenges experienced, and lessons learned.

The purpose of this evaluation is to:

1. Document the **impact** of the EEM program, with a view to influencing other donors or national governments in the South East Asia region to replicate the model.
2. Document successful strategies for ensuring **sustainability** of the model through government systems.

Functions and Scope of the Evaluation

The evaluation included questions focused on impact and sustainability and centred on two parts: an impact assessment, and a sustainability premise. Each part had key questions.

Part 1: Impact assessment

Key question 1: What have been the most significant impacts (negative/positive, intended/unintended) of the EEM program over the past 16 years?

1. How did the EEM program contribute to these impacts? Are any of the impacts directly attributable to the EEM program?
2. How has the EEM program's approach to gender equality/women's empowerment and culturally-sensitive education led to increased outcomes for ethnic minority girls/boys and women/men?
3. What factors have led to EEM program scale-up and decision for national government adoption of the model?

Part 2: Sustainability

Key question 2: How sustainable are the outcomes of the EEM program likely to be?

1. What are the risks to MLE model sustainability?
2. What sustainability strategies should CARE implement before handover to the Royal Government of Cambodia is complete?
3. What budget and other resources are needed for successful model implementation by the Royal Government of Cambodia, and under what conditions?

Approach and Procedures

The purpose of the evaluation tool was to conduct a desk-based review of all existing documentation to synthesize the MLE program impact to date. Documents included, but were not limited to research and evaluation reports, project-level monitoring data, peer-reviewed journal articles, and book chapters, project-level donor reporting, project-level case studies/human interest stories, and education conference presentations by CARE Cambodia staff and relevant researchers. The project level review documentation and monitoring data used to inform the evaluation findings involved key informant interviews and on-the-ground validation across the 17 year life-cycle of the program.

A process-outcome approach was adopted for this the evaluation. This involved research, review, and analysis of relevant content, primarily documents, generated during the MLE program. The search for documents was purposeful, and the data includes EEM program documents and online material associated with the program. The data analysed included:

- Briefs, guidelines and fact sheets (n=13)
- Conference presentations and workshops (n=10)
- Government policies and guidelines (n=4)
- Meeting minutes and notes (n=6)
- MTLB-MLE policies and practice literature (n=3)
- Peer-reviewed journal articles, book chapters, and books (n=16)

- Reports (n=25)
- Theses and research papers (n=2)
- Website documents (n=22)

Content analysis uses a directed approach and is guided by a structured process (Fig. 2). The documents referred to included research and evaluation reports, project-level monitoring data, peer-reviewed journal articles and book chapters, project-level donor reporting, project-level case studies, conference presentations and website. The sources for these documents included MoEYS, CARE Australia, CARE Cambodia, PCTFI, UNICEF, UNESCO, DFAT Australia, INGOs, and Cambodian NGOs.

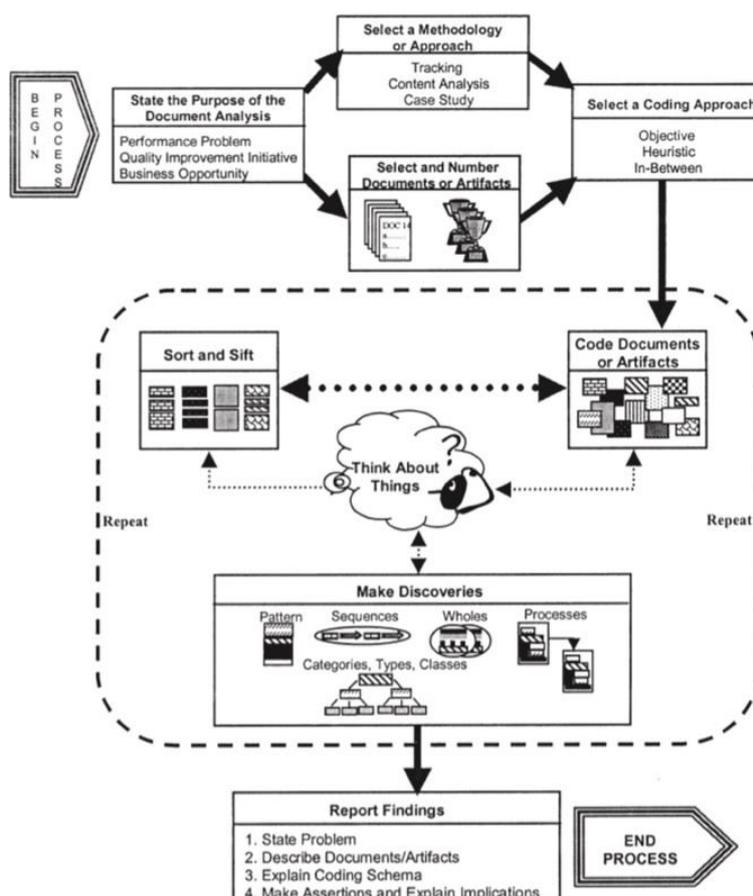


Figure 2: Document analysis process (Pershing, 2002)

An in-between coding approach began immediately with the predetermined codes of impact, and sustainability. For the evaluation question on impact, the themes of cultural heritage, partnerships, quality, access, capacity development and gender-responsive programming emerged. For the evaluation question on sustainability, the codes of risks, strategies and resources were assigned as initial coding categories. Data that could not be coded for the sustainability question were identified to determine if they represented a new category or a subcategory of an existing code.

In determining attribution and the impact of the outcome, the evaluation was informed by a contribution analysis approach (Mayne, 2001) which provided evidence and a line of reasoning from which the evaluator could draw a plausible conclusion, within some level of

confidence, on the level of attribution (direct-indirect), and the impact of the outcome (positive-moderate-negative).

Findings and analysis

Introduction

Like many NGOs and other humanitarian agencies, CARE has been guided by several programming principles that have informed and shaped development programs. CARE espouses six programming principles: promote empowerment; work with partners; address discrimination; non-violent conflict resolution. These are described as follows:

Principle 1: Promote Empowerment. We stand in solidarity with poor and marginalized people and support their efforts to take control of their own lives and fulfil their rights, responsibilities, and aspirations. We ensure that key participants and organizations representing affected people are partners in the design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of our programs.

Principle 2: Work with partners. We work with others to maximize the impact of our programs, building alliances and partnerships with those who offer complementary approaches, are able to adopt effective programming approaches on a larger scale, and/or who have responsibility to fulfil rights and reduce poverty through policy change and enforcement.

Principle 3: Ensure Accountability and Promote Responsibility. We seek ways to be held accountable to poor and marginalized people whose rights are denied. We identify individuals and institutions with an obligation toward poor and marginalized people, and support and encourage their efforts to fulfil their responsibilities.

Principle 4: Address Discrimination. In our programs and offices, we address discrimination and the denial of rights based on sex, race, nationality, ethnicity, class, religion, age, physical ability, caste, opinion or sexual orientation.

Principle 5: Promote the non-violent resolution of conflicts. We promote just and non-violent means for preventing and resolving conflicts at all levels, noting that such conflicts contribute to poverty and the denial of rights.

Principle 6: Seek Sustainable Results. As we address underlying causes of poverty and rights denial, we develop and use approaches that ensure our programs result in lasting and fundamental improvements in the lives of the poor and marginalized with whom we work. (CARE USA, 2008)

The analysis of the MLE program shows that these principles are evident in the approach to MLE programming, some more so than others, but nonetheless noticeable. While acknowledging that these principles have been 'eclipsed' by other principles and strategies, from an historical perspective these principles guided the initial development of the MLE

program and, to a certain extent, continue to do so. CARE continues to work with ethnic minorities through the MLE program and in partnership with ethnic minority communities. This empowering approach is also evident at national and sub-national levels involving collaboration and partnerships across government and NGO which at the same time works towards ensuring accountability and promoting responsibility and addressing discrimination. While Principle 5 on the promotion of non-violent resolution of conflicts on the face of it would appear irrelevant, the approach to conflict resolution per se on programming issues shows one of quiet, but forceful diplomacy by CARE. Another approach important to the MLE programming for sustainability is defined as 'change from the side' (Kosonen, 2016) where the side actors between the grassroots and the government are academics, activists, INGOs, and multilateral agencies. A principle side-actor is CARE.

Since 2002, CARE has worked in partnership with the Royal Government of Cambodia through the MoEYS and other stakeholders to develop and implement the MLE model. CARE's involvement in this intervention continues to the present and CARE's role over this period has shifted from implementer to advisor.

The evaluative criteria applied to the codes of impact and sustainability are a synthesis of themes from the content analysis process. For the evaluation question on impact these are:

1. Cultural heritage: of the MLE program's implicit and direct support for the heritage of ethnic minority groups.
2. Partnerships: of the MLE program's collaborative approach involving government, MoEYS, INGO, and communities.
3. Quality: of the MLE program in the context of school, community, and policy environments.
4. Capacity development: of the efforts made by the MLE program to improve the abilities, skills, knowledge, and expertise of stakeholders.
5. Access: of how the MLE program ensured, or at least strove to ensure, that students had equal and equitable opportunities to take full advantage of their education.
6. Gender-responsive programming: of how the MLE program reduced the barriers to education created by prejudice or discrimination based on a person's sex or gender.

Using these themes, key question one can then be reframed thus: Over the last 16 years, what have been the most significant impacts (negative/positive, intended/unintended) of the EEM program on:

1. Cultural heritage
2. Partnerships
3. Quality
4. Capacity development
5. Access
6. Gender-responsive programming



In addition to determining the most significant impacts, evidence on gender equality, and scale up factors are discussed where evidence is apparent in the key activities. When considering gender equality, activities within domains of agency, relations and/or structure are taken into account. CARE defines these domains as:

Agency: Building consciousness, confidence, self-esteem and aspirations (non-formal sphere) and knowledge, skills and capabilities (formal sphere).

Relations: The power relations through which people live their lives through intimate relations and social networks (non-formal sphere) and group membership and activism, and citizen and market negotiations (formal sphere).

Structures: Discriminatory social norms, customs, values and exclusionary practices (non-formal sphere) and laws, policies, procedures and services (formal sphere). (CARE, 2018d).

When considering scale up, the evaluation identifies the activities that have been deliberate efforts to increase the impact of the MLE program. The scaling up of programs aims 'to benefit more people and to foster policy and programme development on a lasting basis' (WHO, 2010, p. 2).

For the evaluation question on sustainability, the codes of risks, strategies and resources were assigned as initial coding categories and are aligned to the following questions:

1. What are the risks to MLE model sustainability?
2. What sustainability strategies should CARE implement before handover to the Royal Government of Cambodia is complete?
3. Resources: What budget and other resources are needed for successful model implementation by the Royal Government of Cambodia, and under what conditions?

Part One

This evaluation focuses specifically on MLE since its inception and therefore other programs are outside the analysis. The recipients of the impact include government, MoEYS, teachers, ethnic minority girls and boys, and ethnic minority communities.

This evaluation considers impact on cultural heritage, partnerships, quality, access, capacity development, and gender responsive programming. In considering each of these themes, the factors of contribution, gender equality, and scale up are taken into account. For each of these factors, the summary considers the evidence of CARE's impact by providing a description of key activities, the level of attribution (direct-indirect), and the impact of the outcome (positive-moderate-negative). These impacts are detailed below.

