教育トランスファーのCCDTモデル — カンボジアの マルチリンガル教育のケーススタディ —
The CCDT Model of Education Transfer: Examining the Case of Multilingual Education in Cambodia

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ABSTRACT

　この論文はカンボジアのマルチリンガル・バイリンガル教育をケーススタディにし，その教育モデルの開発を明らかにする。その開発の中で草の根レベルのNGOや国際的なNGOや国際開発機関などの役割が重要である。カンボジアのマルチリンガル教育の例を教育のグローバル化や教育トランスファー（transfer）という解釈もできる。この研究によって，現在社会学の理論（neo-institutionalism, systems theory）に基づいている比較教育の論争を問い直すことを試みることが可能である。カンボジアへのマルチリンガル教育の導入のプロセスに次の段階が見られる：cultivation（栽培），cross-fertilization（異花），dissemination（普及），transplanting（移植）である。

This paper traces the development of multilingual education in Cambodia. The development entails important roles played by local NGOs, international NGOs, and multilateral aid agencies. An attempt is also made to examine the development of multilingual education in Cambodia as an example of the globalization of education or education transfer. Thereby, this case study is used to challenge the two dominant sociological theories which frame the current debate in comparative education: neo-institutional theory and systems theory. A model which describes the transfer of multilingual education models to Cambodia is presented with the following stages: cultivation, cross-fertilization, dissemination, transplanting.

1. Introduction

Compared to some of its neighbors, Cambodia has a high percentage of its population which speaks the national language of Khmer. This is likely due to the ascendance of the Khmer Kingdom which produced Angkor Wat and controlled parts of what are now the countries of Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand from the 9th to the 13th Century. Despite this linguistic homogenization as a result of military and civilizational prominence, there remain surviving indigenous minority groups in Cambodia which are mainly concentrated in the Northeastern part of the country. These groups have had limited access to schooling as a result of the remote regions they inhabit, less economic development of those regions, and their status as linguistic minorities. In order to understand their situation, it is first necessary to examine the ethnic demographics of the population of Cambodia.

As shown in Table 1, the Khmer people make up fully 92% of the population which is much higher than the ethnic majority in Laos, Vietnam or Thailand. Most of the indigenous minority groups reside in the Northeastern provinces of Cambodia which is where most of the efforts for multilingual education have been initiated.

This paper seeks to explain the introduction of multilingual education in Cambodia in consideration of the current debate in the field of comparative education on globalization of education. In order to do so, it will be necessary to describe the theories supported by the major schools in comparative education theory, describe several concepts such as "transfer" and "cross-national attraction" as they are related to that debate and various globalization processes in education. Subsequently, I wish to present a model which attempts to explain the transfer processes involved in the institutionalization of multilingual education in Cambodia.

2. Theoretical Debates in Comparative Education

The current debate in comparative education centers on the question of the nature of globalization of education policies and practices. This debate is framed by two theoretical schools in sociology. The Neo-Institutional School which is led by Meyer and Ramirez of Stanford University gives primacy to the role of international organizations, over the nation-state, as the agents which promote a world culture of "progress" and "justice" through the global convergence of education policies and practices (Meyer, 1977). The Systems Theory School as articulated by Jurgen Schriewer of Humboldt University and Gita Steiner-Khamsi of Columbia University follow Luhmann in emphasizing the role of the national education system in attempting to maintain system integrity in the face of global forces

Table 1. Population and Ethnicity in Cambodia

1	Khmer	12,110,065	8	Kuy	15,495	16	Kaco	2,000
			9	Jarai	15,000			
2	Vietnamese	393,121	10	Krung	9,368	17	Somray	2,000
3	Mandarin Chinese	350,000	11	Stieng, Bulo	6,059	18	Pear	1,300
4	Cham	220,000	12	Brao	5,286	19	Lamam	1,000
5	Tampuan	25,000	13	Chong	5,000	20	Sa'och	500
6	Mnong	20,000	14	Kravet	3,012	21	Samre	200
7	Lao	17,000	15	Kraol	2,600	22	Suoy	200

