



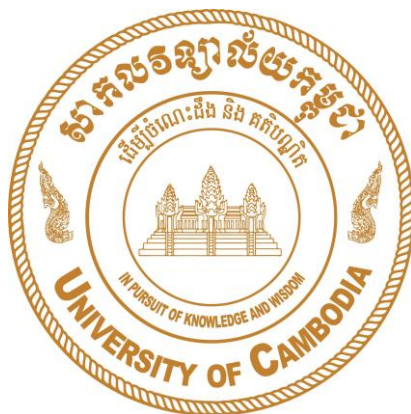
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Heng Kimkong
Lead Editorial Assistant
UC Occasional Paper Series

FOREWORD

Welcome to the second issue of UC Occasional Paper Series, one of the major research initiatives by The University of Cambodia.

The UC Occasional Paper Series showcases research undertaken by graduate students and is a valued part of the publication output of The University of Cambodia. The series is also part of UC's contribution to the research culture of the nation.

The UC Occasional Paper Series complements the University's publication of the Cambodian Journal of International Studies. This Journal is open to all scholars in Cambodia and overseas and is aimed at an international, as well as a national, readership.

However, the UC Occasional Paper Series is more focused on research undertaken by graduate students as part of their Masters and Doctoral studies, and almost all of the research papers showcased in this series have in fact emerged from major assignments in graduate classes.

Research is an important part of the scholar's road. The University of Cambodia recognizes that learning is about finding new pathways and new ideas, and is not merely about the acquisition of degrees and future jobs. This is a journey of enlightenment that involves curiosity, exploration, discipline and mentoring. It is also about making important contributions to the world's most valuable resource – knowledge.

Thank you for your interest in reading this collection of research. At The University of Cambodia, we look forward to providing more research in subsequent editions.

Dr. Michael Minehan
Editor-in-Chief
UC Occasional Paper Series

Cambodia and China's Belt and Road Initiative: Opportunities, Challenges and Future Directions

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Abstract

This article analyzes opportunities and challenges for Cambodia as it embraces China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). This paper observes that Cambodia can benefit enormously from this highly ambitious Chinese initiative in such areas as physical infrastructure development, foreign direct investment, economic development and integration, regional and international linkages, people-to-people exchanges, bilateral and multilateral ties, and national and international connectivity. However, this paper also argues that Cambodia is facing a number of major challenges which need to be addressed if the country wishes to reap as many benefits as it can from the BRI. Key challenges for Cambodia include, but are not limited to, the possibility of falling into the Chinese debt trap and China's sphere of influence, environmental degradation, lack of independent foreign policy decisions, and the follow-on probability of having strained relations with the US and ASEAN fellow countries. This paper concludes by discussing future directions Cambodia should take to enhance long-term prospects for economic, social and national development whilst enthusiastically accepting China's Belt and Road Initiative.

Keywords: Belt and Road Initiative; Cambodia-China relations; Cambodia and the BRI

I. Introduction

Cambodia has enjoyed an average 7% annual economic growth over the last two decades. This has transformed Cambodia from a low income to a lower-middle income country, with per capita income increased from below US\$500 in the early 2000s to US\$1,163 in 2015 and US\$1,269 in 2016 (World Bank, 2017). Should this positive trend continue, the kingdom will become an upper-income or high income country in the next few decades. In addition to its outstanding economic success, Cambodia is seen to have generally good relations with its close neighbors, ASEAN counterparts, and major powers, particularly China, although its relations with Thailand and Vietnam have been strained over border issues. Cambodia's relationship with the world's most populous country, however, could not be better. Cambodia has been viewed as one of the most reliable friends of China, while China is Cambodia's most generous economic and military benefactor.

Cambodia-China long-term relations have recently been strengthened. On the one hand, Cambodia has been strongly supportive of China on the regional and international stage, as seen in 2012 when Cambodia blocked an ASEAN joint communiqué for the first time in ASEAN's 45-year history in favor of China over the South China Sea issue. Cambodia has also been in full support of many Chinese initiatives, including the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) and the One Belt One Road (OBOR) initiative. On the other hand, China has recognized ongoing support by Cambodia and has awarded this small state millions of US dollars each year through its unconditional aid and loans. In particular, China has greatly contributed to Cambodia's infrastructure development, economic growth and improved foreign direct investment and trade.

Taking the mutually beneficial Sino-Cambodian bilateral ties and the launching of China's OBOR initiative into account, this paper aims at offering an analysis of opportunities and challenges for Cambodia as it embraces OBOR. Although it is obvious that Cambodia is going to greatly benefit from this ambitious Chinese initiative, this paper argues that Cambodia is also going to face a number of challenges which need to be tackled if the country wishes to reap as many benefits as it can from the OBOR. Accordingly, this paper will discuss future directions for Cambodia so that the country can take full advantage of the OBOR initiative as it is beginning to take shape.

II. What is the Belt and Road Initiative?

The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), also known as One Belt, One Road (OBOR), is China's highly ambitious development project aimed at resurrecting the Chinese ancient Silk Road and realizing the Chinese dream. Launched in 2013 by Chinese President Xi Jinping, the OBOR is a short term for the Silk Road Economic Belt (One Belt) and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road (One Road). Since its inception, this initiative, supported by the China-led Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), has become the centerpiece of China's economic, cultural and strategic diplomacy under Xi Jinping and has the potential to shape the global economic order.

Regarded as China's grand strategy for the 21st century, the BRI is aimed at connecting China and the rest of the world with a network of roads, high-speed rail, power lines, ports, pipelines, and other infrastructure networks. The project also seeks to foster five key cooperation areas, including policy coordination, connectivity, trade, financial integration, and people-to-people bonds (Chheang, 2017a). Moreover, it is based on three key pillars, such as utilizing industrial capacity, nurturing a network of economic interdependence, and fostering regional stability and prosperity (Wijaya, 2016). It is envisioned that the BRI, supported by more than 60 countries across Asia, the Middle East, Europe, and Africa, will include a population of over 4 billion people and account for one-third of the world's gross domestic product (Fallon, 2015).

Although it has attracted a lot of attention in the economic and political world, the BRI has been both positively and negatively perceived. To some, this Chinese project is China's strategic plan to dominate the world and therefore it is a threat to the liberal Western global order. For others, the BRI is a welcoming project which will promote regional and intercontinental connectivity between China and Eurasia. According to Copper (2017), major opponents of BRI are the former Obama administration, the Western media, Europe, India, and possibly Japan, whereas main supporters of BRI include the Trump administration, Russia, many developing countries, and countries along the two routes of the Silk Road and Maritime Silk Road.

As a strong supporter of the BRI, Cambodia stands to gain immense economic benefits. According to Chheang (2017b), the BRI offers Cambodia great opportunities to drive its economic development so that it can catch up

with other countries in the region. Moreover, as it is complementary to Cambodia's national development strategy, the BRI will help Cambodia to realize its vision to become a middle-income country by 2030 and a high-income country by 2050. Although economic gains for Cambodia seem to prevail, the BRI is also raising concerns among critics. There are pressing issues related to China's growing influence in Cambodia, Chinese exploitation of Cambodia's natural resources, and other social and human rights issues arising from Chinese aid and investment. In what follows, this paper will address in detail opportunities and challenges for Cambodia as it embraces President Xi Jinping's "project of the century".

III. The BRI and Opportunities for Cambodia

The BRI presents many potential opportunities for Cambodia. An obvious advantage for Cambodia is a substantial improvement to its physical infrastructure. As quoted in the *Khmer Times* (2016), the Ministry of Public Works and Transportation issued the Transport Master Plan, estimating that Cambodia will need USD 9 billion by 2020 to build 850-kilometre expressways and USD 26 billion to build 2230-kilometre expressways by 2040. By embracing the BRI, Cambodia will be able to access the massive infrastructure fund provided by the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank. The country is more likely to have access to other infrastructure loans, supported by such Chinese institutions as the Export-Import Bank of China, the China Development Bank and the Silk Road Fund.

To fund these extremely ambitious infrastructure projects involving 65 countries in Asia and beyond, President Xi Jinping pledged USD 79.4 billion in the Belt and Road Forum in May 2017. These investment plans could be worth as much as USD 502 billion, as estimated by Credit Suisse Group AG in *Bloomberg* (Burgess & Foley, 2017). However, Tom Miller in his new book *China's Asian dream: Empire along the new Silk Road*, argued that these funding sources are just a small proportion compared to China's investment to buttress its infrastructure diplomacy (Miller, 2017). This argument appears to be valid because of the massive inflow of Chinese economic assistance into Cambodia, as well as other countries, that existed even before the launch of the BRI.

Moreover, under the framework of the BRI, Cambodia and China have agreed on several infrastructure projects, with China pledging to offer a USD 2 billion supporting fund (Sum, 2016). Seven major bridges have been built,

one of which is named “Cambodia-China Friendship Bridge” crossing the Mekong River. Another bridge linking Steng Trang district to Krouch Chmar is being constructed, while the first 190-kilometre expressway connecting the capital Phnom Penh to the coastal Sihanoukville in the southwest is also in progress, all of which are facilitated by Chinese economic and technical assistance (Sum, 2016). The Cambodian government has also signed an agreement with Yunnan Investment Holdings, China’s state-run enterprise, to build a new airport 30 km outside of the Siem Reap town at a cost of USD 880 million (Gaudemar & Cheng, 2017). Also within the BRI framework, China has proposed several railway infrastructure developments and renovation projects. Some of these are (1) the 405-km-long railway stretching from Preah Vihear province through the southern provinces of Kampong Thom, Kampong Chhang, and Kampong Speu to Koh Kong province, (2) the rail link between Phnom Penh and Preah Sihanouk province, (3) between Phnom Penh and Poipet and Thailand, (4) between Phnom Penh and Snoul and Vietnam, and (5) between Phnom Penh and Phnom Penh Autonomous Port (de Carteret, 2014; Rose, 2017). All of these physical infrastructures will enhance connectivity and promote people-to-people exchanges in Cambodia and in the region.