The overarching question for this part of the evaluation was: *What have been the most significant impacts (negative/positive, intended/ unintended) of the EEM program over the past 16 years?*

1. Cultural heritage

The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage was established by UNESCO in 2003, to provide international recognition of the role that intangible cultural heritage plays in the practices and identity of the world’s ethnic minority peoples. The definition of intangible cultural heritage includes oral traditions and expressions, and language (UNESCO, 2003).

What have been the most significant impacts of the EEM program on cultural heritage?

| Summary | | |
|-----------------|---|---------------------|
| Factor | Key activities | Attribution, impact |
| Contribution | Ethnic minority perspectives and values in educational resources. | Direct, positive |
| | Training of ethnic minority teachers. | Direct, positive |
| | Community engagement, especially SSC. | Direct, positive |
| Gender equality | Women’s membership of SSC | Direct, positive |
| | Ethnic minority female teachers and trainees | Direct, positive |
| | Ethnic minority girls’ enrolment | Direct, positive |
| Scale-up | Expansion of MLE | Direct, positive |

CARE’s foundation program, the Highland Community Education Project (HCEP), was based on respect for ethnic minority cultures, enabling the preservation of ethnic minority languages and traditions (Middelborg, 2005). MLE curriculum and materials include ethnic minority perspectives and values which contribute to the maintenance and development of traditional culture and lifestyles (Benson, 2011). Over the years teaching materials and books reflect each culture, and by doing so contribute to the preservation of ethnic minority languages (Nowaczyk, 2015; Benson & Wong, 2016; Noorlander, 2018). Ethnic minority teachers can connect to their community, culture, and traditions (Siren, 2009). In turn, this has helped to retain and value ethnic minority culture and identity (CARE, n.d.[e]).

At the 2018 Joint Technical Working Group (JTWG), the minutes state that Minister for Education Youth and Sport, H E Dr Hang Chong Naron, affirmed the view that MLE is an important way to understand better what ethnic minority groups value, and that MLE had an important role in preserving ethnic minority culture (De Grauwe, 2018). At the community level, SSC viewed MLE as a valuable means of preserving the local culture and language (Benson, Garber & French, 2017). Comments of an MLE teacher illustrate this:

Nelkea’s 27-year-old teacher said he could not speak Khmer as a young boy. “I could not speak Khmer up to nearly 10 years old when I started school in Grade 1,” he said. “School was all in Khmer ... I am proud of the multilingual education system because it demonstrates attention given by the Government, CARE and UNICEF to ethnic groups which were neglected for so long and whose language and culture were negatively affected during the period of turmoil and conflict,” he said. “Multilingual education books have many stories related to ethnic groups’ culture and traditions which make them feel familiar with the school.” (UNICEF, 2017)

Benson (2106) states that to maximise MLE impact on girls' impacts enrolment, retention, and performance, teachers need gender sensitive pedagogy³ training, teaching staff should have an equal balance of men and women, and that women should be involved in, and have representation on the SSC. From the outset, CARE has recognised the primacy of ethnic minority cultures and the participation of ethnic minority girls and women. This is reflected in the MLE program in a variety of ways including resources that reflect the community values and traditions, engaging with the cultures through the SSC, and recruiting ethnic minority teachers and trainees with a focus on the participation of women. From a gender equality perspective, these activities cross-cut the domains of agency, in that ethnic minority women and girls' confidence, self-esteem, aspirations and abilities are being attended to; relations, in an increase of participation through social networks and group networks such as the SSC; and, structures through the inclusion of women in non-formal and formal practices. The scaling up of the MLE program to include five ethnic minority languages, with the possibility of two further languages, indicates MoEYS support for ethnic minority children's educational opportunities, and highlight CARE's direct impact on upholding the primacy of ethnic minority cultures.

2. Partnerships

Partnerships may be defined as a collaboration between two or more entities with a commitment to move forward or reach a common objective. Partnerships do not imply an equal distribution of power, resources, skills, and responsibilities.

In a partnership arrangement, a government may contribute public funding; infrastructure; political will and support; the power to create and enforce laws, regulations, policies, and procedures; and the power and formal authority (given them by the electorate) to speak to national vision and values. Civil society may contribute the ability to mobilize local resources; participation and access to informal networks; flexible structure and procedures; a closer understanding and emotional commitment to community issues and concerns; and a community-based self-help attitude (Edgar et al., 2006, p. 7)

What have been the most significant impacts of the EEM program on partnerships?

| Summary | | |
|-----------------|---|----------------------|
| Factor | Key activities | Attribution, impact |
| Contribution | Government partnership, generally MoEYS | Direct, positive |
| | Donors | Direct, positive |
| | INGOs and local NGOs | Direct, positive |
| | MoEYS, specifically SED | Direct, intermediate |
| Gender equality | PCTFI program | Direct, positive |
| Scale-up | MLE program through partnerships | Direct, intermediate |

³ 'Gender-sensitive pedagogy', refers to the pedagogical measures deployed to reach gender and equity goals, ensuring that all students have equal opportunities to learn and that stereotypical gender roles do not impose limitations on development. Strategies include providing gender-sensitive curriculum and materials to deconstruct girls' gender stereotypes in school (Nabbuye, 2018; Karlson & Simonsson, 2011).

The program has worked in partnership with the Cambodian government and been supported by international governments and private donors including Australia, PCTFI and the European Union to increase the number of ethnic minority students in obtaining a primary and secondary education⁴. At a donor level, CARE has worked in partnership with PCTFI in creating educational opportunities for minority girls. At a Cambodian government level, and over time, there has been a succession of memorandums of understanding between INGOs, including CARE, that supported the organising of educational projects in north-eastern provinces (Kosonen & Young, 2009). This has created a synergy at national and sub-national levels between a range of partners (Benson & Wong, 2016) resulting in bridging the gaps from experimentation to implementation, creating pathways for community schools to transform into state schools with qualified ones, integrating L1-based MLE into the formal education system of Cambodia, and enhancing the necessary skills and capabilities of the relevant key implementers (Benson & Wong, 2017; Kosonen & Young, 2016).

Over time, a collaboration between the partners—CARE, ICC and later UNICEF—and the provincial and national offices of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport (MoEYS), has led to the passing of a number of decrees and other legal documents to protect and expand MLE ... It is the institutionalizing of MLE through the synergistic relationship built between CARE, the communities, the schools, the provincial education offices (POEs) and MoEYS that makes the case of Cambodia so special (Wong & Benson, 2019).

The partnership between INGOs, in particular, CARE and ICC, and UNICEF resulted in the officially approved orthographies and materials for five languages currently used in the MLE program: Tampuan, Kreung, Brao, Phnong and Kavet (Benson, 2011). These partnerships facilitated the structural and policy-level dialogue required to endorse MLE policy and implementation (Sandberg, 2017).

While there were different approaches to working with government by the INGOs, from 'soft' advocacy (Nowaczyk, 2015) to a firmer approach of lobbying the government for a policy framework and acceptance of the MLE model there was unity in the aim of ensuring that all the ethnic minorities could benefit from the EEM program. In this approach, UNICEF was a useful and influential ally (UNICEF, 2014).



CARE's collaboration and long-standing relationship with the Cambodian Government has been a significant contributor to the success of CARE's program, and this has developed over time informed by strong monitoring and evaluation processes. In close work with MoEYS, POE, and UNICEF, CARE

⁴ In 2008 the EEM was subcontracted by World Education to support ethnic minority students in secondary education over a two-year arrangement.

has generated an exceptional level of ownership at national, sub-national and local levels to ensure the success and sustainability of MLE (Wong et al., 2017). Partnerships between the government and INGOs have been built on good communication and a high level of trust:

Good communication and collaboration have characterized the relationship built in Cambodia between CARE and UNICEF, and a high level of trust has been built between these organizations and with MoEYS and the POEs. These relationships are pivotal in the success and sustainability of MLE in Cambodia. In recent years, and particularly with the agreement on MENAP, CARE and UNICEF have adopted very clearly defined and specific roles that strategically support MoEYS in moving the MLE agenda forward. While UNICEF draws from its strengths in state policy and MLE institutionalization, CARE International has spearheaded technical assistance and capacity building that ensures successful MLE implementation on the ground. ICC, a third NGO partner, has played an important role in developing appropriate languages for MLE use, and has been a great resource for teaching and learning materials for formal MLE as well as non-formal L1 literacy needs. The synergistic collaboration between NGOs and the government that has developed in Cambodia appears to ensure both the quality and the longevity of MLE in Cambodia—and potentially in the region, depending on how these organizations and governments influence each other (Wong & Benson, 2019)

Establishing partnerships at international, national and sub-national levels has been a crucial element of CARE's program with these partnerships resulting in various outcomes. This has included resources, technical assistance, policy development, and encouraging and supporting government ownership of MLE. Historically, CARE planned actions in partnership with MoEYS to increase the scalability of MLE from the development of policy to the MENAP (2015-2018), and the current Multilingual Education Action Plan (MEAP, 2019-2023). The technical advice and technical assistance provided by CARE, assisted MoEYS taking ownership of MLE through the Special Education Department (SED) and increased the capacity of SED to implement MLE although support still needs to be continued.

From a gender perspective, the partnership with the PCTFI has resulted in ethnic minority girls having access to an education that they can now understand and spending the same amount of time studying because boys are increasingly helping with chores at home (CARE 2013a). These outcomes address the domains of agency and structure in that girls' aspirations knowledge, skills and capabilities are being met, and that girls are now accessing a meaningful education in larger numbers.

In regard to vertical scaling up, CARE provided technical advice and assistance which was required for MLE to be institutionalised at the national and sub-national levels. The productive partnerships facilitated by CARE has resulted in the government enshrining MLE in law with the proclamation of Prakas 48 *Identification of Language for Learners of Khmer Nationality and Ethnic Minority Origin*, and with the subsequent development and support of the *Bilingual Education Guidelines (2010)*, the *Education Sector Plan 2014-2018* and the *Multilingual Education National Action Plan (MENAP)* which anchored MLE in the MoEYS policies and strategic plans. CARE mobilised support and reduced opposition through partnerships underlined by a 'soft' advocacy approach (Nowaczyk, 2015) with influential

individuals across organisations including government, MoEYS, INGOs, NGOs, national and international universities.

3. Quality

The theme of quality considers the role of program in facilitating interactions between three overlapping environments of community, school and policy (Fig. 3). The enabling community environment includes processes of community engagement and 'voice,' parental support for learning, parental literacy, and communities as places of study. The enabling school environment includes methods of school-based professional development, structured pedagogy, community support for schools, school/community partnerships, and infrastructure and resources. The enabling policy environment includes teacher training, salaries and incentives; assessment, monitoring and evaluation; a relevant and inclusive curriculum; textbook procurement and distribution; and targeted financial support for schools (Tikly, 2011).

