Title: <Book Reviews> Mark Bray; and Seng Bunly. Balancing the Books: Household Financing of Basic Education in Cambodia. CERC Monograph Series No.4. 2005.

Author(s): Srisa-ard, Surithong

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Kyoto University
iarization whereby what is “foreign” can become naturalized and what is taken as natural can become “foreign.”

The Promise of the Foreign invites readers to reflect on questions regarding the possibilities and limits of freedom and community, the bywords of nationalist discourse and practice. Rafael writes about the origins of Filipino nationalism more than a hundred years into the “future” of that past, in the shadow of a Philippines troubled by deep economic inequality and social divisions. His project is shaped by the reality of a compromised nation in perennial political and social crisis. The radical potential unleashed by the Philippine revolution was “re-colonized” by the Filipino elite at Malolos and repressed or else rechanneled into “democratic tutelage” by American colonialism. Yet, for all that the Philippines has not witnessed the thoroughgoing, redistributive transformation promised by nationalism, the dissemination of Tagalog-based Filipino by market forces alongside its promotion by the Left over the last twenty years points to the formation of a national, and globally dispersed, lingua franca, the political possibilities of which may be exploited or maximized for different ends, including progressive ones. In this sense, “the promise of the foreign” is meant to be read ironically: its declaration of expectation, assurance, and commitment acquires a redoubled sense of urgency—tantamount to an incitement to think and act—precisely because the “future” it foretells is so fragile, so fraught with risk and hope.

(Caroline S. Hau • Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Kyoto University)


Provision of basic education free of charge is usually seen as both a government responsibility, because everyone has the right to at least a basic education, and an investment in the people. It is strange therefore that more than three million children in Southeast Asia do not attend school, according to the 2008 UNESCO Education for All Global Monitoring Report. This is because governments of less-developed countries have great difficulties in financing education. Powerful economic and social arguments have been made about how to meet the costs of schooling and how to balance the financing of education. Balancing the Books: Household Financing of Basic Education in Cambodia is a handy book written by Mark Bray, Professor of Comparative Education at the University of Hong Kong, and Seng Bunly, Director of BN Consult in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. The authors present their comparative study on financing education and take Cambodia as a case study because of the country’s turbulent past and its current difficulties in financing basic education. The book argues that while households have to contribute resources in order to bridge the gaps, government efforts should be made to alleviate the burden on the poorest and to promote accountability between schools and their communities.

This book is a continuation of Mark Bray’s 1999 The Private Costs of Public Schooling: Household and Community Financing of Primary Education in Cambodia. The 1999 book was based on a survey of household and community costs of education that was commissioned by UNESCO and by UNICEF in conjunction with the MoEYs.
in Cambodia. The present book updates the analysis in the primary school sector and adds data on lower secondary schooling, which increases burdens on households at high levels of the system. According to the introduction, “balancing the books” is the term used in accounting to refer to the need for expenditures to match incomes. The authors broadly address the concept of balance between household and government financing of education and its policy implications for Cambodia and internationally. In Cambodia, according to the empirical data presented here, household costs for primary and lower secondary schooling are especially high, while the government’s capacity is constrained and its resources insufficient to meet all needs. In the late 1990s, households and communities in Cambodia were meeting only 59% of the total resources needed for primary schooling. This forced poor families to undertake cost-benefit analyses to decide whether to send their children to school.

The contents of the book are divided into 11 sections: The introduction describes the perception of the role of governments, education as a basic human right, the full costs of education, the metaphor about balancing the books, and a brief overview of the book. Chapter 2 discusses issues of household financing of education, including mechanisms and types of household financing, in comparative perspective. Chapter 3 is a brief description of the Cambodian social, economic, and educational context, including historical and contemporary perspectives. Some tables and figures showing the Cambodian poverty rate, poverty lines, taxation revenues, school environments, public expenditure, PAP allocations and releases, and population pyramid are given here. Chapter 4 explains data collection methods, and Chapter 5 documents household costs, comparing patterns in primary and lower secondary schooling based on data from the 2004 survey and comparative data from previous surveys. These findings are followed by chapters on opportunity costs (6) and on government funds and other school-level receipts (7), focusing on incomes received at the school level from the government and other sources. These incomes permit a comparison (in Chapter 8) of the balance between household and government financing. The last two chapters offer policy implications (9) and conclusions (10). The 16 Appendix tables from the authors’ 2004 survey present data of household expenditures on primary education and lower secondary education across the country. The book also provides readers with a list of abbreviations and acronyms, exchange rates, tables and figures, references, and an index.