In addition, the BRI will help Cambodia improve its electricity generation infrastructure that is required to drive Cambodia’s social and economic development. China has done a great job in fulfilling Cambodia’s needs of power supplies through construction of hydropower dams, several of which are already in operation. Kemchay Dam, for example, was constructed in 2016 with Chinese assistance, and possesses an electricity capacity of 194 megawatts, covering a vast area of the country such as Kompot and Takeo province. The biggest hydropower dam, called Lower Sesan II Hydropower Plant, is located in Cambodia’s northern Stung Treng province. This USD 928 million plant is a joint venture between China’s Hydrolancang International Energy, Cambodia’s Royal Group and Vietnamese EVN International Joint Stock Company, each of which own 51 percent, 39 percent and 10 percent, respectively. When fully operational, this power plant is expected to generate 400 megawatts per hour at the fixed price of 6.95 cents per kilowatt-hour (Chea, 2016). Ratanak Keo, the current president of Cambodia’s Electricity Authority, stated that due to the increasing number of plants to generate electricity, Cambodia would have more stable supplies of power, contributing to creating more job opportunities and improving people’s daily lives (Chea, 2016).

In addition to the infrastructure development projects discussed above, Cambodia and China, through the Belt and Road Initiative, have also focused on constructing Special Economic Zones (SEZ) and ports. Cambodia's largest special economic zone, Sihanoukville Special Economic Zone (SSEZ), which was established in 2008 even before the official launch of the BRI, will greatly benefit from this Chinese grand project because it provides a platform for cooperation between the two countries. This cooperation has immensely benefited Cambodia's developing economy and will also help Cambodia achieve its industry development goals, as set out in its Industrial Development Policy 2015-2025. Moreover, to further facilitate the smooth operation of SSEZ, China has also assisted Cambodia to upgrade its deep water Sihanouk Autonomous Port. This port could serve as a "string of pearls" as China aims at exerting its influence in the Asia Pacific region and extending it to the Middle East. The string of pearls under Chinese leadership extends across the Indian Ocean, Sri Lanka, the Maldives, Pakistan's Gwadar Port, and in islands within the Arabian Sea and into the Persian Gulf (Kaplan, 2013). In light of this, Cambodia will no doubt be able to significantly benefit from this massive maritime trade route.

The BRI will enable Cambodia to accelerate its economic integration into the region and the wider world. Since the BRI is comprised of both land and sea routes that span 65 countries, Cambodia is very likely to improve its regional and international economic integration by acting as a connecting point along the route between China and the rest of world. It is worth noting that China remains the biggest investor, trading partner and aid provider of Cambodia. The bilateral trade volume between Cambodia and China has augmented rapidly, on average 26% annually for the past 10 years, rising to USD 4.8 billion with Cambodia's exports to China valued around USD 830 million and imports from China valued at USD 3.9 billion (May, 2017a). The Chinese investments in Cambodia mainly go to the manufacturing, construction, textile, and power sectors. Up until 2017, Cambodia has received approximately USD 4.2 billion of China's Official Development Assistance in the form of grants and loans; the development assistance has targeted physical infrastructures, agriculture, health and education.

In addition, there are many more development projects to be undertaken under the BRI framework. During his remarks at the 2017 Cambodia-China Trade and Tourism Promotion Forum, for example, Prime Minister Hun Sen reiterated that Cambodia and China have agreed on establishing a Cambodia-China Cultural Village in Beijing and opening Cambodia's Trade

Center in certain provinces of China to promote mutual exchanges of culture, trade, and information for the benefit of Chinese people, traders and investors (Office of the Council of Ministers, 2017). The Cambodian Prime Minister also stated that the fundamental purpose of these Cultural Villages and Trade Centers is to exhibit samples of Cambodian products, books and other documents related to trade, tourism, culture and investments in Cambodia (Office of the Council of Ministers, 2017). The Memorandum of Understanding on Enhancing Industrial Investment Cooperation between Cambodia's Council for the Development of Cambodia (CDC) and China's National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC) was signed to allow both countries to realize maximum mutual benefits and promote investment cooperation on industrial development between both sides (Office of the Council of Ministers, 2017).

In view of these opportunities for Cambodia's current and future development, and regarding this phenomenon as a win-win scenario, both Cambodian politicians and analysts have echoed their appreciation of the BRI. During a press conference at the World Economic Forum on ASEAN in Phnom Penh in mid-2017, Prime Minister Hun Sen praised the initiative and the wisdom of Chinese President Xi Jinping by stating that the AIIB and the Silk Road Fund operating under the BRI would offer alternative sources of capital for many countries, especially the ASEAN countries, for infrastructure connectivity development. The AIIB and other funding sources should not be seen as a challenge to the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank, rather as being complementary to fulfill the needs of all countries, especially ASEAN member states, which have so many ideas about connectivity development but face financial constraints to implement these ideas (Rui, 2017).

Similarly, the long-term advisor and the chairman of Cambodia Development Resource Institute (CDRI), H.E. Dr. Sok Siphanna, has also underpinned and given his appreciation to the Belt and Road Initiative by opining that while the BRI generally promotes peace and development, the bilateral ties between Cambodia and China would be even stronger in terms of political and economic development (Xinhua, 2017a). In addition, Chheang Vannarith, a prominent Cambodian scholar and co-founder and chairman of the Cambodian Institute for Strategic Studies, also agreed that Cambodia would benefit greatly from the Chinese investment in terms of driving infrastructure development, such as roads, rail, ports and hydropower

plants, and achieving the country's vision to become a middle-income and high-income country by 2030 and 2050 respectively (Xinhua, 2017b).

Thus, it is becoming apparent that the BRI is a welcome infrastructure development project for Cambodia. Therefore, by embracing this large-scale development and connectivity project, Cambodia as a small and developing country will be highly likely to reap considerable benefits, rather than suffering from these Chinese initiatives. As Leng (2017) noted, the rapid growth of the Cambodian economy is to some extent supported by its good relations with China and Chinese assistance.

IV. The BRI and the Challenges for Cambodia

Given the fact that the BRI has demonstrated well-documented opportunities for Cambodia, this vision should not obscure the potential challenges that also exist. One of the obvious pitfalls of Cambodia's embracing of China's BRI could be the phenomenon most analysts have called a "debt trap". This concern is applicable in the context of Cambodia. Early this year, the Ministry of Finance and Economy released the Cambodia Public Debt Statistical Bulletin, describing the country's debt situation. The report notes that the bilateral loans of aggregate USD 5.3 billion, of which USD 3.9 billion is from China, making it the largest creditor, four times more than that of Japan, and Cambodian national debt is about one third of the country's total GDP (Ministry of Economy and Finance, 2017). Despite the debt, Chan Sophal, director of the Center for Policy Studies, commented "the level of debt currently is not a concern if compared to other countries in similar stages of development. With increasing revenue, mobilization and exports, Cambodia's capacity to service debt has also increased significantly" (Kotoski, 2017).

However, drawing on the experience of Sri Lanka, where the Sri Lankan government made up its mind to convert state property into equity to pay off its debt owed to China, as evident in the 99-year leasing of the Hambantota port to China and the granted control of Mattala Airport to Chinese firms, Var and Po (2017a) have warned that Cambodia is likely to move into a similar scenario as its debt continues to rise. Professor Brahma Chellaney, who is usually critical of China, has also argued that with the low-interest loans to countries desperately in need of infrastructure, China is likely to pull those countries into its economic and security sphere (Chellaney, 2017), epitomizing the fact that, while China has acquired several ports in Greece,

Seychelles, Djibouti, and Pakistan on purely commercial grounds, there is a direct link to Chinese military expansion (Chellaney, 2017). Such awareness should ring alarm bells in Cambodia about being extremely cautious in dealing with Chinese loans.

Another challenge is related to environmental impacts related to Chinese investments in hydropower dams. Radio Free Asia reported that the first major hydropower Kamchay Dam built by China's Sinohydro Corporation had flooded 2000 hectares of Bokor National Park in southern Cambodia's Kampot province, home to several endangered species and an important resource for local communities (San, 2017). In addition, the dam construction by the Chinese was also accompanied by the forced eviction of local communities. The *South China Morning Post* also reported that nearly 5000 people were liable to be evicted from their local villages when the dam's reservoir fills, and almost 14000 living along the banks of the Sesan and Srepok stand to lose most of the fish they rely on for food (Jing, 2015). However, a senior Cambodian government official rebutted these claims. Sim Vireak, who is First Secretary at the Cambodian embassy in Japan, defended the construction of hydropower dams in a *Phnom Penh Post* article by arguing that no matter how environmentally conscious and technologically advanced a country is, building a hydropower dam without environmental impact is impossible (Sim, 2014). He asked, "If China doesn't invest in hydropower in Cambodia, who will?"

Besides the debt trap and environmental cost, Cambodia's enthusiastic acceptance of the BRI is likely to guarantee that this small state will fall into the Chinese sphere of influence. Cambodia has been criticized for having a less independent foreign policy, a policy largely designed to serve the political and diplomatic interests of China to gain some short-term benefits at the expense of its good relations with its ASEAN counterparts and other regional and global powers in the region and beyond. There are some recent developments in Cambodia's foreign policy that lead many Cambodian and international analysts to perceive that Cambodia is moving into the Chinese sphere of influence. Good examples include the ban on the Taiwan flag being hoisted, the continuous support towards China's position on the South China Sea issue, the cancelation of the Seabee program, also known as the UN Navy Mobile Construction Battalion, and the delay of the Angkor Sentinel, a joint military exercise between Cambodia and the US (Var & Po, 2017b).