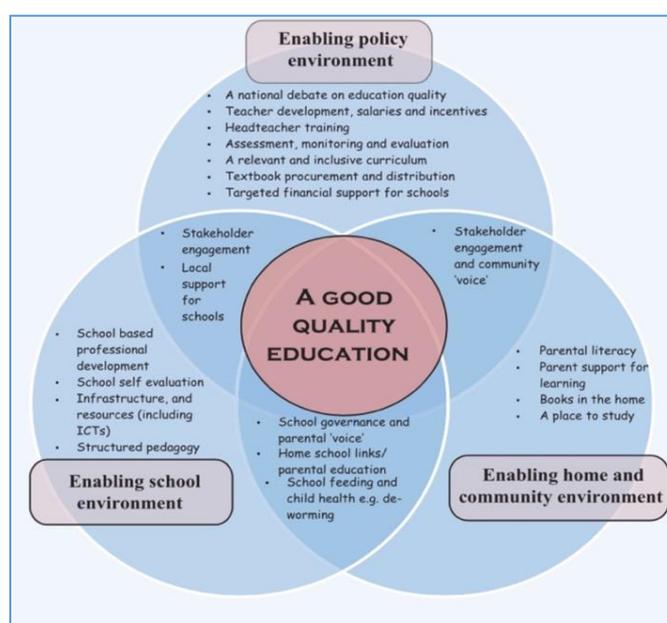


Figure 3. A framework for understanding quality (Tikly, 2011)

These three enabling environments are aligned with the 2000 Dakar Framework for Action which affirmed that quality was at the heart of education, and as such determined student enrolment, retention and achievement rates. A good quality education is the result of the three enabling environments working together.

What have been the most significant impacts of the EEM program on quality?

| SUMMARY | | |
|--------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Factor | Key activities | Attribution, impact |
| Contribution | Engagement with community environment | Direct, positive |
| | Support for SSC | Direct, positive |
| | Professional development | Direct, positive |
| | Quality programs | Direct, moderate |

| | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|------------------|
| Gender equality | Enrolment by girls | Direct, positive |
| Scale-up | Expansion of MLE to Grade 6 | Direct, moderate |

The MLE program's contribution to enabling a community environment focuses on the role in which the program engaged with communities, and the impact that this engagement had on communities. Early research showed that communities were enthusiastic about the benefits of the MLE program, principally the improvement in children's behaviours and respectful attitudes (Middelborg, 2005). Later research (Wong & Benson, 2019; Kosonen, 2019; Benson & Wong, 2017; Wong & Benson, 2015; Benson, 2011) conclude that the MLE program has established a strong education foundation by establishing community support and ownership through the creation of community schools and SSC. The result is that communities better understand the advantages of education:

But it's hard to deny the impact made to date. Having lived in the same rural area in Ratanak Kiri his whole life, 64-year-old Dar Song says the programme has changed the reality for his Tampeun village. "Now the community better understands the advantages of education," he says. "And all of the children have access to school." (Asialife, 2016)

The program's contribution to enabling a school environment is evident in its support for the professional development of teachers and the communities through the SSC. As a result, teachers have become more resourceful and creative in their teaching leading to a stronger connection with communities, and the community's culture (Siren, 2009). Training workshops have also built the capacity of the SSC members:

A school support committee member, of a primary school in the north-east of Cambodia, is reaping the benefits of a series of workshops on multilingual education capacity building ... 23-year-old Lem Neuy, a mother with one daughter, has attended workshops, to support out of school children in her community to get an education. She is from the Kroeung ethnic minority, which has a different language and traditions. Her committee has been taught about the MLE program, so they can support the school through monitoring student and teacher attendance, following up on why there might be absences, and encouraging parents to send their children to the school by telling them about the importance of the program. Neuy says multilingual education, is a great way to remove barriers to education faced by out of school children, whose first language is not the national language. "Through the workshops, I am able to support the teacher, since I know when she shall use Khmer and Kroeung, respectively. I know about the number of textbooks used in multilingual education. As a result of meetings on the importance of this for our community, parents have sent all their school-age children to the multilingual education class," she said. "Through information sharing and classes in their own language, children in the community learn faster. They are able to read and write in Kroeung language. They can sing songs in Kroeung. They are braver." She says, "Now I have noticed that teachers and students come to school regularly thanks to the pretty

surrounding environment and efforts by the committee to pay visits to collect students from their households.” Neuy hopes that the school support committee and the community become more involved and that better relationships between the school and the community will exist so that more children will be enrolled in the school. She hopes that students from her community will graduate from Grade 12 or continue their study at university so as to preserve their identity, culture and traditions (Aide et Action, 2016)

While acknowledging the limitations of the narrow view of quality, some reference can be made to L1 student achievement, and enrolment. Tikly (2011, p. 3) states that:

there is no universally accepted definition of education quality ... The indicators of education quality that are most commonly used by governments and international agencies, including completion and survival rates and scores in standardised tests, often lead to a narrow view of quality that does not capture the range of possible outcomes that may be required by learners in the global era or an indication of the underlying processes.

There has been only limited research on MLE student achievement, specifically a 10-year longitudinal study commenced in 2009 in one province only (Lee, Watt & Frawley, 2015). Data from this research was further analysed at the mid-point (Krause & Joglekar, 2016). Benson and Wong (2017) concluded that the L1 does not detract significantly from learning Khmer, and that the L1 offers some advantage in mathematics learning. In their analysis, the greatest limitation of the data was that:

the L1 was not assessed. Assessment of L1 proficiency demonstrates what students have learned in the L1 that is potentially transferable, including non-linguistic content. According to Cummins (2000), oral and written L2 acquisition is mediated by L1 proficiency. In this case, L2 literacy results are difficult to compare due to differences in learners’ exposure to oracy in the L2 and literacy in the L1. If L1 literacy could be assessed for MLE learners and even for non-MLE learners we would develop a clearer picture of their language development (Benson & Wong, 2017, p. 11).

Until this occurs, then the impact on learning and literacy can only be conjecture.

By equating access with gross/net enrolment, a comparison of 2004 enrolment rates with 2018 enrolment rates, expressed as percentage, in Ratanak Kiri shows a vast improvement overall (Fig. 4) (Ball & Smith, 2018).

| Rates | 2004 | 2018 |
|--|------|-------|
| Gross enrolment rate - Primary (total) | 72.2 | 140.9 |
| Net enrolment rate – primary | 59.6 | 99.4 |
| Gross enrolment rate – girls | 59.6 | 140.1 |
| Net enrolment rate – girls | 46.4 | 99.0 |

Fig. 4 Comparison of Ratanak Kiri enrolment rates: primary and girls (MoEYS 2004 in Middelborg, 2005; MoEYS, 2018; Ball & Smith, 2018)

The program’s contribution to enabling a policy environment is apparent through the MLE strategy of community recruitment and special training of minority language speakers as teachers and building capacity among teachers from local language (Young, 2011). With the adoption of the *Bilingual Education Guidelines* in 2010, Cambodia was the first country in the region to incorporate MLE into official policy (Benson, 2011), and this ongoing support has been ratified in the MENAP (2015-2018) and the current development of MEAP (2019-2023). CARE has developed textbooks and teaching materials and an impressive set of MLE learning resources (Benson, 2011).

These three enabling environments working in harmony result in a good quality education. The recent evaluation of the MENAP 2015-2018 (Ball & Smith, 2018) highlight the fulfillment of Khmer children's right to 'quality' education which is understandable and meaningful resulting in more children engaged in learning in and beyond the classroom. Within the community environment CARE has worked consistently to engage with the community at all levels, especially by encouraging and supporting the community’s ‘voice’, used here to refer to:

the values, opinions, beliefs, perspectives, and cultural backgrounds of the people in a district, school, or school community—especially students, teachers, parents, and local citizens—as well as the degree to which those values, opinions, beliefs, and perspectives are considered, included, listened to, and acted upon when important decisions are being made in a district or school (Great Schools Partnerships, 2014).

Within the school environment the MLE program has had a positive impact through CARE’s support for the professional development of MLE teachers, and for the professional development needs of the SSC. There has also been positive impact within the policy environment evidenced by government regulations and MoEYS guidelines, policies and action plans’ however, there has been some reluctance to address specific technical advice informed by sound research evidence. This has had a moderate impact on the quality of the program. For example, research evidence shows that only well-resourced programs that use the L1 as medium of instruction for a minimum of six years provides students with an equal chance of becoming sufficiently proficient in the L2 (Benson & Wong, 2017; Heugh, 2006). Recommendations by CARE and UNICEF consultants, primarily Benson (2011) and Wong and Benson (2015) for a trial to extend the MLE program to Grade 6 in a small sample of schools has either been ignored or resisted despite the efforts of MLE experts, and evidence-based research. Nevertheless, there has been a significant scale-up since 2003 with MLE now across five provinces that include five L1, with plans for further expansion to Jarai and Kuy languages.

From a gender perspective, the provision of a quality program has had an impact across the gender equality domains especially in regard to structure. While not yet achieving parity, there has been a stable enrolment rate for girls, expressed as a percentage, since 2003 (Fig. 5) inclusive of the MLE programs across the five provinces. On the face of it, this shows that girls are being included and are participating in the MLE program.

| 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 45.3 | 45.5 | 45.7 | 47.1 | 47.1 | 52.2 | 47.4 | 47.9 | 46.7 | 38.6 | 45.1 | 49.5 | 46.9 | 46.8 | 47.4 |

Figure 5. Enrolment rate of girls expressed as a percentage since the inception of the MLE program (CARE, 2018)

4. Capacity development

Capacity deals with the aptitudes, resources, relationships and facilitating conditions necessary to act effectively to achieve some intended purpose, such as an intervention, and has a focus on resources, skills and knowledge, organisation, politics and power, and incentives (Brinkerhoff, 2010). Capacity development, in the context of the program, has a focus on improving the abilities, skills, knowledge, and expertise of stakeholders. The significant stakeholders identified in this analysis are MoEYS including the system, the department, and staff at national, sub-national and local levels; MLE teachers; and communities consisting of committees, parents and students.

What have been the most significant impacts of the EEM program on capacity development?

| SUMMARY | | |
|-----------------|--|---------------------------|
| Factor | Key activities | Attribution, significance |
| Contribution | Technical advice and assistance to MoEYS on expansion of MLE. | Direct, positive |
| | Technical advice to MoEYS on Bilingual Guidelines (2010), and MENAP (2015-2018). | Direct, positive |
| | Technical advice to SED on MEAP (2019-2023). | Direct, intermediate |
| | Building and strengthening staff capacity at national and sub-national levels. | Direct, positive |
| | Teach pre-service, in-service and on-going training. | Direct, positive |
| | Training of core-trainers. | Direct, positive |
| | Strengthening local communities. | Direct, positive |
| Gender equality | Gender sensitive professional development. | Direct, positive |
| Scale-up | Supporting government ownership. | Direct, positive |

Since the inception of pilot community schools in 2002, CARE has operated within a government regulatory framework (Fig. 6). In addition to government Prakas, and as a result of the CARE's advocacy and support for the ongoing development and implementation of MLE further regulations, guidelines, and plans have required CARE'S close working relationship with MoEYS. These have included the *Guidelines for Bilingual Education*, which were the first step in the Ministry officially recognizing and mainstreaming MLE; Prakas 48 on the *Identification Of Language for Learners of Khmer Nationality and Ethnic Minority Origin* which anchored MLE in the MoEYS policies and strategic plans; the *Education Sector Plan 2014-2018* which addressed the strengthening and expansion of MLE; and the *MENAP (2015-2018)* which provided a set of guidelines for the implementation of MLE.

Across these developments, CARE has worked with the support of national and sub-national authorities to expand MLE (Wong & Benson, 2019) with its real success not just in the increased number of students accessing the program, but also in MoEYS progressively taking ownership for MLE as demonstrated by the Prakas, the bilingual guidelines and the implementation of MENAP. CARE's 'soft' advocacy approaches deliberately set out to

engage with the ministry professionally, enthusiastically and respectfully at both national and subnational levels and through this relationship was able to progressively build MoEYS capacity to assume ownership of the MLE program (Nowaczyk, 2015). In addition to supporting MoEYS taking ownership of MLE, Nowaczyk (2015, p. 19) concluded CARE's 'soft advocacy' approach contributed to the development and implementation of MENAP (2015-2018) underpinned by its 'high-quality research on multilingual education effectiveness in the north-eastern provinces and guided by international standards and best practices'. This approach and resulting relationship have been viewed in research conducted by Perdue University and State University of New York as crucial factors for both the implementation and the long-term sustainability of the project (Wright & Boun, 2016).