Household and community financing of education in Cambodia dates to the colonial and initial post-colonial eras, but the Pol Pot regime of 1975–79 practically stopped such practices. Activities were revived in the 1980s, and took new directions from the early 1990s. The Cambodian government and its aid partners have coped with the constraints of development to move towards the goal of Universal Basic Education. In their conclusion, the authors acknowledge Cambodia’s many achievements in the education sector, including both supply-side and demand-side innovations. They question, however, whether it is appropriate for the government to meet all costs of schooling for all households and all levels of education. Countries with good economies and high tax payments, as in Western Europe and North America, can support not only free basic education but even free higher education, whereas Cambodia is challenged to provide universal basic education of even minimum quality. Government resources allocated to lower levels of education are more likely to be pro-poor than higher levels. Other challenges are prevention of early dropout, provision of facili-
本書は、ボストモダニズムの乗り越えを目指す諸理論を導入して、フィリピン低地キリスト教社会を解釈しようとした野心的なモノグラフである。当該社会は、長い間、「特筆すべき文化がない」地域と言われ、文化人類学的研究の中で等閑視されてきた。だが、本書は、エイジェンシーゼ論などを手掛かりとして、生活と文化的両面から人々の日常的実践の姿を分析して社会的構築を試みている。その対象は、セブ島ダラティ町出身の移動漁民らが構成しているネットワーク・コミュニティである。それは、同町のほか、ピサヤ海に面した10の集落を含む。なお、本書は、著者の博士学位論文が基礎となっている。

評者は、ピサヤ地方サマール島からの向都移動を文化人類学的に研究している。だが、直接「海」を対象とした研究の経験はない。よって、評者が本書を評するに適任かどうか疑問なしとはしない。しかし、ピサヤ地方においてフィールドワークを行っており、本書の地域的背景には馴染みがある。そのような観点から、以下、本書の書評を試みたい。

本書は、調査地における生計戦略を描く第1部（1～3章）と、力にまつわる文化的概念の分析とアイデンティティの構築に関する考察に主眼を置く第2部（4～8章）から構成されている。

序章では、日常的実践をキーワードとして、東南アジア地域における生活世界の論理を描き出すという目的が述べられている。著者はこれについて、「人々が自己の属するコミュニティに内在する構造や制度、あるいは規範の持つ拘束力とその実効性常に、既に組み込まれていることを認める。その一方で制度、構造に対する人々の参加、交渉、抵抗、協働などの様々な折衝と動きを指すする機会を追求する」（p.2）と述べている。

第1章は、漁民たちのネットワーク形成過程を描く。人々は、1920年代ごろを境にして、半島半漁から、集団的漁業を基盤に生活様式へと移行した。近年は、漁業者、海洋民の生活様式の独自性と特異性から事象を解釈しようとする活発な研究を批判している。これは本書の重要な貢献の一つであろう。

第2章と第3章は、現在の生計戦略に焦点を当てている。第2章は、海という不確定性や危険性の高い外的環境を相手とした人々の生計戦略の詳細を描く。漁業などの技術面よりも、自分たちの持つ社会的資源をいかにうまく組合わせるかに漁民の工夫の重点が置かれているという著者の指摘は興味深い。例えば、漁業集団のメンバーシップは決して固定的ではなく、彼らは漁獲量の変動に従って可変であり、その編成を組み替えている。さらに第3章では、上記の流動的な組織原理を、アモ（漁業集団所有者）とタオハン（漁業集団の関係者）と検討し、タオハンが組織の関係をシフトさせ、偏在する「資源」にアクセスしようとする姿が描かれている。

第4章は、調査地における力の概念の基盤を変えられる「ドゥガーン」を分析している。ドゥガーンとは、人と一緒に生まれてくる、目には見えない存在で、各人の力はその強さによって決まるという。したがって、人々は、絶えず強さの異なるドゥガーン同士の競争状態の中に生きていると考えられている。