Furthermore, considering bilateral relations between Cambodia and the US under the Sinocentric world, Carl A. Thayer, emeritus professor at the University of New South Wales, argues that Chinese support will buffer Cambodia under Prime Minister Hun Sen's leadership against domestic pressure by civil society groups and external pressure from the US to address inadequacies of democratic and human rights issues (Thayer, 2012). Such action has led former US Secretary of State Hilary Clinton to advise Cambodia not to be too dependent on any country. Therefore, Cambodia must raise important matters related to the Mekong issues with China (Pomfret, 2010). However, Bae and Kim (2014) argue that such a pattern will be likely to continue even without Chinese assistance.

Many scholars also believe that Cambodian actions to underpin China's position on the South China Sea have called into question ASEAN centrality. Through its decision not to issue the joint communiqué in 2012 when it was the chairman of ASEAN and not to agree upon the strong words in the ASEAN joint communiqué in 2016, Cambodia has undermined the relevance of ASEAN. Moreover, during the ASEAN Ministers' Meeting early August 2017, the perception has arisen that Cambodia is acting on China's behalf. This perception arose following Cambodia having sought alterations to the wording of the final ministerial statement on the section on North Korea - this is because China is viewed as North Korea's most influential neighbor and trading partner (Calla, 2017). Terence Chong, deputy director at ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute, pointed out that the reason is because Cambodia sees no practical use for the regional grouping, evidenced by the country's conflict with Thailand over the Preah Vihear temple several years ago (Chong, 2017).

All in all, as Var (2016) argues, Chinese engagement in Cambodia presents both opportunities and challenges. As discussed above, major benefits include physical infrastructure development, substantial foreign direct investment, economic development and integration, and enhanced regional and international linkages, whereas key challenges for Cambodia are the possibility of falling into the Chinese debt trap, the formulation of foreign policy to favor the diplomatic interests of China, and the deterioration of its relations with its ASEAN fellow states and other countries, particularly the US and US allies.

The following section will discuss future directions that Cambodia should take in order to enhance long-term prospects for economic, social and national development while embracing the BRI.

V. The BRI and the Way Forward for Cambodia

To reap maximum benefits from this highly ambitious infrastructure development and investment initiative, Cambodia needs to work to expedite its reform processes and ensure its political stability. First and foremost, Cambodia must make sure its 2018 national election will not scare investors too much. Reports have shown a noticeable drop in real estate investment over the first quarter of 2017 prior to the Cambodian commune election in June this year and the much-anticipated and much-feared national election in July next year (May, 2017b). Should something go wrong, say, a civil war as frequently warned by Prime Minister Hun Sen, Cambodia will be at a disadvantage and lose out on what the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative has to offer, not to mention other investment prospects.

Second, Cambodia has to continue to fully address many burning social issues ranging from corruption to nepotism and impunity to social injustice. Although China's aid and loans have often arrived in Cambodia in a no-strings-attached fashion and this practice is most unlikely to cease anytime soon, it is imperative that the Cambodian government be willing to tackle the issues head-on if it wishes to see and enjoy real economic prosperity throughout the country. With corruption and other contentious issues still looming large, perhaps it could be that Cambodia will seriously lag behind its neighboring countries in terms of economic growth, public engagement and trust, social solidarity, and national reputation on the global stage. In this respect, the exciting prospects of China's OBOR initiative would be challenged, if not diminished.

Third, Cambodia would stand to lose if it does not begin to aggressively and heavily invest in building its human capital. Having been the unfortunate victim of genocide for nearly four years from 1975 to 1979, followed by the Vietnamese occupation and protracted civil war, this war-torn country has begun its national restoration process from scratch as almost all of its intellectuals were liquidated or forced to flee the country. Although remarkable improvement has been made to its human resources over the past decades, Cambodia is still facing serious challenges regarding its skilled labor force. The lack of skilled labor could translate into employing foreign

professionals or technicians for high-paying jobs, while many Cambodian workers perform the unskilled ones. Thus, Cambodia would not be able to derive benefits as substantial as it should from China's 'project of the century'.

Fourth and importantly, Cambodia has to seek to diversify its foreign policy to avoid falling completely within the Chinese sphere of influence. Jumping on the Chinese bandwagon at the expense of its relations with its Southeast Asian neighbors and the US as well as the US allies would definitely not be the best option for Cambodia, although China is Cambodia's largest foreign investor and its most generous economic and military supporter (Va, 2017). An option for Cambodia to ensure its prosperity, sovereignty, and foreign policy autonomy could be to enhance its relations with all the countries in the region and beyond. If Cambodia does not adopt an omnidirectional foreign policy – making as many friends as possible – this small state would risk losing its independent foreign policy to China and become a true Chinese patron. Thus, it is vitally important for Cambodia to restrain itself from alienating others while relying solely on China's unconditional aid and loans. This Chinese inclination may seem effective in the short term, but it would not be beneficial for the country in the long run.

Finally, in addition to ensuring political stability, tackling critical social issues, building up human resources, and forging flexible self-reliant foreign policy, Cambodia has to take its relationship with its ASEAN counterparts seriously and do whatever it possibly can to enhance ASEAN unity and centrality. As a member of ASEAN, Cambodia has garnered great economic and geopolitical benefits from this regional organization. Cambodia's value and leverage ability are enhanced, Mahbubani and Sng argue, with its current ASEAN membership, without which this small state would be less capable, if not incapable, of taking advantage of its geopolitics and ASEAN privilege (Mahbubani & Sng, 2017). In this regard, Cambodia not only needs to settle its domestic affairs but also improve its foreign policy by fostering good relations with its neighboring countries and strengthening its role and relevance in ASEAN.

VI. Conclusion

It is undeniably true that Cambodia-China relations have gone a long way, dating back more than two thousand years, and therefore both countries have regarded each other as "close friends," at least from the Cambodian side.

The fact that Cambodia chooses to bandwagon with China should be seen as a common form of Cambodia's diplomatic behavior (Leng, 2017). As a small state in its developing stage, Cambodia is in desperate need of support and investment from all corners of the world. Embracing the BRI is apparently and rightly what Cambodia should do as the project aligns with the kingdom's national development strategy, in particular, the Rectangular Strategy and the Industrial Development Strategy 2015-2025. In this regard, the BRI is a grand development plan Cambodia can take advantage of to realize its national aspirations to become a middle-income and high-income country in the next few decades.

However, Cambodia's total acceptance of China's Belt and Road Initiative can be a mixed blessing, considering a strong likelihood that Cambodia may fall into the Chinese debt trap and China's sphere of influence. In addition, Chinese investments and development assistance, outside or inside the BRI framework, which very often target the few Cambodian elites, not the general public, may facilitate corruption and nepotism, further the exploitation of natural resources, and worsen human rights records in Cambodia. More importantly, as Cambodia enthusiastically supports China's BRI and continue to receive China's "no string attached" aid and loans, its foreign policy will be undermined and formulated in favor of China's broader interests and influence in the regional and international arena.

Recognizing these challenges, this paper recommends that Cambodia actively engage in its many reform agendas, including legal, educational and health reforms, preserve and enhance political unity and stability, strive to resolve key domestic issues, strengthen human resources, and pursue independent foreign policy. To move forward and remain relevant in the Southeast Asian region, the wider Asia-Pacific region, and the global community, Cambodia needs to enhance its relations with countries in ASEAN and work hard to foster ASEAN unity and centrality, while also adopting a pragmatic open-door foreign policy – making as many friends as it possibly can.

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The Challenges of Financial Management in General Public Education in Cambodia

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Abstract

This study was conducted to assess an awareness of school governing bodies on financial practices, explore their perceptions on financial allocation and maintenance, and examine financial management challenges facing school governing bodies in three levels of general public education in Cambodia. Questionnaires were administered to 200 respondents from six Cambodian provinces, such as Kratie, Kampong Thom, Kampong Chhnang, Pursat, Pailin and Koh Kong. The findings revealed many financial management challenges facing school directors, staff and teachers. Moreover, a relatively large number of respondents (46%) claimed not to have received any formal training in financial management. The findings further revealed that almost all of the respondents either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the responsiveness of national budget allocation to schools' needs. This study suggests that Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport consider the needs and availability of school resources in each school location and make the budget allocation accordingly.

Keywords: Financial management, Financial allocation, Public education in Cambodia

I. Introduction

1. Background of the study

Win-win policy of Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC) brought Cambodia full political stability and peace, which is a prerequisite for sustainable development. The Cambodian public administration became the national unity public administration in 1999 after the integration of all political factions. At the same time, many important basic elements for

public administration were developed, such as laws on Common Statute of Civil Servants of the Kingdom of Cambodia and a civil servant handbook of Council of Administration Reform (Council of Administration Reform, 2010). Many reforms have also been made, including the development of database for civil servants, the use of information technology system to manage human resources, payroll, and remuneration, the arrangement and integration of a new employment classification system, and the placement of retirement. In the context of globalization and competition in an international arena, the Royal Government of Cambodia regards the public administrative reforms as one of its priority areas, to enhance work efficiency and public administrative capacity in the country.

In the educational sector, the RGC started implementing systemic school finance reforms in 2000. The first reform was the Priority Action Program (PAP) (World Bank, 2005). The program was first piloted in 10 provinces in 2000 and then was expanded nationwide in 2001. The aim of this financing reform was to enhance the quality of education and improve access to education by eliminating the school fees (Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports [MoEYS], 2010). Moreover, to improve the effectiveness of the existing school financing program and to strengthen the quality and effectiveness of education services, the government implemented a new financing program called Program-Based Budget (PB) to replace the PAP in 2007. Although the systemic school finance reform in Cambodia has been implemented since 2000, little is known about the impact of the reform at school level.