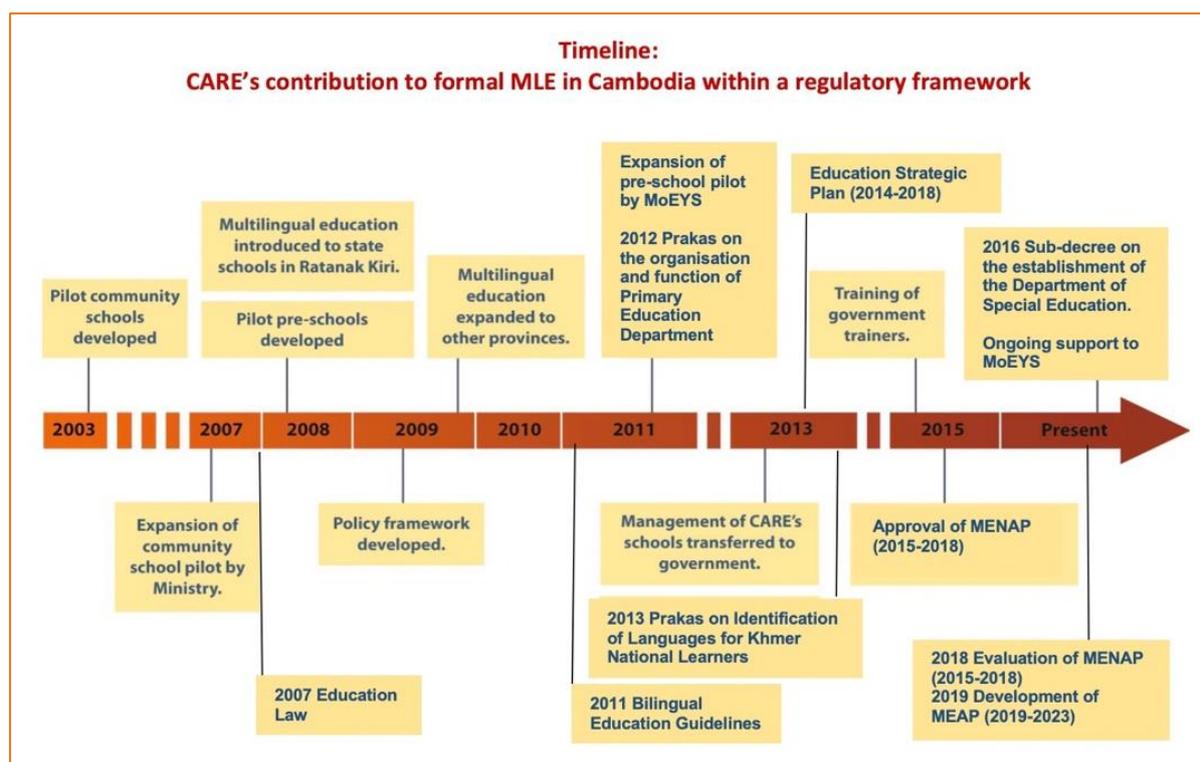


Figure 6. CARE's contribution to formal MLE within a regulatory framework (adapted from Noorlander, 2018)

Throughout this period, and within this policy and regulatory framework, CARE in partnership with UNICEF and International Non-Government Organisations (INGO) has worked in close consultation with the MoEYS to ensure support of MLE. Early research conducted by UNESCO (Middelborg, 2005) of the HCEP concluded that CARE played an essential part in developing an educational program on which the Government could build. Over the years since, CARE has strengthened the capacity of crucial MoEYS staff to implement MLE.

The degree to which MoEYS staff currently understand the goals and processes of bilingual education is evidence of raised awareness and experience at the central level, and UNICEF and other partners have facilitated the structural and policy-level dialogue required to bring bilingual education into this new, exciting phase of implementation (Benson, 2011, p. 34).

CARE's MLE has a sustained history of engagement with MoEYS guided by an effective and purposeful approach. Nowaczyk (2015, p. 7) identifies a number of strategies that CARE applied:

- Keep government of officials informed in the early stages and move towards deeper involvement as the results of the project become available, allowing them to observe first-hand, engage with the issues and observe the results.
- Train staff at all levels on responsive advocacy strategies and develop creative approaches to working with government.
- Build the capacity of government to be able to take ownership.
- Find champions within the government who can advocate for acceptance and understanding at high levels.

These strategies applied to the MLE program context has contributed to CARE's success in its development and implementation of the MLE.

The alignment of these principles with the Royal Government of Cambodia's laws, regulations and policies, and its commitment to the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) and Education for All (EFA), have provided an important entry point for CARE's sensitive advocacy

strategies. CARE's support for the capacity building of MoEYS staff, has resulted in the government ownership of the scale up (Noorlander, 2018; Wong et al., 2017).



Aligned with the implementation of MLE, CARE has supported teacher training, resource production, and working with communities. CARE has conducted the training of core trainers within the government structure to ensure sustainability of the program, and has recruited and trained local MLE teachers, recognising these activities as integral and valuable element to meet the professional needs of both the government and the community (Benson, 2011). Recruitment at the community level recognises that community members are invaluable assets because of their 'intimate knowledge of the communities in which they work, as well as to their fluency both in Khmer and their mother tongue' (Middelborg, 2005, p. 2).

CARE has supported the MoEYS by ensuring that more teachers are trained and available to teach in schools in ethnic minority communities, and that teacher trainers can undertake this. The number of trained teachers has risen from 13 in 2003 to 226 in 2017 (Prak, 2017) representing a very significant achievement⁵. Teachers are an essential element in achieving quality education for MLE students and to accomplish this requires equipping teachers with the right skills and knowledge. Within MLE it has been long recognised that L1 teachers are well placed to contribute to effective MLE programs because they speak the same language as children. MLE teachers should have a good understanding of child development and child-centred teaching methods. To achieve this, CARE has provided timely, relevant and quality pre-service, in-service and on-going training. From the outset,

⁵ At the time of writing, 2018 data was not available. This data was not disaggregated by sex.

CARE has emphasized the recruitment of local L1 teachers because of their extensive and relevant knowledge of the communities in which they work, as well as to their fluency both in L1 and Khmer (Middelborg, 2005). To illustrate this, CARE reports on the experiences of a community teacher:

Community teachers like Mr Yoeung Ning, from the Tampuen ethnic minority, are working to help children to access bilingual education – in their language and Khmer – through community schools. Despite having a very low level of education himself, Mr Ning was selected in 2003 by the school board and elders of his village to become a community teacher and received training through CARE’s HCEP program ... Although the life of a community teacher may seem straightforward, Mr Ning and other teachers make a huge impact - working to change the future for children in ethnic minority communities, especially girls. ‘In my opinion, working as a teacher is good, since we can educate our children for our village and our community,’ says Mr Ning (CARE, 2013b).

CARE data shows the impact that this has in increasing the number of MLE trained teachers, the number of women who are being employed as MLE teachers, and the number of MLE pre-schools and schools:

- 102 MLE preschool teachers (3 state teachers; 99 community teachers)
- 195 (73 women) MLE primary school teachers on the MoEYS payroll (grades 1-3)
- 124 (46 women) MLE primary school contract teachers on the MoEYS payroll
- 20 (5 women) MLE primary school teachers promoted to state school teachers
- 217 (81 women) MLE primary school teachers on the MoEYS payroll (grades 1-6, ethnic minority teachers)
- 80 primary schools (academic year 2017/2018)
- 97 pre-schools (academic year 2017/2018) (CARE, 2018)

CARE has contributed to strengthening community capacity by engaging with students, schools, teachers, parents and community members. CARE has worked with student councils to encourage meaningful participation in school management. CARE views community governed schools a vital element of MLE encouraging and supporting community members and parent’s involvement through SSC have several functions including identifying education and learning needs, selecting community members for teacher training, and advocating the importance of the value of their home languages and cultures (Middelborg, 2005; Benson & Wong, 2016)).

Engaging local members in the development and implementation of the MLE policy has been an important part of the success of MLE schools, facilitating public engagement, contextualizing MLE policy in ways that are seen as valuable to stakeholders, and breaking down the gatekeeping function of language use in the classroom (Wong & Benson, 2019).

SSC also include household visits to discuss issues with parents and also monitor the performance of the school directors and teachers (UNICEF, n.d., 2). CARE has contributed

to the capacity building of SSC through workshops that assists with developing knowledge and skill such as raising funds for school infrastructure, monitoring student attendance and acting as a bridge between schools and their communities which has led to improvement in enrolments, school management, primary completion rates, educational outcomes and the quality of education (CARE, n.d.[e]). CARE has supported SSC by providing professional development opportunities for committee members which have a cascading effect within the communities. The following is Lem Neuy's story:

A school support committee member, of a primary school in the north-east of Cambodia, is reaping the benefits of a series of workshops on multilingual education capacity building ... 23-year-old Lem Neuy, a mother with one daughter, has attended workshops, to support out of school children in her community to get an education. She is from the Kroeung ethnic minority, which has a different language and traditions. Her committee has been taught about the MLE program, so they can support the school through monitoring student and teacher attendance, following up on why there might be absences, and encouraging parents to send their children to the school by telling them about the importance of the program. I know about the number of textbooks used in multilingual education. As a result of meetings on the importance of this for our community, parents have sent all their school-age children to the multilingual education class," she said. She says, "Now I have noticed that teachers and students come to school regularly thanks to the pretty surrounding environment and efforts by the committee to pay visits to collect students from their households" (Aide et Action, 2016, pp. 1-2).

The program has impacted on the capacity development of MoEYS as a system in terms of taking responsibility for and ownership of MLE through the SED, and in terms of the professional development of SED staff to implement it. The program impacted on government officials and teachers, but also on the recruitment of ethnic minority teachers and training. Government officials and teachers with responsibilities for MLE received specialist training in MLE pedagogy as well as on issues such as gender equality. MLE provided an opportunity for the recruitment and training of ethnic minority teachers because of their cultural knowledge and their fluency in L1 and Khmer. This resulted in an increase in the number of MLE trained teachers, as well as the rise in the number of women employed as MLE teachers. It has also resulted in sustained engagement with local communities, primarily through the SSC which have been supported by CARE and provided with professional development activities.

In terms of gender equality, CARE has developed the capacity of government officials at national and sub-national levels in gender-sensitive teacher training.

CARE's approach has been adopted by the Cambodian Government, scaled up and introduced to other geographic areas. To support this CARE is training Government Officials, with a core focus on sensitising teachers to the needs of ethnic minority girls in the classroom. Teachers learn gender sensitive instruction and how to challenge gender stereotypes, such as the male and female professions often portrayed in textbooks (DFAT, 2018)

The scaling up of MLE has been supported by the Royal Government of Cambodia provides regulations on roles and responsibilities of ministries. For the MoEYS, Prakas 84 of the Royal Government of Cambodia *Sub-Decree on the Organization and Functioning of Ministry of Education Youth and Sport* details the responsibilities of MoEYS, including those that fall under the Directorate of General Education. These responsibilities include the facilitating and managing of Early Child Development, Primary Education, General Secondary Education, Non-Formal Education, Curriculum and Textbooks, School Health, Teacher Training, Vocational Orientation, Life Skill and Vocational Training. Prakas 418 on the *Organization and Functioning of Primary Education Department* provides further details on the departments' hierarchy, structure, roles, duties, and organisation. As noted earlier, SED has the responsibility to implement MLE although support still needs to be continued.