which bring change to that system. At the same time, Schriewer proposes his "externalization hypothesis" in seeking to explain those cases where an education system borrows education models from elsewhere (Schriewer, 2003). The forms of educational borrowing and lending are described through several case studies in Steiner-Khamsi's volume and the motivating factors are discussed by Phillips in his typology of cross-national attraction (Steiner-Khamsi, 2004; Phillips & Ochs, 2004). The common strand in both schools is that the primary unit of analysis is the national education system. Insofar as this study examines multilingual education in Cambodia, this study also focuses on a nation-state case study. However, the exposition of this case will focus more on regional levels of education which have been penetrated by supra-national actors such as international Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). As such, rather than "globalization" the analysis will look more toward Robertson's term "glocalization" in the sense that Robertson explains that "globalization" and "localization" are concurrent processes involved in internationalization (Ritzer & Atalay, 2010). Glocalization is particularly useful to my discussion of the introduction of multilingual education to Cambodia because of the marriage of global and local forces which characterizes this introduction. Beyond describing multilingual education as an example of glocalization, this paper will attempt to present a framework for the transfer of an education model which exhibits the process of glocalization. Multilingual education is illustrative of such an educational initiative in that the very concepts of linguistic diversity and tolerance ingrained in multilingual education have potential to clash with national myths related to mono-ethnic and mono-lingual states. The model may prove particularly useful for explaining transfer of contentious education policies and curricula, especially those which run contrary to the role of education in the nation-building process.
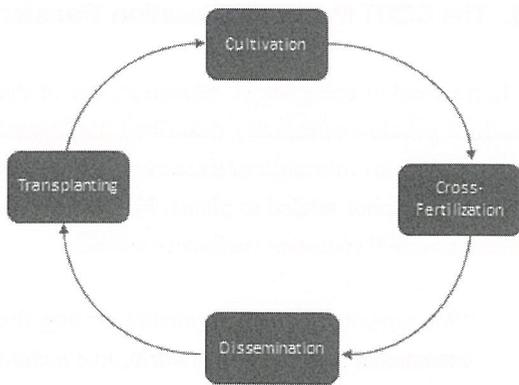
3. The CCDT Model of Education Transfer

In the field of comparative education, one of the earliest scholars succinctly described the central question about internationalization of education using a metaphor related to plants. Michael Sadler stated in a 1900 education conference address:

> "We cannot wander at pleasure among the educational systems of the world, like a child strolling through a garden, and pick off a flower from one bush and some leaves from another, and then expect that if we stick what we have gathered into the soil at home, we shall have a living plant" (Sadler, 1964).

The plant metaphor is not surprising in that much of our language concerning "economy" and "development" derives from similar language related to agricultural and food-raising processes. In some ways this organic metaphor is helpful in understanding the temporal and spatial "growth" and expansion of education models across nations and related to processes of globalization. As such my hope is that I may expand upon such metaphors to describe a cycle of education transfer related to the globalization of education. That model is presented below in graphical form to be described in subsequent detail as it relates to multilingual education in Cambodia. The different stages in the model can be described as the following: cultivation, cross-fertilization, dissemination, and transplanting.

Cambodia emerged from two decades of civil war and Vietnamese occupation with the Paris Peace Accords of 1991 setting the stage for an influx of development agencies which would attempt to contribute to the development effort. In 1991, the NGO International Cooperation Cambodia (ICC) was one of the NGOs to begin its activities in Cambodia originally being affiliated with World Vision International. ICC focused its efforts in

Graph 1. The CCDT Cycle of Education Transfer

the Northeastern provinces of Ratanakiri and Mondulkiri and benefited from strong collaboration with the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), an organization which has been instrumental in developing orthographies of local languages and pioneering ethnolinguistic studies around the world. ICC focused its efforts on nonformal bilingual literacy programs in these two provinces with the highest concentrations of indigenous minority populations. In areas where formal schooling was largely not functioning, ICC with assistance from SIL linguistic consultants developed writing systems for minority languages such as Bunong, Tampuan, Krung, Brao, and Kavet based on the Khmer writing system. These pioneering projects consisted of the bilingual education component of the Ratanakiri Integrated Development and Education Project (RIDE) in Ratanakiri Province and the Research Education and Development Project (READ) in neighboring Mondulkiri Province. ICC took the further step of addressing the needs of these nonformal bilingual literacy programs in terms of curricula, teacher training, and basic materials such as blackboards. The low cost of the project was accomplished by recruiting volunteer community teachers, training them at ICC headquarters, and encouraging community ownership of school buildings. The programs continue to exist 19 years

later as nonformal education programs wherein literacy classes are typically conducted for two hours in the evenings after children and adult students have returned from farming work. ICC has not made efforts to expand educational opportunities beyond nonformal education; however, ICC was instrumental in not only developing writing systems for minority languages but pursuing advocacy activities with the Cambodian Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sport (MoEYS) to gain approval for those writing systems to set the stage for pilot efforts for multilingual education in the state education system.