The budget allocation policy has identified a gap in the financial support received between larger and smaller schools. Schools with a larger population of students generally receive a larger amount of financial support, whereas schools with a smaller population of students obtain a lesser amount. In other words, larger schools can possibly make better progress than the smaller ones. However, financial support allocated to each school is inadequate to fulfill the school needs in a school year. The financial means are mainly allocated to support the pedagogical operation. Only minimal amounts are allocated to other aspects of school operation such as school repair and maintenance, school environment improvement, extra-curricular activities and professional development. The pre-determination of budget allocation has only provided minimal flexibility for school-level stakeholders to decide on how the budget should be utilized to meet their school needs. The pre-decided budget allocation has put school

principals in a challenging situation where they have to comply with the financing guidelines/regulations set by the central office of education, while attempting to realize the needs of their schools. Such a financing practice has neglected the fact that different schools have different needs for improvement. Therefore, the empirical findings of the present study will identify the financial management challenges facing school management teams in rural areas of Cambodia. The present study will also put forward a message for the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport to take action and address this issue to enhance the quality of education in Cambodia.

2. Research questions

This study seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. To what extent is the school governing body aware of financial management in general public education in Cambodia?
2. What are the perceptions of the school governing body on financial allocation and maintenance in general public education in Cambodia?
3. What are the challenges facing school governing body in terms of financial management in general public education in Cambodia?

II. Literature Review

1. Principal financial management skills and financial management practices

Management skills are considered a key factor in the management of finances. Many definitions are given for this concept. According to Joo (2008), effective financial management skills should improve financial well-being in a positive way and failure to manage finances well can lead to long term negative social consequences. The authors further stated that financial management is mainly concerned with good management skills. Financial management failure can lead to long term consequences not only at a personal level but also at an enterprise or societal level, hence management skills has received increasing attention among researchers in recent years. Clarke (2008) emphasized that the finance policy is arguably one of the most important policies that a school governing body has to consider. He also stated that one of the main purposes of the school financial policy is to put in

place a system of controls (checks and balances) to ensure that the school finances are safeguarded and correctly managed.

Similarly, Mestry (2004) emphasized that many school principals and their board members do not have the necessary financial skills, so they are not in a position to solve any financial crisis in their schools. Atieno and Simatwa (2012) also explained that head teachers have many challenges when it comes to financial management. They further expounded that both the principal and district quality assurance and standard officer suggested that the teachers be trained on financial management. Apparently, financial management in education is concerned with the cost of education, sources of income to meet the educational costs and the spending of the income in an objective manner in order to achieve the educational objectives (Okumbe, 2001). In the preparation of the budget, the principal or head teacher must seek the cooperation of all stakeholders such as parents, teachers and other school employees.

According to Momoniat (2012), effective financial management requires managers to take responsibility for the actions and achievements in exchange for greater managerial discretion over their inputs. Thus, school managers have to take responsibility for their performance. Van Wyk (2004) also explained that financial management in the public sector is aimed at ensuring economy and efficiency and effectiveness in providing outputs to achieve desired outcomes that will serve the needs of the whole community.

2. Internal control system and financial management practices

According to Sulaiman, Siraj and Mohamed (2007), internal control system is defined as the policies and procedures which are put in place to ensure that the assets of an organization are protected and they are reliable for financial reporting. Moreover, they reported that the manager of an organization has to ensure a proper internal control and utilize the financial resources in a manner that can provide trust to donors and contributors. Internal control of organizations is meant to ensure the efficiency and effectiveness of activities, reliability of information, compliance with applicable laws and timeliness of financial reports (Jokipii, 2009).

Financial reports help managers to discuss results and spending and performance against budget, and they usually work from management reports, which have been prepared by the school accountants using

accounting information systems (Kaguri, Charles & Kubaison, 2014). Boddy (2011) also stated that financial control process incorporates four elements; setting objectives or targets, measuring actual performance, comparing this against the standard and taking action to correct any significant gap. Therefore, controlling is similar to planning and is the process of monitoring activities to ensure that results are in line with the plan.

Furthermore, Jajo (2005) demonstrates that financial controls in general involve authorization, segregation of duties, record keeping, safeguarding and reconciliation. These controls depend on the activity under consideration, and the survival of an organization depends on effective financial control (Paisely, 1992). Rosalind and Downes (2004) also advised that in order to prevent fraud in school finances, the principal should come up with clear procedures and responsibilities. These include separating staff duties, delegation of procurement authorization and also exercising effective supervision to make sure that rules and regulations are adhered to. However, Kahavisa (2003) reported that proper internal auditing was not set up properly in schools while government auditing was irregularly conducted; as a result, school funds could be misappropriated.

Finally, Mobegi, Ondigi and Simatwa (2012) concluded that weak internal control mechanisms were the major factors contributing to financial mismanagements. This was evidenced by the fact that at the time of the study there were many financial issues. For example, fee registers were missing; schools had no trained storekeepers; and school property was kept in deputy head teacher's offices. They concluded that all these situations led to loopholes for school finances mismanagement.

3. Budget participation and financial management practices

School managers may come up with plans for the school but the plans may fail to work if they are not linked to the budget (Mobegi et al., 2012). It is only through budgeting that schools can be able to allocate resources effectively. According to Simiyu (2014), it is always important for people within the school system to be involved in preparing the budget because they are part of the system and share in the operation of the whole program.

Mestry's (2006) study also revealed that in South Africa school budgets were poorly done, while Mobegi et al. (2012) noted that in most secondary schools budgeting is just a paper document and its actual implementation is a

mystery. Moreover, Macharia (2005) pointed out that it is wrong for schools to strain parents by initiating costly projects like the purchase of buses that had no direct impact on the improvement of education standards. He explained that it is high time the principals prioritized the schools' needs by implementing development plans that are less taxing on the parents and at the same time enhance learning. Plans need to have long term objectives, and the school managers need to carry out the major analysis of the school's current performance and the school situation to determine future needs. Furthermore, it is important to scrutinize the budget at school level so as to minimize opportunities for financial mismanagement and be in a position to monitor the actual performance of the school (Ziebell, Grable & Joo, 1991).

4. Factors affecting financial management practices

Hallack and Poisson (2000) explained that there are both internal and external factors that contribute to financial mismanagements in organizations. Low management capacity and lack of control mechanisms are factors which lead to mismanagement of finances, such as diversion or embezzlement of funds. Another factor is lack of professional norms or codes of conduct. Finally, there are such factors as lack of transparency, absence of clear regulations and low salaries which cause financial mismanagement and malpractice.

In other aspects, Kahaviza (2003) revealed that most board members do not understand the financial reports presented to them; this makes them make poorly informed choices or make delayed decisions indefinitely. According to Rosalind and Downes (2004), few school board members are able to learn about the school financial values and processes due to limited education or lack of time to dedicate to these matters. Likewise, Fiddler (2010) states such analysis needs to consider the schools environment, internal resources and organizational culture (values, attitudes, relationships, styles, politics, etc) as well as the school's performance and outcomes, and with such planning and analysis, a proper budget will be put in place. Moreover, Guthrie, Staplefoote and Morganti (2005) stated that budgets are representing financial crystallization of an organization's intentions, and suggested that for a budget to work it must be acceptable to those who use it, that is, it must be discussed and agreed upon by the implementers.

Ziebell et al. (1991) also found that in order to develop a realistic budget, management must predetermine the decision rules and organizational

structure that will be used during actual operations. Coopers and Lybrand (2008) also found that the underlying philosophy of financial delegation to schools stems from the application of the principles of good management. Similarly, Barasa (2009) recognizes that efficient management of financial resources is an important task for head teachers. Without adequate financial resources, institutions cannot carry out their defined tasks effectively. Money must be available to run the different departments of the school.

Having examined many issues facing financial management practices in various contexts, this paper will look at financial management practices in general public education in Cambodia and investigate how school governing bodies in several Cambodian provinces are aware of the concept of financial management, financial allocation and financial maintenance. The paper will also look at the challenges facing school governing body in the general public education in Cambodia.

III. Research Methodology

1. Research setting and sample

This research took place in six Cambodian provinces, such as Kratie, Kampong Thom, Kampong Chhnang, Pursat, Pailin and Koh Kong. There were 200 participants (130 males and 70 females) in this study. Among them, 57 were school directors, 39 vice school directors, 26 teachers and 80 office staff. These research participants were randomly selected from 19 primary, 11 secondary and 17 high schools in the above six provinces.

2. Research instrument and data analysis.

A quantitative approach was used in this study because, it provides an accurate portrayal or account of participants' characteristics, such as behavior, opinions, abilities, beliefs, and knowledge of a particular individual, situation or group Burns and Grove (1993). To collect data, a set of questionnaire was developed. The questionnaire (see Appendix A) has four parts. The first part is about the demographic variables of the respondents. The second part deals with participants' general awareness of financial sources. The third part explores respondents' perceptions of financial allocation and maintaining of public schools. The last part examines challenges school governing body may face in their financial management work.

It took around ten to fifteen minutes for the respondents to complete all the question items in the questionnaire. All data collected were input into SPSS 23.0 for analysis.

3. Ethical considerations

For ethical considerations, all participants' personal information will only be accessed by the researchers, who will not disclose any information which may cause any prejudice or disadvantage to the participants. Furthermore, no individual will be identified by name or any description in the research report. The researchers respected their dignity, self-esteem, values, ideas, and concerns and endeavored to understand their viewpoints in a non-threatening and unassuming way.

IV. Findings and Discussion

1. Awareness of financial management in general public schools

Table 1 below shows that the majority of the respondents tended to be aware of the school budget resources and the school budget plan and development plan. However, only less than 20 percent of the total respondents were aware of school expenditure, while almost none of them were knowledgeable about school budget expenditure procedure. 86 percent of them were reported to have very limited awareness of school budget expenditure procedure.