5. Access

Access to education focuses on ensuring that people have equal and equitable opportunities to take full advantage of their education.

What have been the most significant impacts of the EEM program on access?

| SUMMARY | | |
|-----------------|---|---------------------------|
| Factor | Key activities | Attribution, significance |
| Contribution | Increasing enrolment in MLE provinces | Direct, positive |
| | Provision of scholarships | Direct, positive |
| Gender equality | Provision of scholarships with a focus on girls | Direct, positive |
| Scale-up | Expansion of MLE | Indirect, negative |

The MLE model under the Highland Community Education Project (HCEP) was formulated by CARE during 2000/2001 in consultation with MoEYS and the project started around mid-2002 in the Ratanak Kiri Province. Prior to this, the International Cooperation for Cambodia (ICC) supported bilingual initiatives in non-formal education and the development of orthographies (Kosonen, 2019). Kosonen (2019, p. 219) also makes the point that these initiatives preceded Cambodian government official policies, but, over time:

various government agencies have joined forces with NDL (Non-Dominant Languages) communities and their partners, i.e. academics and NGOs, and these partnerships have resulted in the experimentation of NDLs in society and in education at the larger scale.

At the time of the establishment of the HCEP, the total net enrolment rate in primary education for Ratanak Kiri Province during 2003/2004 was 54.3%, while the net enrolment rate for girls was 46.4%, the lowest rate of any province (Middelborg, 2005). The most recent data shows that the net enrolment rate for 2018 was 99.4% and the net enrolment rate for girls was 99.4% (MoEYS, 2018), a vast improvement. During the MENAP (2015-2018) the change in MLE enrolment in Ratanak Kiri continued to rise compared to the non-MLE enrolment which remained constant. Generally, this seemed to be the trend across the MLE provinces albeit with a slight slowing in Kratie (Ball & Smith, 2018).

The original objective of the HCEP focussed on providing access of disadvantaged highland ethnic minority groups to a meaningful bilingual education⁶. This was to be achieved through the establishment of community schools supported by trained teachers, production of appropriate curriculum materials, a technical and administrative support team, and 'a set of arrangements that enables the MoEYS to monitor



outcomes regularly and be able to apply/extend lessons learned within the national education system' (Middelborg, 2015, pp. 10-11). This approach in which CARE is a major player, has had a significant impact on access of ethnic minority children to education in a language that they can understand (CARE, 2013a) which by 2018 resulted in over 10,000 children having access (Noorlander, 2018). In addition to the approved five L1 for MLE programs, Jarai was approved at the 2018 JTWG for inclusion thereby providing further access into education for ethnic minority groups.

With support from the Australian Government and a range of private donors, the program provides scholarships to enable children to access education beyond primary school. Scholarships help children, especially girls, stay in school and get the benefit of lifelong education. From a gender equality perspective this has a focus on agency and relations in that it builds on girls' aspirations and provides a system to support girls' participation. To illustrate this impact, Solear's story:

She is a 15-year-old studying in grade seven, even though many of her friends have dropped out of school and are already married. Her parents are farmers and neither attended school and cannot read or write. Solear had attended a primary school supported by CARE that offers multilingual education. Now Khmer is easy for her, and she is being able to continue her studies with the scholarship from CARE. The scholarship she receives allows her to stay in the boarding house and provides financial assistance and food packages. "The scholarship helps a lot. It provides me with food, and with the money I've bought my uniform and learning materials. It wouldn't have been possible for me to go to school without receiving a scholarship", says Solear. Solear has great aspirations too. "I hope to become a nurse and practice in Ou Ya Dav (district), so I can help the people in the area especially the Jarai people like me" (CARE, 2016e).

⁶ In the earlier policy documents, the term 'bilingual education' was used, however, the MENAP (2015-2018) shifted to using the term MLE. Wright & Boun (2016, p. 12) concluded that 'the shift in the national discourse from *bilingual* to *multilingual* education marks an effort to more inclusive and afford greater recognition of the multilingual resources within the communities and schools.'

CARE’s direct contribution to the provision of scholarships, and the expansion of MLE has ensured that ethnic minority children continue to have equal and equitable opportunities to take full advantage of a gender sensitive education that is culturally and linguistically appropriate.

6. Gender-responsive MLE programming

Gender-responsive educational programming provides an enabling environment that addresses the needs of girls in particular. It is child-friendly, and promotes equality and equality, and the development of gender-responsive environments.

What have been the most significant impacts of the EEM program on gender-responsive programming?

| SUMMARY | | |
|-----------------|---|---------------------------|
| Factor | Key activities | Attribution, significance |
| Contribution | Increase in female teachers | Direct, positive |
| | Supporting girls’ enrolment and participation | Direct, positive |
| Gender equality | Gender transformative practices | Direct, positive |
| Scale-up | Expansion gender-sensitive model of MLE | Direct, positive |

As a result of MLE, more ethnic minority women have become teachers who in turn have become role models for girls in the community. At the time of the MENAP evaluation, 103 of the 247 teachers in MLE primary schools are women (Ball & Smith, 2018). Female teachers and trainees are a feature of MLE and are supported through professional development programs, with some receiving financial support through scholarships. The following is Nangmark’s story:

Nangmark found it challenging to learn. Despite walking five kilometres to and from school each day, she felt ignored by her teacher who taught in Khmer and ignored ethnic minority students, and therefore did not ask questions or engage. But in 2004, the Krala school council approached her to consider being a teacher. “I asked them, how can I be a teacher when I have such a low education? But the school board just encouraged me to try the training to see how I go.” She completed CARE’s six-month bilingual teacher training course and started teaching more than 10 years ago. The course equipped her to work in classrooms, teaching a range of subjects including ethnic minority languages, Khmer, mathematics, and social sciences. Since she has continued to receive support through CARE’s long in-service training. “I wanted to become a teacher to support children and give them easy access to education – which I did not have. I want the students to learn their own language as well as Khmer, for all of reading, writing and speaking.” (CARE, 2015).

MLE is viewed as a useful strategy in meeting the educational needs of girls and this contributes to an educational experience where girls and boys can learn together (CARE,

2013; Wong & Benson, 2019). Ball and Smith (2018) found that since the inception of MLE, parents and teachers reported that girls attend school more regularly; that in general, girls are equally engaged as boys in classroom activities; that education by ethnic minority teachers and use of ethnic minority language has created a culturally safe⁷ environment, especially for girls, resulting in their more active participation; and that MLE promotes ethnic minority girls' and boys' sense of belonging in school and society. A benefit of girls experience with MLE is that they can attend school rather than staying at home and that the program equips girls to be role model for younger girls their community (ABC News, 2013). CARE'S focus on ensuring girls have an equal opportunity to access quality education can create a pathway into further education at upper primary, secondary and tertiary levels. This is Rave Sophea's story:

When Rave Sophea was born, there was no school in her village and it was unlikely she would ever learn to read, write or understand basic numeracy. It was also unlikely she would become proficient in the national language, Khmer. This is not only because the nearest school was too far away—her family too poor to support her to study at a distant school—but also because it was expected that girls stay at home and help with housework and did not require an education. When she was seven years old, CARE opened one of its first six community primary schools offering multilingual education in her village of Krala. Project staff especially encouraged parents to send girls to school and as a result, Sophea started on her learning journey. She was able to study in her home language, learning to first read in Kreung and then in Khmer with support from teachers she understood and who understood her. Sophea's educational journey is in parallel to CARE's progression of supporting ethnic minority children through primary education, then secondary education and finally onto higher education. After completing primary school in her village, Sophea received support in the form of a CARE scholarship to continue her studies at lower secondary school and then at the Teacher Training College in Stung Treng. Upon graduating from Teacher's Training College, she participated in CARE's fast track MLE course and is now a Grade 5 teacher at the very same primary school (Nowaczyk, 2015, p. 6).

Also, CARE's focus on gender equality has had a positive impact in regard to increased enrolment of girls and the employment of women teachers.

CARE's contribution to gender-sensitive pedagogy and gender equality has been through a range of activities described in this section and noted within each theme's key question. These gender equality activities address the three domains of agency, relations and structure:

| Domain | CARE MLE activities | Gender equality outcomes |
|--------|---|---|
| Agency | Employing female teachers and teacher trainees. | Building consciousness, confidence, self-esteem and |

⁷ A culturally safe environment is one in which Indigenous and ethnic minority people feel safe and secure in their identity, culture and community (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2011).

| | | |
|------------------|---|---|
| | Building towards parity in girls' enrolment. Pathways into further education. | aspirations; and knowledge, skills and capabilities. |
| Relations | Women's representation on and participation in SCC. Forming partnerships with gender-sensitive organisations i.e. PCTFI. Provision of scholarships. Women role models. | Addressing power relations through which people live their lives through intimate relations and social network, group membership and activism, and citizen and market negotiations. |
| Structure | Gender-sensitive pedagogy and curriculum. Gender-sensitive teaching and learning resources. Gender-sensitive professional development of government officials. | Tackling discriminatory social norms, customs, values and exclusionary practices; and laws, policies, procedures and services. |

Part Two

Sustainability

In determining how sustainable the outcomes of the EEM program are likely to be, the analysis considered the risks and strategies. The overarching question for this part of the evaluation was: *How sustainable are the outcomes of the EEM program likely to be?* While the evaluation found that there are several risks to the model, these can be mitigated by fully developed strategies supported by sufficient resources.

| Factor | Key findings |
|-------------------|--|
| Risks | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Importance of ethnic minority identity - Continuing policy support based on accurate and reliable evidence - Maintaining community ownership - Effective monitoring of quality outcomes. - Increasing the pool of trained staff. - Strengthening technical expertise. - Securing government financial commitment and investment. |
| Strategies | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strengthen synergistic relationships with government. - Visible and capable leadership. - Strengthen technical expertise. - Build local capacity, and develop pathways and transition programs. - Strengthen the capacity of relevant institutions. |

Risks

The content analysis identified the following risks:

1. *The importance of ethnic minority identity*

MLE as a central initiative of the EEM program is important in appreciating the values of ethnic minority groups and preserving ethnic minority culture and language, however, there is a fundamental mismatch with the underlying purpose of MLE. While there is an understanding that MLE is a means to bridge ethnic minority children's inclusion in education in Khmer, it is discernible that some MoEYS staff see MLE as primarily a bridge to Khmer language and culture (Ball & Smith, 2018). The primacy of ethnic minority identity as a basic principle of MLE requires ongoing understanding and support by key implementers. As one

ethnic minority community member stated: "MLE is not just a bridge, it is a centre for children to learn about their culture and identity" (Ball & Smith, 2018, p. 38).

2. Continuing policy support based on accurate and reliable evidence

The lack of policy support often brings up sustainability issues, as does securing government commitment to those reforms based on sound evidence (Wong & Benson, 2019; UNICEF, 2014). While the Cambodian government has anchored MLE in the MoEYS policies and strategic plans there is an ongoing requirement for evidence-based decision making. Evidence shows that well-resourced programmes that use the L1 as medium of instruction for a minimum of six years provides students with an equal chance of becoming sufficiently proficient in the L2 (Wong & Benson, 2019; Ball & Smith, 2018; Benson & Wong, 2017; Benson, 2011; Heugh, 2006). Future policy development requires an ongoing commitment informed by accurate and reliable evidence.