3. 1 Cultivation

The "Cultivation" Stage in the CCDT Transfer Model describes the establishment of a new program in a country which was represented by the establishment of bilingual education programs in ICC's RIDE and READ projects. As an example of "education transfer" it is important to point out that the "seed" for this project must come from somewhere. In short, the programs were largely modeled on previous SIL nonformal literacy programs around the world. SIL is originally a British-based organization with a century-long history of involvement with minority languages and bible translation which now has its international headquarters in the US. The models originate with this organization; however, they are informed by the experiences of linguists who have experience across the globe. The story of multilingual education in Cambodia does not end with ICC's nonformal education programs. In fact, the next step in the development of multilingual education in Cambodia resulted from intensive collaboration between local NGO actors in Cambodia, albeit with International support.

3. 2 Cross-Fertilization

ICC discovered a willing and capable actor in advocacy for multilingual education in Cambodia with the arrival of CARE Australia in 2000 and CARE's preparatory studies which were conducted for the next two years. CARE would be the first international NGO to get involved with multilingual education on a major scale and take the step of attempting to fuse multilingual education into the Cambodian state education system. In these early stages, CARE benefited greatly from its collaboration with ICC and the numerous SIL consultants who had contributed toward the development of writing systems for minority languages in Cambodia. It was this aspect of "cross-fertilization" which allowed both organizations to strengthen their separate nonformal and formal bilingual education models in Cambodia. CARE Australia has been the CARE country office involved most directly with the HCEP Project and as a result many of the international bilingual education consultants have been of Australian origin, and mainly those with experience in aboriginal education in Australia.

CARE Cambodia established the Highland Children's Education Project in Ratanakiri Province in 2002 as a pilot project for bilingual education in CARE's NGO schools which follow the Cambodian formal education system. CARE worked closely with the MoEYS and provincial education authorities to maintain government support for the project which established three CARE schools in Tampuan villages and a further three schools in Krung villages for a total of six schools. From 2002 the first grade curriculum started with Cambodian elementary school textbooks translated into minority languages and the curriculum was developed each year to serve the needs of this 2002 1st grade cohort as they progressed through the elementary school system. In effect, the bilingual education model which resulted is a transition model through the first three years with the last three grades of the curriculum being conducted exclusively in the Khmer language. That curriculum is represented in the following diagram. This model is not ideal when viewed from the standpoint of international experts on bilingual education, as many would recommend something closer to seven or eight years of bilingual instruction

Table 2.   CARE HCEP Bilingual Education Curriculum

GRADE 1	**80% Vernacular** 15% maths 35% social studies 30% language studies		**20% Khmer** 20% oral Khmer
GRADE 2	**60% Vernacular** 35% social studies 25% language studies	**40% Khmer** 15% maths 25% language studies	
GRADE 3	**30% Vernacular** 15% social studies 15% language	**70% Khmer** 15% maths 10% social studies 45% language studies	
GRADE 4	**100% Khmer** 15% maths 25% social studies 60% language studies		

in this type of transition model. However, it is only due to the relentless advocacy efforts of CARE, ICC, and other NGOs in tandem with local community leaders in Cambodia that multilingual education in Cambodia has survived despite numerous challenges from government actors. With the completion of the elementary curriculum in 2008 the HCEP curriculum has been completed and further collaboration with similar multilingual projects through conferences and workshops has been pursued with local NGOs in countries as diverse as Mali and Sri Lanka.

3. 3 Dissemination

Before the completion of the 6-year pilot of the elementary curriculum of the HCEP Project, CARE's bilingual programs in Cambodia were achieving a fair degree of international renown. In fact, CARE International was featuring the HCEP Project as one of its outstanding projects which has led to coverage by CNN as well as other international media outlets. CARE's own monitoring and evaluation studies have demonstrated the comparability of the HCEP Project with other state schools in Cambodia in relation to low drop out and retention rates. As a result, the Cambodian government has been supportive and UNICEF Cambodia, has also stood behind the program. In fact, from 2006 UNICEF Cambodia became a proponent of the model and expressed a desire to spread the pilot to all five of Cambodia's provinces with the largest minority populations. The program started slowly with expansion to only three villages in Mondulkiri Province in the first year and the program is currently being evaluated; however, UNICEF's decision to fund bilingual education pilot projects on a widespread basis has been instrumental in the "dissemination" stage of the expansion of multilingual education in Cambodia.