Table 1. *Awareness of respondents on financial management*

Descriptions	Very aware	Aware	Quite aware	A little aware	Not aware
Awareness of school budget resources	65 (32.5%)	62 (31%)	38 (19%)	23 (11.9%)	12 (6%)
Awareness of school budget plan and development plan	63 (31.5%)	63 (31.5%)	40 (20%)	22 (11%)	12 (6%)
Awareness of school expenditure	2 (1%)	15 (7.5%)	92 (46%)	72 (36%)	19 (9.5%)
Awareness of budget expenditure procedure	0	1 (0.5%)	27 (13.5%)	99 (49.5%)	73 (36.5%)

2. Respondents' awareness of financial allocation and maintenance

Table 2 below presents the respondents' perceptions of financial sufficiency and distribution of school budget. The data revealed that almost all respondents disagreed with the statement that school annual budget is sufficient, while only 1.5% agreed. The data further illustrated that only 0.5 percent of the respondents agreed that national financial allocation responds to schools' needs. The rest (99.5%) either disagreed or strongly disagreed that distribution of school budget meets school demands.

Table 2. *Awareness of school financial management*

Descriptions	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
School annual budget is sufficient	0	3 (1.5%)	102 (51%)	95 (47.5%)
Distribution of school budget is consistent with your school demand	0	1 (0.5%)	84 (42%)	115 (57.5%)

As for their knowledge of financial maintenance, 85 percent of the respondents claimed that they understood how to maintain their school finance safely, while only 15 percent admitted that they did not know. When further asked about where to safely keep the school budget, 79 percent of the total respondents agreed that the bank is a safe place to keep the school budget, while 26.5 percent of them thought that it is safer to keep money at school. 17.5 percent chose to keep the budget with the cashier, while 2 percent chose 'others' option, indicating that the three options were not applicable to them.

3. School financial management challenges and how to deal with them

In the questionnaire, the respondents were asked to list down their challenges in budget expenditure. Data analysis revealed four main challenges, including difficulties in arranging payment documents, difficulties in arranging list of financial accounting, unresponsive of budget allocation to school's needs, and incomprehension of expenditure's procedures from the school bodies.

As for how they deal with the financial management challenges which have arisen, about 75% of the respondents said that they had to deal with the challenges by themselves. About 56% sought support from other schools, while 46% of them asked for help from their superiors. Table 3 below illustrates the findings in detail.

Table 3. *Dealing with school financial management challenges*

Descriptions	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Asking help from superior official	23 (11.5%)	69 (34.5%)	50 (25%)	26 (13%)	32 (16%)
Asking help from other schools	51 (25.5%)	62 (31%)	38 (19%)	17 (8.5%)	32 (16%)
Finding solutions by yourself	60 (30%)	70 (35%)	26 (13%)	11 (5.5%)	33 (16.5%)

Another section of the questionnaire looks at the solutions to the financial management challenges and seeks to find out whether the respondents have received any training with regard to financial management skills. The data showed that although 60% of them have always or often participated in school financial management practices, almost none have received any financial management training course. As seen in Table 4 below, 46% of the respondents have never received any training on financial management.

Table 4. *Financial training and participation in school financial management*

Descriptions	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
Receive financial training course	0	0	2 (1%)	106 (53%)	92 (46%)
Participate in school financial management	77 (38.5%)	50 (25%)	38 (19%)	23 (11.5%)	12 (6%)

Despite the reform in public financial management, a great deal of challenges and issues are still prevalent because the capacity and ability of the sub-national officials are still limited. The government has delegated the authority to officials in the sub-national levels; however, those officials have

been facing many challenges, mainly because of their limited financial management capacity.

This current study shows that school governing body of the three levels of general public education has been facing many challenges in their financial management work. Major challenges are related to their limited financial management knowledge and skills. This issue has been reported in a study by Atieno and Simatwa (2012) and by Clarke (2008), who found that when the school principals had no skills and knowledge of financial management, they would fail to manage their school finance effectively. There would be also many challenges because they could not handle their school's accounts, the budgeting process and the systems and controls that are necessary to ensure that the school's financial resources are effectively managed. Similarly, several studies have revealed that many school board members do not understand the financial reports presented to them; this leads them to make poorly informed or delayed decisions (Kahaviza, 2003; Momoniat, 2012; Rosalind & Downes, 2004).

V. Conclusion and Recommendations

1. Conclusion

The present study shows that there are many challenges faced by school governing body when it comes to school financial management. The first challenge is related to the limited knowledge and capacity of the school governing body on financial expenditure and financial expense procedure. Second, despite their limited knowledge, on-the-job or in-service financial management trainings is not adequately provided, as this study reveals that almost none of the school governing body members have received any financial management training. Third, it is found that school directors, staff and teachers surveyed face many challenges, such as difficulties in arranging payment documents and arranging the list of financial accounting and their inability to comprehend school expenditure procedures. Finally, almost all of the respondents either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the consistency of national school budget allocation with schools' actual demands as well as the sufficiency of annual school budget allocation.

2. Limitations and recommendation for future research

A major limitation of this study is a lack of data triangulation since the study only uses questionnaire as its sole data collection method. Thus, a qualitative method, involving in-depth interviews should also have been used to add richness to the data gathered from the questionnaire because it allows researchers to probe for more information where needed.

Moreover, this research only examines the views of 200 respondents from six provinces in Cambodia and therefore the data do not show a real picture of financial management in public schools across Cambodia at all. In this regard, future research should include larger samples from more public schools both in rural and urban Cambodia.

3. Recommendations

The study has a few key messages for the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport of Cambodia, as follows.

- The Ministry should recruit individuals who have talents or interests in financial management and train them at National Institute of Education before sending them to work in public schools. This would ensure the effective management of finance in public schools in Cambodia, currently managed by school principals or others who possess teaching skills, not financial skills. .
- The Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport should monitor and evaluate the demand of the public schools and provide sufficient budget accordingly; otherwise, challenges and issues will still arise.
- The Ministry should further conduct in-service financial management training to equip all individuals who are currently involved with school financial management with the necessary knowledge and skills they need to perform their finance-related work successfully and effectively.

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Appendix A: Questionnaires

We are postgraduate students of Techo Sen School of Government and International Relations, The University of Cambodia. We would like to invite you to participate in providing honest and applicable answers for the following survey questionnaire. All your information would be very important and helpful for the purpose of this survey in order to acquire a valid and reliable result in contributing to the management team to explore the challenges of financial management in the three levels of general public education in Cambodia.

We really appreciate your kind and positive cooperation to fill in this questionnaire.

Section 1: Individual Characteristics

Direction: Please fill in the blank and circle your choice.

1. Age: _____ Year _____
2. Sex: A. Male B. Female
3. Position in your organization: _____
4. Years of experiences working in your organization: _____ years
5. Education background
 A. Diploma B. Bachelor Degree C. Master Degree D. PhD

Section 2: Questionnaires on the awareness towards the concepts of financial management

Direction: Please circle your choice

1. Are you aware of your school budget resource?
 A. Very aware B. Aware C. Quite aware D. Aware a little
 E. Not aware
2. Are you aware of your school budget plan and development plan?
 A. Very aware B. Aware C. Quite aware D. Aware a little
 E. Not aware
3. Are you aware of your school expenditure?
 A. Very aware B. Aware C. Quite aware D. Aware a little
 E. Not aware
4. Are you aware of the procedure of budget expenditure?
 A. Very aware B. Aware C. Quite aware D. Aware a little
 E. Not aware

Section 3: Questionnaires on the financial allocation and maintaining of the schools

Direction: Please circle your choice

1. Do you agree that your school annual budget is sufficient?
A. Strongly Agree B. Agree C. Disagree D. Strongly disagree
2. Does the distribution of school budget is consistent with your school demand?
A. Strongly Agree B. Agree C. Disagree D. Strongly disagree
3. Do you know how to maintain the school budget safely?
A. Yes B. No
4. Where is your school cash kept?
A. Bank B. School C. Director D. others.....

Section 4: Questionnaires on the challenges of school financial management

Direction: Please list down any challenges you have encountered and circle your choice

1. Do you have any challenges related to the budget expenditure in your school? Please list down on the spaces provided below.

2. Deal with the challenges by asking help from superior official such as district office or provincial department of Education
A. Always B. Often C. Sometimes D. Rarely
E. Never
3. Deal with the challenges by asking help from Ask other Schools
A. Always B. Often C. Sometimes D. Rarely
E. Never

4. Deal with the challenges by finding solutions by yourself.
A. Always B. Often C. Sometimes D. Rarely
E. Never
5. Have you been participating in any training course related to financial management?
A. Always B. Often C. Sometimes D. Rarely
E. Never
6. Do you participate in your school financial management?
A. Always B. Often C. Sometimes D. Rarely
E. Never
7. If there is some financial incentive for financial official, is the effectiveness of financial management increasing or not?
A. Extremely increase B. Constantly increase
C. Medium increase D. Slightly increase E. Not increase

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Challenges Facing the Implementation of Teacher Education Policy and its Impacts on Teacher Quality in Cambodia

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to examine the impacts of teacher policy implementation on teacher quality in Cambodia by drawing on Tatto's (2008) Teacher Policy Continuum to frame the discussion. The paper argues that despite efforts to restructure teacher education programs to produce highly qualified teachers, issues and challenges remain apparent. Recruitment of low-motivated individuals into the teaching career, ineffective teacher preparation programs, inadequate teacher professional development, and poor incentives and pay for teachers are all significantly accounted for low teacher quality in Cambodia. By identifying these challenges, the paper underlines a number of suggestions for the improvement of teacher quality in Cambodia. The discussion and conclusion are also included.

Keywords: Teacher policy, Teacher quality in Cambodia, Teacher trainers, Student teachers

I. Introduction

Social, political, and economic development as well as the improvement of educational system has stemmed from an influence of globalization and this has led to fierce competition among many nations to advance their economy (Hollins, 2011). In Cambodia, these influences exert constant pressure to alter classroom preparation in public schools. Consequently, the change of classroom characteristics should be coincided with the change in teaching and teacher education so that Cambodia can contend with the challenges emerging from the globalization. Cambodia has formulated a number of education policies, including teacher education policies so that the country is

able to develop human capital for its transformation into an upper-middle income country by 2030 and a developed nation by 2050. Therefore, teacher education policy has been developed with further confidence that student learning outcomes will be maximized when high quality teaching is provided (Ministry of Education, Youths, and Sports (MoEYS), 2015a).