3. Maintaining community ownership

The CARE-supported model of community ownership of MLE is an important element (Benson, 2011; Kosonen, 2013; Nowaczyk, 2015; Ball & Smith, 2018; Wong & Benson, 2019), however, Gacheche (2016) warns that for these communities to value their knowledge, governments must first work towards raising the status of local languages. Diminishing community ownership through limited policy can remain a risk where the mismatch of views is evident. Kosonen (2013, p. 45) states that "despite the positive policy developments, several challenges still remain in the Cambodian language-in-education scene: Included in this challenge is ensuring eligibility for MLE.

4. Effective monitoring of quality outcomes

With the expansion of the MLE, care must be taken that quality systems are in place to monitor relevant data, especially that must include an ethnic minority identifier (Ball & Smith, 2018). Monitoring outcomes requires reliable and valid counterfactual data from comparison schools. This requires a costed plan to ensure timely monitoring and evaluation using specific outcome level indicators, and relevant data. Without attention to this there is a risk that data won't be accurate, reliable, valid, relevant and complete.

5. Increasing the pool of trained staff

With the expansion of MLE to include more schools, there is a corresponding need to increase the number of teachers trained in MLE pedagogy. There is a need to attract ethnic minority language speakers and to retain teachers who have completed MLE training in order to improve quality (Ball & Smith, 2018). An insufficient number of MLE teachers, low teacher capacity and insufficient teacher training in L1 reading/writing and MLE methods

pose is a risk to the quality of the program (UNICEF, 2018; Benson, 2018; Mayhew, 2016). There is also the risk of trained staff not being appropriately placed on gaining qualifications.

6. Strengthening technical expertise

Building the capacity at national and sub-national levels of key MLE implementers' understanding of the reality MLE classrooms is a major hurdle in convincing policy-makers to support such programs (MTB-MLE, 2014). To address this requires strengthening MLE technical expertise of relevant staff from MoEYS, SED, POE, DOE and NGOs through regular and ongoing professional development with a focus on MLE theory and practice, MLE policies, MLE curriculum development, MLE teaching and learning resources, MLE teacher support, and monitoring and evaluation. A consistent approach based on gender equality and sound knowledge of MLE is essential in supporting programs.

7. Securing government financial commitment and investment.

For MLE to be truly sustainable, there must be an increased investment by the government in terms of money, time, and resources (Wright & Boun, 2015). The failure to secure government financial commitment to support MLE policies and practices could result in no long-term systematic change even though policies related to MLE have been issued and national guidelines, such as MENAP have been adopted (UNICEF, 2014).

Strategies

The content analysis suggests the following strategies that could influence other donors or national governments in the South East Asia region to replicate the model, and for ensuring the sustainability of the model through government systems:

1. Strengthen synergistic relationships with government.

Since its inception, the firm involvement and dedication of stakeholders at national and sub-national levels, including communities, MoEYS and NGOs, is a major strength of MLE and has generated a high level of collaboration and mutual trust essential for success and sustainability (Benson & Wong, 2017; (Wight & Boun, 2016; Benson & Wong, 2015; Nowaczyk 2015; Middelborg, 2005). An effective partnership between CARE and UNICEF created a collaborative and strong environment context for MLE and strategically moved the MLE agenda forward (Benson & Wong, 2017; Young, 2011). Strong relationships are key (Benson 2011; Nowaczyk, 2015; CARE 2018b; Ball & Smith, 2018; Wong & Benson, 2019). Over the years CARE has been instrumental in forging strong relationships with communities, government at national sub-national levels, local NGOs, and INGOs. These relationships enable "people to work closely together to maintain and develop strategies and policies that promote sustainability; ... encourages localizing ownership for sustainable approaches by building the capacity of implementers; and ... maintains networking and communication among formal, non-formal, adult literacy and primary levels" (Young, 2011). Strengthening and maintaining synergistic relationships with government especially MoEYS and SED, and communities to support ownership, and promote a strong context for MLE, remains a vital strategy.

2. Visible and capable leadership

Sustainability depends upon visible and capable leadership at national level, and sub-national levels. This includes creating visible structures and processes to ensure that relevant government department leadership staff from all relevant departments have a deep

technical understanding of MLE and are strong advocates and champions. The leadership structure should include ethnic minority people (Benson, 2011; Ball & Smith, 2018).

3. Strengthen technical expertise

Closely aligned with these first two strategies is the requirement to strengthen technical expertise of relevant staff. For MLE programs this would be a focus on applicable theory and practice, policies, curriculum content, resources, staff support, and monitoring and evaluation (Benson, 2011; Ball & Smith, 2018).

4. Build local capacity and develop pathways and transition programs.

Important factors of success in the CARE model is the active participation of communities through SSC, and the hiring and training from local language communities. (Kosonen, 2019; Benson & Wong, 2017; Kosonen, 2013). This strategy of engaging and building local capacity is crucial to develop and implement policy, facilitate advocacy and public engagement, and break down barriers (Wong & Benson, 2019). Aligned with the strategy of building local capacity, is providing pathways and transition to better assist students from local communities to access further opportunities (Mayhew, 2016).

5. Strengthen the capacity of relevant institutions through professional partnerships

Relevant institutions such as Universities, research centres and other professional agencies have a crucial role in informing best practice in terms of policies and implementation, based on sound evidence. Strengthening the capacity of the local universities and agencies to undertake partnerships with relevant international institutions can contribute to developing a local knowledge base and create opportunities for further research (Ball & Smith, 2019; Benson, 2011)

Resources

Some general remarks only can be made about the budget, other resources and conditions needed for successful model implementation by the Royal Government of Cambodia, given that the cost benefits analysis of the evaluation was not undertaken. The overarching question for this part of the evaluation was: *How sustainable are the outcomes of the EEM program likely to be?*

| Parameter | Key issues |
|------------------|---|
| Resources | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased financial commitment. - Provide financial and technical assistance to communities to mobilise local resources. |

The content analysis identified two main resourcing issues:

1. Increased financial commitment.

For program to be truly sustainable, there needs to be an investment by government in money, time and resources, and that commitment by government needs to grow both in funding but also in allocation (Wright & Boun, 2015). Currently, the SED continues to rely

heavily in funding terms on UNICEF and CARE and other NGOs to fund and/or carry out MLE related activities (Ball & Smith, 2018)⁸.

2. Provide financial and technical assistance to communities to mobilise local resources.

In addition to an increase in funding, there is a required to provide financial and technical advice that ensures equity, efficiency, accountability and transparency, and maximises positive effects (Wright & Boun, 2018).

Commitment to these two main resourcing issues, coupled with the above strategies will contribute to the strengthening of MLE in both policy and practice.

⁸ The SED received USD 20,988 from the government in 2018. For the period 2015-2018 CARE expended USD672,777 on MENAP activities, while for the period 2016-2018 UNICEF expended USD748,608.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The first purpose of this evaluation was to document the impact of the EEM program, with a view to influencing other donors or national governments in the South East Asia region to replicate the model.

In summary the evaluation focused on the impact of the program in the key areas of cultural heritage, partnerships, quality, access, capacity development, and gender equality. The analysis suggests a number of recommendations for model replication:

- a. Cultural heritage: CARE has had a significant and positive impact in recognising the primacy of the languages, cultures, traditions and customs of Cambodia's ethnic minority communities. This is evident in a variety of ways including CARE's support for resources that reflect community values and traditions, engaging with the cultures through the SSC, recruiting ethnic minority teachers and trainees, and providing ethnic minority children with an education that is meaningful and relevant. The first recommendation is that programs must be built on the values of the people that the program serves, and respects the primacy of their languages, cultures, traditions and customs.
- 
- b. Partnerships: CARE's approach to building partnerships can be described as 'soft advocacy' (Nowaczyk, 2015), but also one from the 'side' where CARE sits between the national/state level and the local/community-level (MTB-MLE, 2014). Establishing partnerships at international, national and sub-national levels has been a crucial element of CARE's program aimed at encouraging and supporting government ownership. The second recommendation is that partnerships should be purposeful, strategic, collaborative, and based on mutual trust.
 - c. Quality: CARE has had a significant impact on the quality of the program by providing sound technical advice within the environments of community, school and policy. When these three enabling environments are harmonised, the result is a quality education. The third recommendation is that to ensure quality, a program must work consistently to engage with the community at all levels, provide technical support and assistance for the professional development of key implementers including teachers and teacher trainees, and actively contribute to policy development.
 - d. Access: CARE's has made a direct contribution in providing equal and equitable access so that ethnic minority communities can take full advantage of an education that is culturally and linguistically appropriate. The fourth recommendation is that to facilitate access to education for marginalised groups, there must be appropriate financial support, such as scholarships, aligned with a model of education that is relevant and meaningful.

- e. Capacity development: CARE has contributed to improving the abilities, skills, knowledge, and expertise of stakeholders including MoEYS staff, MLE teachers, and communities. Capacity deals with the aptitudes, resources, relationships and facilitating conditions necessary to act effectively to achieve some intended purpose. The fifth recommendation is that when building capacity, a program must address the required resources, skills and knowledge, organisation, politics and power, and incentives of relevant stakeholders.
- f. Gender-responsive programming: CARE's focus on gender equality has had a positive impact in regard to transformative change across the three current GEF domains of agency, relations and structure. This is evidenced by increased enrolment of girls and the employment of women teachers. The sixth recommendation is that a gender-sensitive model of education builds on the principle of gender transformative actions and supports the involvement of women and girls at all levels of engagement through an application of the GEF.

The second purpose of this evaluation was to document successful strategies for ensuring sustainability of the model through government systems.

The evaluation identified a number of strategies that are applicable to ensuring sustainability, but also mitigates the identified risks. To ensure the sustainability of the model through government systems, the following strategies are recommended:

- a. To support ownership, and promote a strong context for programs, strengthen and maintain synergistic relationships with relevant government departments, INGOs and local NGOs, organisations and communities.
- b. To ensure that relevant government department staff have a deep technical understanding of programs and are strong advocates and champions, create visible leadership structures and processes that are transformative, transparent and inclusive.
- c. To strengthen technical expertise of relevant staff, provide sufficient professional development opportunities that deepens an understanding of relevant theory and practice, policies, and curriculum. This includes mandating and strengthening the capacity of the Stung Treng Regional Teacher Training Centre (RTTC) to conduct specialised courses in MLE, including the provision of incentives.
- d. To build and strengthen local capacity and address barriers, facilitate public engagement opportunities.
- e. To develop a local knowledge base and create opportunities for further research, create partnerships with relevant institutions.

Annex 1: Terms of Reference

Terms of Reference

CARE Australia Strategic Evaluation

Education for Ethnic Minorities Program, Cambodia

September 2018 – February 2019

1. Background

In addition to the end-of-project evaluations, CARE Australia undertakes an annual strategic evaluation such as thematic, cluster or comparative evaluations, to assess program level strategies and models, impact and relevance. Such evaluations are one of the activities conducted within CARE Australia's overall program quality framework under monitoring, evaluation and learning.