The cooperation at multiple levels involving a local NGO, such as ICC, an international NGO like CARE, and a multilateral agency such as UNICEF has created a strong coalition to lobby the Cambodian government to make multilingual education a component of state schooling. This is particularly important in consideration of the fact that less than 8% of the population in Cambodia are minorities. Conversely, one might argue that in contrast to neighboring countries such as Vietnam or Laos the relatively small population of the indigenous minorities in Cambodia causes less conflict with expansion of education as it promotes nation-building, development, and social cohesion.

Bilingual models in the state education system are still in the pilot stage in Cambodia; however, the cooperation of the actors behind bilingual education has enabled the establishment of bilingual education pilot models in the five provinces where there is the greatest need for such curricula. Thus, dissemination throughout the provinces in Cambodia is being accomplished at the test phase. Nevertheless, it remains be seen whether those models will become fixed in the national curriculum. The CARE model had enjoyed such acclaim that it has reached the status of a "best practice" in bilingual education globally. With this recognition comes the potential for global expansion.

3. 4 Transplanting

At this stage it would be premature to say that the CARE HCEP model has been transferred to other developing nations as a blueprint for multilingual education. There have been significant attempts to establish workshops with other local NGOs attempting similar curricula in other countries. The most significant examples to date have involved workshops conducted between project managers and curriculum designers with other NGOs in Mali and Sri Lanka. Thus, the potential exists for this model to achieve some degree of global legitimacy as a global "best practice." Increasingly both bilateral and multilateral actors in educational development are searching for and promoting such models. In returning to the CCDT Cycle of Education

Transfer, it would be important to point out the cyclical nature in emphasizing that the multilingual education models in Cambodia were not solely locally produced but grew largely out of pre-existing practices promoted by SIL International and through the efforts of ICC as well as Australian experts in transferring models from Aboriginal education to the Cambodian context.

4. Conclusion

The CCDT model presents a case where International actors have penetrated the Cambodian education system at the local level. As such the case of multilingual education in Cambodia challenges the sociological schools which would focus on the nation-state as the unit of analysis in studies of globalization of education. Particularly in cases in involving contentious curricula such as multilingual education, it is possibly advantageous for such actors to pursue community-based initiatives in multilingual education which have less of a chance to threaten ethnic majority leaders of a country such as Cambodia. The Neo-Institutionalist School points to multilateral agencies as driving development based on universal values. However, it is doubtful that multilingual education would have gained much support with such outside pressure from the United Nations or bilateral agencies. Rather it was ICC and CARE Cambodia which demonstrated successful projects with multilingual education in small-scale pilot projects. Systems theory would also attempt to present the Cambodian education system as a cohesive system which can mitigate external influences on that system. However, particularly with regard to developing education systems there are often loose boundaries and lack of institutionalization at certain levels which allow for other actors to fill unmet needs such as the need for bilingual education in minority regions. This local "cultivation" of bilingual programs

in Northeast Cambodia was characterized by a politically sensitive effort to address education access needs without threatening local or national authorities over a ten-year period in the 1990s. Subsequent partnerships between local NGOs and international NGOs, i.e. cross-fertilization, allowed multiple actors to coalesce support for the models and promote such models with the Cambodian government. Finally, with the commitment to funding nation-wide pilot projects by UNICEF, the final stage was set for the "dissemination" of the model across minority communities in Cambodia. With this confluence of local and international actors, Robertson's "glocalization" thesis presents an interesting explanation of the CCDT model which recognizes the global connectedness of communities across borders and challenges traditional views of not only nation-states but national education systems. It is hardly necessary for the "transplanting" stage to occur to deem the development of multilingual education in Cambodia a success. Nevertheless, there is significant evidence to suggest that the model in Cambodia is serving as a "best practice" to be used to inform other models for multilingual education globally. As such, the development of multilingual education in Cambodia presents an interesting case of globalization of education which can be used both to improve projects elsewhere and re-evaluate the theories in comparative education which are used to try to explain globalization and global transfer of education policies and practices.

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