In spite of a growing body of literature in relation to education policies in Cambodia, there has been, to date, little evidence concerned with the implementation of teacher education policy and its impacts on teacher quality. By reviewing government documents and international reports on teacher education policy, it is showed that the policies on teacher education are structural, academic and technical in nature, such as recruiting more teachers for flexible staff deployment, enhancing teacher training system, and attracting highly committed, competent candidates into the teaching professions (MoEYS, 2015a). While these measures are necessary for the current teacher education in Cambodia, the study will help fill the gap and inform educators and policy makers in the planning and implementation of education policy initiatives and programs.

Using Tatto's (2008) Teacher Policy Continuum Framework to frame the discussion, the paper examines how teacher policy implementation in Cambodia impacts on teacher quality. The research data is drawn primarily from document analysis, literature reviews, and unstructured interviews with a pre-service teacher and a vice-director of one Regional Teacher Training Center (RTTC) with whom the researcher is associated. The paper begins with the discussion of the Teacher Policy Continuum Framework and the background information of teacher training in Cambodia. Then it discusses the Strategic Framework and Teacher Education Policy in Cambodia, followed by a discussion on the reality of teacher quality in Cambodia. In the remainder of the paper, the discussion and conclusion are incorporated.

II. Teacher Policy Continuum Framework

A number of studies show that teachers have profound influence on pupil learning, and educators worldwide have suggested reform strategies on the teachers (Anderson, Bemby, Gomez, Jordan, & Mentro, 1998; Darling-Hammond, 2000; Darling-Hammond & Sykes, 2003; Kubota & Phin, 2014; Wayne & Youngs, 2003). To seek better solutions for teacher policy reform, Tatto (2008) undertook an analysis on teacher policy within an international and comparative perspective by using the notion of teacher professional life

cycle. She outlined a framework with four policy tools aimed at producing highly-qualified teachers and retaining them in the profession. These four tools are (a) recruitment or selection of individuals that are considered suitable for the profession; (b) education of individuals in the knowledge, skills, and dispositions deemed necessary to produce qualified teachers; (c) induction, further development, or support of practicing teachers; and (d) assignment and permanence in the profession.

According to Tatto (2008), one crucial policy tool is a process of recruiting appropriate candidates for teaching positions. In this sense, potential competition may occur with the candidates who are equipped with strong skills in the labor market. The author proposes that one way to increase the selection of the able candidates is to make teaching as an ideal job in a given context accompanying with ample incentives, such as subsidies for education and development, high salaries, and other benefits including housing, health, improved and safe working conditions, job security, professional autonomy, and support. This proposed idea is also congruent with a study from Darling-Hammond and Berry (1988) who did an analysis of evolution of teacher policy in America. They argued that providing suitable salaries and incentives is a key strategy to make teaching career more charming to potential candidates. This policy tool has gained its popularity among many nations once it is accepted as a workable approach (Tatto, 2008).

Another policy tool examining learning opportunities for teachers is the actual arrangements that exist to cater for knowledge, skills, and dispositions to future or current teachers (Tatto, 2008). Tatto presents a kind of teacher preparations which have influenced teacher's knowledge, practice, and presumably pupils' learning; this is an initial teacher preparation program. She has found that the most effective teacher education approaches (pre-service, in-service, and distance education) in influencing teachers' content knowledge and students' learning is the pre-service program. Similarly, in examining whether certified teachers were more effective than those who did not meet the training requirements for certification, Darling-Hammond, Holtzman, Gatlin, and Heilig (2005) found that teachers' effectiveness appears to be strongly linked with the preparation they had received prior to their teaching.

Moreover, there is another way to develop knowledge and skills of practicing teachers. According to Tatto, there are two levels of the expected

outcomes of teacher preparation programs. One is an immediate result of increasing teacher knowledge at the end of the teacher preparation program and another is a long-term effect of improving teaching practice and the presumed effect on pupils' learning. To enhance the effectiveness of this policy, Tatto (2008) emphasizes the necessity of teacher's professional knowledge such as content knowledge, pedagogical content knowledge, pedagogy knowledge, knowledge of pupils, and knowledge of context. Among these five dimensions of teachers' knowledge, the author found that teachers who are equipped with the first three kinds of knowledge have great influences on pupils' learning achievements. Therefore, she argues for the effectiveness of the pre-service program in broadening teacher's professional knowledge. A study by Hill, Rowan, and Ball (2005) also found that teachers' professional knowledge has a positive effect on students' scores. Likewise, an earlier study by Tatto and Kularatna (1993) in Sri Lanka revealed that pupils' performance on criteria-reference tests and teachers' knowledge and pedagogy in mathematics are significantly correlated.

Tatto's (2008) last policy tool is concerned with how to coax teachers to stay permanent in their job. Despite the fact that there are a number of contextual factors, such as socioeconomic contexts of schooling, school settings, and a change in social economics and politics which all contribute to driving teachers to remain or leave their profession, two other vital factors, attractiveness of the teaching career and good incentives and pay, are considered the most persuasive mechanism. In this regard, Tatto who drew upon studies from Cummings (1990) and Murnane et al. (1991) concluded that the complexity in recruiting suitable candidates into the teaching profession is attributed to low pay and less attractive incentives in the teaching career.

Finally, this teacher policy continuum relies on the cultural, economic, social, and political context. The availability of financial resources to provide teachers with opportunities to learn, a growing number of student population, the oversupply of teachers in certain levels or areas and shortages in others, and the re-organization of teacher education due to globalization forces, to list a few, all have profound effects on this teacher policy framework (Tatto, 2008).

III. Teacher Training in Cambodia

1. Teacher training system in Cambodia

General education in Cambodia consists of 12 years: 6 years for primary, 3 years for lower secondary, and another 3 years for upper secondary education. According to Tandon and Fukao (2015), teacher training centers (TTCs) in Cambodia are categorized into four distinct kinds:

1. One Pre-School Teacher Training College (PSTTC) which trains pre-school teacher trainees for two-year courses and trainees are high school graduates;
2. 18 Provincial Teacher Training Centers (PTTCs) which trains primary school teacher trainees for two-year and trainees are supposed to have at least high school education;
3. Six Regional Teacher Training Centers (RTTCs) which trains lower secondary school teacher trainees for two years and trainees are supposed to complete at least high school;
4. A National Institute of Education (NIE) provides one-year teacher training course to bachelor's degree holders to prepare them for upper secondary school teacher placement.

Individuals who wish to enter TTCs are those who have completed 9-year or 12-year general education. These prospective teachers are recruited once a year through an entrance examination and are posted according to their results of an exit exam and the central ministry who decides to deploy them based on recommendations from Ministry of Public Functions and the quota from provincial offices of education (Kitamura, Williams, & Zimmerman, 2012).

Because of the lack of teachers in some areas in the country and the needs to send the teachers to those areas the training forms have been varied. The 12+2 (12-year general education plus 2-year pedagogical training) formulation of training is applied for training teachers who will teach in lowland provinces, whereas the 9+2 (9-year general education plus 2-year pedagogical training) is for training teachers who will teach in remote and disadvantaged provinces. This is why teachers' academic level is still generally low. The 2010-2011 education statistics showed that 4.16 per cent of primary teachers do not hold lower secondary school diploma, while 61.58 per cent do not hold upper secondary school diploma (MoEYS, 2011).

Moreover, the education statistics in 2014-2015 and 2015-2016 revealed that among the entire primary and secondary teachers there were 693 and 943 respectively who received pedagogical training (MoEYS, 2015b, 2016).

2. Teaching staff

Cambodia's education system was completely destroyed from 1975 to 1979, during the Khmer Rouge regime. Most teachers at all educational levels were either killed by the Khmer Rouge, sent to forced labor in rural areas, or fled the country as refugees. After the collapse of the Khmer Rouge regime, to respond to the immediate needs to re-establish the education system, teachers were recruited from across the country to be trained through a wide variety of short-term courses, lasting one week, three weeks, half a month or one month (Nath, 1999). With tremendous effort, about 32,300 teachers were trained and received various qualifications by the academic year 1982-1983 (Nath, 1999). Despite many obstacles, in-service training was launched and pre-service training was improved.

When the education system reopened in 1979, teachers were (re)employed on the principle of "those who have more education teach those with less" (Fata, n.d.). Thus, teachers who had completed third grade could teach students in grade 1 and 2. Those who had completed junior high school could teach students in the upper grades of primary school, and those who had completed high school education teach in the junior high school. While the current policy requires new pre-service teacher trainees to have a high school diploma, over 75% of primary school teachers in 2003 had completed only lower secondary level or less of formal schooling (MoEYS, 2004).

The situation has gradually improved from year to year but there are still under-qualified teachers. In the academic year of 2010-2011, there were 45,814 primary school teachers and 35,730 secondary school teachers in Cambodia (MoEYS, 2011). Fifty-eight percent of primary school teachers had completed lower secondary school or less, and more than 20% of secondary school teachers had only a secondary or less formal education. In the academic year of 2014-2015, there were 44,292 primary school teachers and 40,020 secondary school teachers. Among these, only 693 teachers received pedagogical training (MoEYS, 2015b).