2. Education for Ethnic Minorities Program (EEM)

CARE is an international development organisation fighting global poverty with a focus on working with women and girls to bring sustainable changes to their communities. In Cambodia, CARE's portfolio focuses on women who have migrated to urban areas, women and girls from ethnic minorities and rural women who are denied multiple rights.

Since 2003, CARE has worked in partnership with the Royal Government of Cambodia (Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport) and other stakeholders (such as UNICEF) to develop and implement a multi-lingual education (MLE) model under the Education for Ethnic Minorities Program (EEM) program. The aim of this model is to increase ethnic minority children's access to, and the quality of, primary and secondary education.

CARE's mother tongue MLE model using ethnic minority languages and Khmer was piloted in Ratanak Kiri beginning in 2003, and has been expanded to four additional north-eastern provinces (Mondul Kiri, Stung Treng, Kratie and Preah Vihear) under the government's Multilingual Education National Action Plan (2015-2018). In recent years, CARE shifted from its original role as direct implementer to that of a technical advisor to the Royal Government of Cambodia. The program is unprecedented internationally (see e.g. Benson & Wong 2017⁹) as having gone from a successful community-based initiative run by community school management committees and using community-selected teachers, to being institutionalized in law and policy as part of a government policy for improving access to and quality of education for ethnic minority learners.

Activities within the EEM program included: development and production of text books, and gender and culturally-sensitive learning materials in ethnic minority languages; development of a multi-lingual curriculum; training of teachers; establishment and ongoing training of

⁹ Benson, C., & Wong, K. M. (2017). Effectiveness of policy development and implementation of L1-based multilingual education in Cambodia. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 1-16.

school support committees; and provision of scholarships for students to attend lower secondary school.

Over the past 16 years, the Governments of Australia, Sweden, the European Union, and many private donors (e.g. Patsy Collins Foundation) have funded the EEM program.

3. Rationale and purpose

Purpose:

The purpose of this evaluation is to:

- a. Document the impact of the EEM program, with a view to influencing other donors or national governments in the South East Asia region to replicate the model.
- b. Document successful strategies for ensuring sustainability of the model through government systems.
- c. Provide data on the short and long-term financial costs/benefits of the MLE model to assist other governments/donors with making decisions about investing in such models.

Rationale:

In linguistically diverse countries worldwide, decisions about language(s) of instruction have important implications for learning. MLE refers to a systematic approach to learning two or more languages as well as other academic content based on initial literacy in the learner's strongest language. In educational development, there is growing recognition of the role played by language of instruction in educational access, quality and equity, particularly for groups that have been socially marginalized (Benson 2016; Ouane & Glanz 2011; Smits, Huisman, & Kruijff 2008; UNESCO 2013). Use of learners' own languages has been linked to increased parental involvement (Ball 2010) and greater participation of girls and women in education (Benson 2005; Lewis & Lockheed 2012).

The Cambodian government now sees MLE as a key strategy for reaching ethnolinguistic minority groups in the highland provinces with much-needed educational services. The fact that the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport (MoEYS) has taken on ownership of important aspects of policy and implementation of MLE is a testimony both to the long-standing, respectful relationship built by CARE with MoEYS and to the demonstrated effectiveness of MLE in the target communities. At this time, five non-dominant languages – Brao, Bunong, Kavet, Kreung and Tampuen – are being used for literacy and instruction, and others are in the process of being adopted.

To date there have been a number of technical inputs to the MLE program, and some qualitative and quantitative evaluations. There is value in synthesising both the published and unpublished documented evidence to date to assess the overall contribution that the program has made in Cambodia and to the international evidence base on MLE models.

This would allow CARE to profile the benefits of the model for potential replication by to other governments (such as Ministries of Education in the Mekong). The case of Cambodia can be used to examine lessons learned for implementing MLE sustainably in low-income contexts. In addition, a synthesis of advice to CARE and the Royal Government of Cambodia on sustainability strategies will help to ensure that the model produces benefits into the future, post CARE support.

The synthesis of evidence will focus not only on outcomes but also on the processes and conditions under which they have been successful, as well as challenges experienced and

lessons learned. This builds on the 2015 article by Nowaczyk¹⁰, which describes CARE's approach to working within government structures and collaborating with partners.

The new evidence to be produced from this evaluation is the cost-benefit analysis (CBA) of the Cambodia MLE model. The CBA will attempt to quantify a social rate of return on educational outcomes for ethnic minority people with and without MLE. This will be done through analysis of Per Pupil Expenditure (PPE) in line with variance in dropout rates and repetition through MLE relative to non-MLE systems¹¹ in the five north-eastern provinces of Cambodia.

Audience

The primary audience of this evaluation will be the Royal Government of Cambodia, through providing data and analysing the potential sustainability of the MLE model post-CARE support.

The secondary audience will be Ministries of Education in the Mekong who are considering implementing this or similar MLE models to improve access and quality of education for speakers of non-dominant languages.

CARE Australia will use this evaluation to raise awareness on the part of the Department of Foreign Affairs (Canberra and Minister), and other donors (such as the NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade), of the effectiveness and value for money of EEM, with a view towards encouraging their financial support of the scale-up of an MLE model in other locations.

Other audiences include past EEM private donors, CARE International, UNICEF, UNESCO (in particular the Asia Pacific Multilingual Education Working Group), INGOs who work in ethnic minority education and CARE Australia communications/fundraising staff.

4. Evaluation questions

There are two components to this ex-post evaluation: An impact assessment and a cost-benefit analysis.

The Key Evaluation Questions (KEQs) are:

1. Impact Assessment

- KEQ 1: What have been the most significant impacts (negative/positive, intended/ unintended) of the EEM program over the past 16 years?
 - How did the EEM program contribute to these impacts? Are any of the impacts directly attributable to the EEM program?
 - How has the EEM program's approach to gender equality/women's empowerment and culturally-sensitive education led to increased outcomes for ethnic minority girls/boys and women/men?
 - What factors have led to EEM program scale-up and decision for national government adoption of the model?

¹⁰ Nowaczyk, M. (2015) *Advocating for Multilingual Education in Cambodia*. Phnom Penh: CARE.

¹¹ See Vawda, Ayesha Yaqub and Harry Anthony Patrinos (1999) *Producing Educational Materials in Local Languages: Costs from Guatemala and Senegal*. *International Journal of Educational Development* 19: 287-299

- KEQ 2: How sustainable are the outcomes of the EEM program likely to be?
 - What are the risks to MLE model sustainability?
 - What sustainability strategies should CARE implement before handover to the Royal Government of Cambodia is complete?
 - What budget and other resources are needed for successful model implementation by the Royal Government of Cambodia, and under what conditions?

1. Cost-benefit analysis

- KEQ 1: What are the costs and long-term benefits of the EEM program?
 - What are the financial costs and benefits of the EEM program (PPE) and why/how have they varied over the life of the program?
 - What are the direct and indirect long-term benefits (income, productivity, health, inter-generational education levels, poverty reduction, civic participation etc.) expressed in monetary terms adjusting time value of money?
 - Do the benefits outweigh the costs?
 - What savings can be made through implementation via government systems at scale? How does this change the cost/benefit ratio?
- KEQ 2: How do the cost/benefits of the MLE model compare to mainstream education in terms of educational outcomes for ethnic minority children?
 - What are the costs of EEM compared to costs of government-delivered primary and secondary educational services for non-ethnic minority populations in Cambodia?
 - What are the relative benefits of the two models in terms of test scores, retention, completion rates and overall PPE?
 - What is the social rate of return on MLE versus mainstream education for ethnic minority learners in the five north-eastern provinces of Cambodia?

5. Evaluation scope, approach and methods

Approach and methods:

A consultant (or consulting team) will lead this ex-post evaluation, with remote support from CARE International in Cambodia and CARE Australia.

The broad methodological parameters for the evaluation are set out below and the details will be finalised by the evaluator/s, in consultation with the Evaluation Steering Committee. These will be outlined in an agreed Evaluation Plan¹².

1) Impact assessment

A desk-based review of all existing documentation will be undertaken to synthesize EEM program impact to date, such as: Research and evaluation reports, project-level monitoring

¹² These are to be developed in accordance with CARE Australia's Evaluation Policy and CARE's Gender Analysis Framework and Gender Equality Framework. Quantitative and Qualitative tools are to be approved by CARE prior to mobilisation.

data, project-level donor reporting, project-level case studies/human interest stories, and education conference presentations by CARE International in Cambodia. See Annex 1 for a list of possible additional resources.

2) Cost benefit analysis

Desk review and primary research methods will be used to inform the cost benefit analysis.

The desk review will draw on existing CARE International in Cambodia data/information and other data/information gathered through additional research. Key informant interviews (KII) over Skype could be undertaken with CARE staff and other stakeholders, such as sector experts and the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport. The purpose of the interviews will be to supplement the initial desk review findings

Scope:

All projects that fall within the past and current EEM program (2003 – 2018, in Ratanak Kiri, Mondul Kiri, Stung Treng, Kratie and Preah Vihear). Multiple funders, such as: Australian Government, UNICEF, Patsy Collins Foundation, European Commission and private donors.

6. Key deliverables and timing

Deliverables:

1. The key deliverables for this ex-post evaluation are as follows:
2. *Draft evaluation plan*, including methodology and tools, for Evaluation Strategic Committee review.
3. *Final evaluation plan*, incorporating any agreed changes or amendments in response to comments by the Evaluation Strategic Committee.
4. *Draft evaluation report* for Evaluation Strategic Committee review.
5. *Final evaluation report*, incorporating any agreed changes or amendments in response to comments by the Evaluation Strategic Committee (up to 30 pages, including a 3-5 page executive summary, plus annexes). This report will be of a standard appropriate for publication and wider circulation, including NGOs, donors, researchers and policy makers.
6. *Debriefing workshop* with CARE International in Cambodia, and relevant stakeholders (e.g. peer agencies and government officials), including a presentation of key findings and recommendations.
7. A *presentation* to the Evaluation Steering Committee, interested CARE Australia Board members, and the CARE Australia Senior Management Team.

Timeframe:

Indicative timeframes for key activities (negotiable):

| | |
|---|----------------|
| Approval of the evaluation Terms of Reference by CARE Australia, CARE International in Cambodia, and the CARE Australia Board | June 2018 |
| Confirm consultant/s to lead the evaluation | September 2018 |
| Evaluation Steering Committee to undertake inception meeting with consultant/s | September 2018 |
| Development and approval of Evaluation Plan | September 2018 |
| Development of desk-based evaluation framework/tools | October 2018 |
| Undertake desk-based research and Skype KII | October 2018 |
| Submission of draft evaluation report to Steering Committee for review | December 2019 |

| | |
|--|---------------|
| Submission of final draft evaluation report to Steering Committee for final review/approval | January 2019 |
| Evaluation report finalised Other communications/learning products developed (if necessary) Dissemination of report and other products | February 2019 |

7. Management:

The CARE Australia Program Impact and Learning Advisor will manage the evaluation with support of the Evaluation Steering Committee, comprised of the following individuals:

- CARE Australia:
 - o Program Quality Advisor
- CARE International in Cambodia:
 - o Assistant Country Director: Programs
 - o Monitoring and Evaluation Advisor

Other stakeholders are the: CARE Australia Chief Executive Officer; Principal Executives International Programs and International Operations; Fundraising, Digital and Campaigns department; and the International Program and Operations Committee of the CARE Australia Board.

CARE Australia will provide overall management and strategic support.

8. Consultant/s selection criteria

The consultant/consulting team will be expected to have the following skills and experience:

- A Masters degree or equivalent in international development, economic development, applied anthropology, social science, gender studies or related field;
- Strong knowledge and experience in education (multi-lingual education is essential) in the context of international development programs, economic analysis and evaluation;
- Strong knowledge and experience in gender (preferably gender-sensitive education approaches) in the context of international development programs and evaluation;
- Strong technical and analytical skills in research and evaluation, including strong skills in cost-benefit analysis methods;
- Proven experience in conducting methodologically rigorous evaluations of involving multiple projects and stakeholders, and writing high quality reports for publication;
- High quality communication skills, including the ability to speak and write clearly and effectively, listen to others, and facilitate and encourage participation from others, including in cross-cultural contexts;
- Strong management skills, including the ability to manage time; set and adjust priorities; foresee risks and allow for contingencies; and
- Demonstrated knowledge and experience working with remote and/or ethnic minority communities in Cambodia would be an advantage.

9. Contact and further information

Please contact Laura Baines, Program Impact and Learning Advisor, CARE Australia (Laura.Baines@care.org.au)

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Annex 2: Case Studies

The following case studies and photos were captured by CARE Australia, during a trip to Ratanak Kiri in July 2019.

First female police officer attributes success to education



Lung Khung police station had never had a female officer before, let alone one who could speak the local language, Tampuan.

The station covers four villages in Cambodia's remote north-east, and deals with everything from land title disputes, to registering births, to domestic violence. But the latter was rarely spoken about before Srey Dum joined the force.

"When women got hit by their husbands they wouldn't speak out, they weren't comfortable to tell a man about it," the 28-year-old said.

"But I encourage them not to keep it quiet, and they tell me."

As the silence around domestic violence breaks down, men's behaviour appears to be changing – Srey Dum said there has recently been a reduction in complaints.

Her gender is not the only thing that makes Srey Dum a trusted confidant. As a Tampuan speaker, people who don't confidently speak Khmer can report things directly to her without having to get a family or community member to translate.

Srey Dum has been a police officer for seven years. Her graduation photo, framed in gold and adorned with colourful floral garlands, has pride of place in the family home.

Police officers' jobs are highly coveted and many people apply, but Srey Dum said one thing in particular set her apart.

"Ethnic minority people, especially ethnic minority women in my community don't usually have much education, which is why I was selected," she said.

Srey Dum benefited from multilingual education from Grades 1 to 3. She said it was easy to learn because she could speak her own language, and the experience has helped her build bridges between Khmer and Tampuan people – she's even married to a Khmer man.

"I think my success makes other people look up to me, especially other women. People see me and they're inspired to graduate and get a job. I have helped change parents' minds about education."

Former student a hit on the airwaves



When people in Sothea's village first hear her voice on the radio, they're surprised and delighted. But more importantly, they sit up and take notice.

The 23-year old presents radio plays in her native language, Kreung, which carry messages about topics like domestic violence to keeping healthy.

"In my village people hear the radio show and they say 'oh, that's

Sothea's voice on the radio! You know, what she's saying is right'," Sothea said.

"It's encouraged people to change their behaviour. It's hard to describe, I'm very proud."

The radio plays are produced by one of the local NGOs Sothea has worked for. She started volunteering when she was in high school, and has since worked for a range of NGOs – including CARE – covering issues like forest conservation, ethnic minority cultural preservation and health service improvement.

In all of Sothea's jobs, knowing both Kreung and Khmer has been crucial.

"When we go to the communities, if Kreung was my second language then people wouldn't be as confident to speak to me about their issues," Sothea said.

"And it's also useful to speak Khmer because I can communicate with people who can't speak Kreung, like other staff or people from other organisations.

"I don't think I could do my job if I didn't go to a multilingual school."

Sothea's success is not only inspiring other young people – it's also changing older people's minds about education.

Once, at community forum about land title issues, Sothea got up on stage and spoke eloquently in both Khmer and Kreung. Community leaders were so impressed by her speech, they said it made them want to send their own daughters to a multilingual school.

But perhaps the biggest reward for Sothea comes closer to home. Throughout her school years, her parents always worked hard to support her – weaving baskets and selling them at the market to afford school uniforms.

"Now I am able to pay my parents back and support them when they need it or if they get sick," she said. "My parents are very proud of me."

The sisters achieving a family first



As a Grade 3, Tbong already has more formal education than either of her parents.

Her generation is one of the first to benefit from the multilingual education program that has made schooling so much more accessible to ethnic minority communities.

Tbong's older sister Nang Dong also went to a multilingual primary school, and she's now attending high school in a nearby town with a scholarship

from CARE.

Although tears spring to her eyes when she talks of getting homesick, Nang Dong says it will all be worth it if she is able to fulfil her hopes of studying Khmer literature.

The girls' parents are incredibly proud of them. When Tbong oversleeps, her mother makes sure she gets out the door and off to class.

"We are very happy that Tbong and Nang Dong are learning because my wife and I don't have an education," said their father, Thornt Tra Lav.

"My other daughter and my son both quit school to get married, and I regret that now."

Tbong's school is a three-minute walk from her family home, in a village with rich red-dirt roads and very few cars. In the schoolyard, an older boy hits a stick against an old tyre hanging from a tree – the ringing sound summoning a gaggle of excited children into class.

Tbong learns maths, social sciences, Khmer, and her native language, Kreung. Although her classroom has a dirt floor and the corrugated iron roof flaps and bangs in the wind, it's a cheerful space, with paper butterflies hanging from the ceiling and posters made by CARE covering the walls.

Tbong said her teacher Chorvey – also a member of the Kreung community – is her role model.

"Sometimes when my teacher writes in Khmer I don't understand, but she always gives me help [in Kreung] when I ask," Tbong said.

"I come to school because I want to be able to respond when someone speaks to me in Khmer.

"I want to have a job when I'm older. After I graduate, I'll hopefully become a teacher."

The teacher who almost didn't go to school



Sitting in the schoolyard after dismissing her class for the day, Grade 1 teacher Pheat reflects on how close she came to missing out on an education.

“My older siblings didn't get a proper education because it was before CARE came,” said the 24-year-old, who belongs to Cambodia's Kreung minority.

“Their teacher came from outside the village and didn't speak Kreung so it made them not want to go to school.”

Pheat's older sister and two older brothers dropped out after only a few years of primary school, but Pheat started her education at a very fortunate time. She was one of the first children in her village to be taught by a Kreung teacher, in her native tongue, with the gradual introduction of Khmer.

Pheat made it all the way to high school, but then another challenge presented itself – distance.

“My house is a long way from the school...when I was in Grade 7 it was getting too hard and I almost gave up. But then I heard that CARE might give me a bike and it motivated me to study really hard and very soon I got one.”

Pheat completed Grade 9 and applied to be a teacher. She said she was inspired by her own teacher and wanted to give back. The parents of her students are glad their children are learning from a trusted member of their own community, and it has made them value education like never before.

Ty, whose 11-year-old daughter is Pheat's former student, said it's important there are Kreung teachers.

“If they only learnt in Khmer there would be many things they wouldn't understand,” she said.

“It's important for children to learn our mother tongue and learn about our culture because that's how it will live on.”

With her older siblings unable to do much more than work in the fields, Pheat is the family's main breadwinner. She describes this as both a blessing and burden.

But her generation straddles the cusp of change, and these days fewer children find themselves in the same predicament as Pheat's older sister and brothers – forced to drop out of an education system that taught them in a language they didn't understand. Pheat's younger sister and niece both followed in her footsteps – completing primary school and then using the very same CARE-supplied bike to get to high school. Her niece is in Grade 9 and wants to be a police officer or a teacher. Pheat is hopeful for the next generation, and strongly champions the value of education.

“I hope all my students graduate and get jobs...these opportunities won't be available to children who didn't go to school.”

Education reinvigorating culture for students and families



Multilingual education is not only improving ethnic minority children's access to education, it's also preserving ethnic minority cultures and languages – and building community support for education in the process.

Grade 3 teacher Chorvey, who works at a small village school in an area mostly populated by Kreung people, said the schools have been good for her community's culture.

"There are cultural stories in the text books and the kids show them to their families and it reminds the parents of aspects of the culture they had forgotten," she said.

Chorvey isn't the only teacher to notice children reinvigorating their elders' cultural knowledge thanks to their schooling. In a Tampuen village about an hour's drive away, fellow Grade 3 teacher Bao has observed the same phenomenon.

"The children read the traditional stories at school and tell their parents about them, and then the parents get excited and tell them other parts of the stories that aren't in the books, plus other stories too," Bao said. "It sparks their interest again."

Traditional everyday items can carry cultural heritage too, though they're used less and less. Two of the most common are the hollow, bottle-shaped gourds which are used to collect water, and woven baskets which are worn like backpacks.

Teacher Bao's 10-year-old daughter, Deng, sometimes uses them when she goes to the stream to get water for the household.

Deng is in Grade 4, and she loves to draw. "I like to draw trees, waterfalls and animals and other beautiful things in nature," she said. "It makes me feel like they're really there in front of me."

With many ethnic minority communities affected by deforestation, mining and land disputes, Bao's fellow teacher Keang said it is important to teach respect for nature.

"Many of our stories are about the importance of the natural environment and we need to teach these to the children so that they're not lost," Keang said.

Students' hopes for the future



In the communities where CARE has set up multilingual education, most people have had little choice in how they make their living. Most grow crops for their families – and for sale, if conditions are right – or work as labourers on large plantations.

But a new generation are beginning to explore other ideas. Grade 3 teacher Chorvey, who is part of the Kreung minority, has noticed the change.

“My students say they want to be teachers, doctors, police officers and accountants,” Chorvey said.

“In the past we thought it was only Khmer people who could do these things but now we see that Kreung people can do all these jobs. Some of them go to so much effort in class so that they can achieve these dreams.”

Here are some current students' hopes for the future:

“My mum says not to quit school, and my future will be bright. I want to be a teacher or a doctor.” Doeun, 8

“My teacher always asks us what we want to be when we grow up. Most of the boys say they want to be mechanics and fix motorbikes. My biggest goal would be to be a teacher or an English translator. I notice that whenever the aid workers like you come to visit, someone always needs to translate and that seems like a good job. It's inspiring. No one in my village really knows English so I want to go to the bigger towns when I'm older and do English classes.” Ngai, 13

“After secondary school, I would like to study Khmer literature and become a Khmer teacher. Knowing Khmer helps me communicate with a wider range of people.” Nang Dong, 17

“I like learning Khmer because when people come from outside the village I can talk to them. I want to go outside my village because I see other people going outside, and some become doctors or teachers or police officers.” Pheakany, 9

“I want to know Khmer but I also wish I could learn my language [Tampuen] all the way up to Grade 12. If I could read and write really well in Tampuen, when I'm grown up I could teach that to other kids.” Deng, 10

“I want to be a teacher or work somewhere like CARE like you. You always help children and poor people and give them books. I want to do the same. I want to give all children a chance to learn and go to school like me.” Mom, 10

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About CARE

CARE works with poor communities in developing countries to end extreme poverty and injustice.

Our long-term aid programs provide food, clean water, basic healthcare and education and create opportunities for people to build a better future for themselves.

We also deliver emergency aid to survivors of natural disasters and conflict, and help people rebuild their lives.

We have more than 70 years' experience in successfully fighting poverty, and in 2017/18 we assisted 2.1 million people across 28 countries.