IV. Strategic Framework and Teacher Education Policy in Cambodia

Cambodia as one of the member states of the United Nations recognizes the necessity to achieve the global initiatives of Education for All (EFA) of the 1990s as well as the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which have both placed great emphasis on improving the quality of education globally (Chhinh & Dy, 2009). Subsequently, the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC) has enacted various policies and action plans such as National Strategic Development Plan (NSDP) (2006-2010) and (2014-2018), Education Strategic Plan (ESP) (2009-2013) and (2014-2018), Teacher Development Master Plan (2010), Teacher Policy Action Plan (TPAP) (2015) and so forth in order to correspond to EFA goals, Education 2030 Framework, and Sustainable Development Goal 4.

To improve the quality of education and develop human capital to help Cambodia achieve its development goals, MoEYS has acknowledged that a key factor in improving student learning outcomes is high quality teachers. Thus, TPAP has been enacted under the framework of ESP and has essentially demonstrated the needs to adjust the status quo of the Cambodian teachers both the quality of the training and professional development (MoEYS, 2015a). Key strategies include strengthening teacher supply and demand, training more teachers for flexible staff deployment, and reforming current TTCs and higher education institutions. Professional teacher development is also planned for both pre-service and in-service training. MoEYS has also intended to reform the teacher training curriculum and development, upgrade the qualification of TTC trainers, upgrade teacher qualification through BA-Fast Track Program, institutionalize a system of school-based in-service training (INSET), and reward teachers for their excellent performance as part of teacher motivation programs (MoEYS, 2004, 2015a).

Another important effort is to increase teacher remuneration as it is a key factor to enhance the material reward and occupational security for teachers. A related strategy to adjust the social status of the teachers is to connect them to information and communication technology (ICT). In its plan, MoEYS aims to train 5000 existing teachers and 10,000 new teachers from all levels with ICT training per year. Moreover, it also intends to upgrade as many basic education teachers as possible to reach BA+1 (Bachelor of Arts+ one-year training) and MA+1 (Master of Arts+ one-year training) for senior level teachers by 2020 (MoEYS, 2015a). Another strategy is INSET and

professional development for teachers. Its comprehensive aim is to ensure that teachers at all levels have an opportunity to expand their knowledge beyond pre-service training (PRESET) stage.

Ultimately, to attract the best candidates, MoEYS has utilized a persuasive strategy by automatically admitting those who receive grade A, B, or C in the Grade 12 national exam into TTCs and diversifying the entry points into teaching professions by allowing outstanding students from both public and private higher institutions to receive teaching license (MoEYS, 2015a).

V. The Reality of Teacher Quality in Cambodia

In spite of existing official strategies to upgrade the quality of teachers, the improvement of teacher quality in Cambodia is facing various challenges (Tandon & Fukao, 2015). First, there is still a shortage of a comprehensive teacher education and training system at both PRESET and INSET levels and poor linkages between the two levels. Second, the low qualification of teacher trainers is another issue. Teacher trainers generally fail to supply meaningful content mastery and student-centered teaching method; moreover, much time is spent on academic improvement while less time spent on teaching methodology and teaching practice at school (Tandon & Fukao, 2015). Moreover, teacher standards were approved and incorporated into teacher training curriculum in 2010. However, these teacher standards have not been integrated into TTCs instruction yet. Many teacher trainers, for example, have not heard of the teacher standards and even have not integrated them into their classroom instruction (Tandon & Fukao, 2015).

Third, there is a lack of teachers at all levels in particular in the remote and rural areas. About 34.5% of teachers in remote areas and 6.5% of teachers in rural areas have not studied beyond the primary level (UNESCO, 2010). To address this issue, each year MoEYS plans to recruit 5000 new teachers to fulfill the growing demand. The qualifications of teachers need to be upgraded urgently. Despite this challenge, currently teachers' education levels are now raised substantially, particularly among the younger generation. According to EFA National Review Report 2015, the total percentage of primary school teachers who only achieved a primary level education decreased from 8.54% to 1.31% between 1999-2000 and 2012-2013 school years. This means that there was a decrease of 7.2 percentage points over the 14-year period. This was mainly due to the introduction of the basic education teacher training program in 2006, increasing teacher

recruitment for replacement of retired teachers, and internal examinations for upgrading teachers' salary scales and cadre (RGC, 2014).

The EFA National Review Report also shows that the total number of secondary school teachers who completed only lower secondary education decreased from 52.38% to 11.99% between the same school year periods, meaning that there was a decrease of 40.39 percentage points. Secondary school teachers who completed upper secondary education increased from 26.56% to 56.98% between 1999–2000 and 2012–2013 academic years. This indicated that there was an increase of 30.42 percentage points over the 14-year period. The percentage of teachers who gained a bachelor degree increased from 20.08% to 29.52% between 1999–2000 and 2012–2013 academic years, an increase of 9.44 percentage points (RGC, 2014). However, there is a huge discrepancy of qualification amongst teachers in rural, remote and urban schools. Most primary school teachers who have completed only grade 9 work in remote schools while those who have completed grade 12 work in urban schools (Tandon & Fukao, 2015). In addition to this, the shortage of primary school teachers in rural and remote areas has forced some teachers to teach double shifts, both morning and afternoon, and this has generated more workload for them and downgraded the quality of their teaching (Tandon & Fukao, 2015).

Finally, although the government has committed to increasing the education budget and teachers' pay in recent years, the wages remain low and the wages of a typical married Cambodian teacher with two children are below the poverty line (Tandon & Fukao, 2015). In response to this issue, during Panel Discussion on Education Reform in Cambodia, the Minister of Education has underlined the desires to promote the quality of teachers by taking certain measures such as providing teachers with incentives, increasing their salary and improving the training quality at all TTCs across the country (Naron, 2016).

VI. Discussion

1. A lack of intrinsic motivation to be a teacher

Prospective teachers' motivation to become a teacher should be considered when discussing teacher quality in Cambodia. One study points out that it is individuals' motivation to teach that draws them to become a teacher, sustains their commitment to teach, and promotes their professional

knowledge (Day, Elliot, & Kington, as cited in Gu & Lai, 2012). Other research also shows that people entering pre-service teacher education programs share common motivating factors, including a desire to work with or benefit students, a sense of altruism or a wish to make a difference in their community or society through teaching (Jugović, Marušić, Ivanec, & Vidović, 2012). While these initial characteristics are necessary to select the candidates into teacher training programs, the current Cambodian teacher policy demonstrates a gap in this pivotal point. Previous research studies showed that many candidates chose teaching as their career because they had no other options (Benveniste, Marshall, & Araujo, 2008). According to MoEYS (2015a), more than 2000 existing teachers left their positions per year between 2012 and 2013. This may be caused by a lack of personal motivation to work as a teacher.

In summary, a profound understanding of novice teachers' initial motivation, their perceptions of teaching, and their satisfaction with their teaching career is a sound basis for designing teacher education programs and developing teacher policies and teaching practices. In this regard, it is necessary that the prospective teachers who will be selected be assessed by their enthusiasm or dedication to teaching. As Tatto (2008) noted, to effectively produce highly qualified teachers is to first select individuals with appropriate characteristics for the teaching tasks.

2. Teacher preparation programs

Many studies have shown that teacher education programs profoundly influence teacher trainees' knowledge, skills, and disposition and consequently on their student achievements (Darling-Hammond, 2000; Tatto, 2008). An effective teacher education program therefore rests upon several factors, such as qualifications of teacher educators, school environment, school facilities, and collaboration between student teachers and educators, consistency between theory and classroom practice, and accreditation of teacher education programs (Ambrosetti & Dekkers, 2010; Hollins, 2011). These crucial indicators are significantly underpinned by research evidence. Darling-Hammond (2000), for example, contended that criticism of teacher preparation came from unresponsiveness to the reality of classroom practice. This can be assumed that traditional teacher preparation programs lack their effectiveness because they have not equipped in-service teachers with adequate subject matter knowledge, pedagogy knowledge, and

other necessary skills enabling them to respond to a wide range of challenges caused by diverse classroom situations.

Similarly, teacher preparation programs in Cambodia have faced two main challenges. First, research findings have indicated that pre-service teacher training programs in Cambodia have suffered from disconnection between theory and practice (Benveniste et al., 2008; Tandon & Fukao, 2015; Williams, et al., 2016). This is partly because of a current shortage of qualified teacher trainers. As stated earlier, many of the teacher trainers are unable to provide meaningful content mastery and they still employ teacher-centered teaching instead of student-centered pedagogy. This is evidenced by my personal conversation with a pre-service teacher who specializes in English language teaching at NIE in an academic year 2016-2017 and is preparing for his practicum. He revealed that:

“My teacher mentions several times about student-centered teaching but in the classroom he never employs it and he always teaches me by using the teacher-centered method. I’ve also never heard of teacher standards and even my teachers don’t tell me about them.”
(Interview, 10 March 2017)

The quotes above could prove that pre-service teacher education programs in Cambodia remain ineffective. Teacher trainers seem to heavily use the teacher-centered approach, undermining the student-centered method. This practice casts a doubt on the teaching effectiveness of prospective teacher trainees. Darling-Hammond (2010) expressed a strong criticism about the traditional teacher preparation program due to its lack of coherence between the coursework and clinical practices. She further argued that substantial evidence of the success of teacher preparation programs came up with strong linkages between theory and practice, through well-designed clinical experiences and the use of case methods, action research, and performance assessment.

Given the above-mentioned discussion, the quality of teacher training programs in Cambodia should not be overlooked. In order to establish a maximum connection between theory and practice, teacher trainers need to attend to clinical practices and find out how to best help novice teachers develop practical skills through real classroom exposure. Encouraging teacher trainers to do action research is also a critical point here. As action researchers, teacher educators can reflect and feedback on their work and

they will see even greater congruence between theory and practice. Their performance should also be assessed at the end of the training program to identify and address possible shortcomings. Peer collaboration should be encouraged and strengthened among teacher trainers and incentives and motivation to facilitate collaborative practice among trainers should be used.

As mentioned earlier, teacher standards have been enacted in the curriculum to reinforce teacher quality but these standards are not fully implemented. In order to ensure that teacher standards are broadly implemented in TTCs, all stakeholders involved in this process need to disseminate and distribute the copied papers of teacher standards to both novices and experienced teacher trainers. Teacher trainers then need to incorporate the teacher standards in their daily instruction and incorporate them into their course assessment to make sure that their teacher trainees are very familiar with those standards.

As Totto (2008) argues, the accreditation of teacher education is a way to ensure that student teachers will be well-equipped with useful skills and experiences enabling them to perform their work successfully in the classroom. Teacher preparation programs in Cambodia have suffered from a lack of accreditation and due to minimal support from MoEYS teacher trainers in Cambodia have been working in isolated environment (Tandon & Fukao, 2015). This environment has resulted in poor flow of information between the Ministry and the teacher trainers. Who will then help assess the teacher training effectiveness? This remains a complicated question in the current situation of teacher training in Cambodia. Through my personal dialogue, a vice-director of one RTTC revealed that:

“We have documents from the ministry outlining measures to assess teacher training effectiveness, but in practice the ministry just demands reports about the results of the training. I and other colleagues have to prepare annual reports and submit them to the ministry. The ministry has rarely sent any officials to assess our training.” (Interview, 11 March 2017)

Even at the Annual Education Conference on March 21, 2017, no crucial plan is mentioned about the accreditation of teacher training programs. Thus, a lack of close collaboration between all stakeholders is a major issue facing the pre-service teacher training in Cambodia. Tandon and Fukao (2015) suggest that to improve teacher preparation programs, the community of collaboration amongst peer trainers, TTCs directors, and the ministry

officials should be promoted to ensure the smooth flow of information and communication. Such close collaborations may bring about more timely response to the needs of teacher trainers and the Ministry can also correspond to any issues on time. A lack of commitment from the government to improve the current status of teacher training programs may be another problem. Tandon and Fukao (2015) have found that in all the six RTTCs there were only 11 Math teacher trainers. This shortage of teachers is probably caused by the fact that the salary and the status of teacher trainers in RTTCs and PTTCs are similar to those of the teachers in upper-secondary schools. As a result, there are not many competent candidates applying for the position.

3. Teacher professional development

Based on the education statistics of 2014-2015 and 2015-2016 (MoEYS, 2015b, 2016), there are fewer than a thousand teachers who have already received formal pedagogical training. The statistics have revealed a great challenge to the improvement of teacher quality in Cambodia, that is, a serious lack of qualified teachers at all school levels. A study by Phin (2014) with 173 teachers about their challenges in their teaching jobs showed that some in-service training programs have not been systemized and have been provided to teachers irregularly, which affected professional development among those teachers. Moreover, some in-service training programs have been given by international organizations in order to fulfill their project plans only, not genuinely catering for the teachers' needs (Fata, n.d.).

Apart from the above issues, Cambodian teachers have been recognized as working alone with little support or feedback from their peers (Tan & Ng, 2012). As argued by Hargreaves (2000), colleagues play a key role in giving feedback on peer performance and a lack of this kind of feedback may lead to lower confidence and uncertainty as well as low self-efficacy in teaching. Thus, it is imperative for teachers to cooperate with their peers to adjust their teaching techniques so as to brighten their children's future. What is recommended here is a desire to spread out an idea of professional learning community (PLC). This is perhaps a very fresh idea for Cambodian teachers, school leaders, and administrators although PLC has been prevalent in the literature. Hord (1997) describes PLC, as follows:

a professional community of learners, in which the teachers in a school and its administrators continuously seek and share learning,

and act on their learning. The goal of their actions is to enhance their effectiveness as professionals for the students' benefit; thus, this arrangement may also be termed communities of continuous inquiry and improvement. (p.1)

According to Hord (1997), such a community produces a positive climate for teachers, staff, and students. For staff, they can increase commitment to the mission and goals of the schools, create shared responsibility with teachers toward achieving the total development of students, create powerful learning that defines good teaching and classroom practices, and enhance understanding of the course content and teacher roles. For teachers, they can exchange feedbacks with colleagues for better performance and to achieve the common goals in schools. These concerns provide a critical lens to understand why collaboration is important to enhance teacher quality in Cambodia. An absence of which may deteriorate the quality of teaching.

In short, the opportunities to learn and to enrich knowledge and skills for practicing teachers are extremely crucial to enhance the quality of teaching. If the well-structured training, however, is not established or teachers receive the training which is poorly relevant to their classroom realities, and PLC is not well-constructed, the rhetoric of providing high quality teaching to every student will be hard to achieve.

4. Lower pay for teaching profession in Cambodia

A teaching career in Cambodia is said to have lower wages if compared to other professions (Tandon & Fukao, 2015). Cambodian teachers usually earn less than other professionals, particularly in Phnom Penh. Teachers earn less than health professionals with similar qualifications. The average income of medical doctors, nurses, and midwives is higher than those of university teachers and other education professionals, respectively (Tandon & Fukao, 2015). Although teacher salaries have been raised recently, they are still limited compared to those of other professions. This low-paying teaching profession is therefore unlikely to attract well-performing high school graduates. According to Thmey Thmey (2016), only 1200 grade 12 graduates who received grade B and C in 2015 attended TTCs while those who received grade A went to undertake other professions. Therefore, in order to attract more top graduates to take part in the teaching jobs, a comprehensive approach with attractive incentives is required. If the salary and prestige are adequately upgraded, the TTCs may be able to attract and

recruit outstanding students. In short, if the potentially capable candidates are not recruited for the training and retained in the teaching profession, the success of the teacher policy is highly unlikely.

VII. Conclusion

The case of the teacher quality in Cambodia illustrates many challenges, such as the selection of individuals with inappropriate characteristics for the teaching career, poor preparation programs for pre-service teachers, inadequate professional development and poor incentives and pay. Therefore, it is necessary to go beyond the current structural improvement in teacher education and professional development programs to produce highly qualified teachers. First, with regard to teacher quality improvement the paper has argued that the selection of individuals with appropriate characteristics for the teaching careers should be a priority. Second, teacher preparation programs need to be improved by linking theory and practice and increasing real classroom exposure for novice teachers. Third, the qualifications of teacher educators should also be improved through training opportunities, enabling them to become action researchers and encouraging them to collaborate with their peers. Apart from this, this paper has also argued that pre-service teacher programs need to be officially accredited. Accrediting teacher education programs is a part of setting clear standards to ensure that pre-service teachers will receive quality training. Next, teacher quality will be enhanced when the practicing teachers receive sufficient professional development training and gain more understanding about PLC amongst their peers and other stakeholders. Finally, attractive incentives and good pay for teaching professions should be further provided to attract highly capable candidates and retain them permanently in the job.

The reflection and application of Tatto's (2008) Teacher Policy Continuum Framework serve as an analytical tool and highlight the gaps between policy rhetoric and the implementation of teacher policy in Cambodia. To recruit the most suitable candidates for the teaching professions, good benefits, such as high salaries, professional autonomy, teaching support, and so on, should be in place to attract the outstanding prospective teacher trainees and trainers. However, the limited use of this framework in the Cambodian context should be acknowledged, suggesting a need to undertake empirical studies in the Cambodian context to examine whether this teacher policy continuum framework can be applied in Cambodia.

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The Limits of China's Influence in Cambodia: A Soft Power Perspective

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Abstract

This analytical article is aimed at reviewing the concept of 'soft power' and figuring out the sources of China's soft power, its motivation, and its limits in Cambodia. The paper argues that China is able to promulgate its soft power through various channels while China's motivation behind the push of its soft power varies. The paper concludes that given the overwhelming influence of China's soft power in Cambodia, the actual influence is still relatively limited.

Keywords: China's influence in Cambodia; Soft power

I. Introduction

China with its economic rise and gradual military modernization has engaged its neighbors very actively. This can be evident through the ASEAN Plus Three Summit, ASEAN-China Summit, and ASEAN-China Free Trade Agreement. Increasingly, the Beijing Consensus, a framework with the political and economic ideology for guiding the institutions and growth of developing nations has garnered support and popularity in Asia because it insinuates the plausibility of leaders pursuing economic growth while maintaining political authoritarianism (Cho & Jeong, 2008; Shutter, 2006, 2008). China has no doubt been seen to project its soft power through such engagement with the region (Gill & Huang, 2006).

As a small state in the Southeast Asia region, Cambodia cannot avoid the spillover effects from China's increased soft power. The Chinese aid, loans and investment in Cambodia have been tremendously augmenting in recent years. In the meantime, the number of Chinese language schools, especially the Confucius Institute is gradually growing. The Chinese New Year is usually celebrated among the Chinese Cambodian people as well as the native Cambodian people, even in the rural area of the country. What is

striking is that the current Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen has also embraced the Deng Xiaoping's leadership ideology (Willemyns & Kuch, 2015). PM Hun Sen used to echo Deng's famous quote, saying that regardless of the color of the cat, either black or white, as long as it can catch the mice, it is a good cat (Willemyns & Kuch, 2015). In addition, PM Hun Sen publicly praised the book entitled *Xi Jinping: The Governance of China* and encouraged his subordinates to read it so that they can gain insights into how a society should be governed (Touch & Maza, 2017).

The main purpose of this paper is to inform readers what 'soft power' is and explore the impacts of China's soft power on Cambodia. 'Soft power' as discussed in the following section is able to attract, if not compel the small countries to design its policy to serve the general interest of the big power. The meticulous comprehension of the concept and its implications is crucial for policymakers, academia, students of international relations and to a lesser extent the public to make informed decisions that serve Cambodia's interests. While the scope of this paper is mainly about Cambodia, its implications may well be extended to other similar contexts as well.

II. Revisiting the Concept of Soft Power

Many scholars and researchers have assiduously attempted to define the concept of soft power. To Joseph Nye, soft power is state's ability to attract and co-opt rather than to coerce, use force or give cash as a means of persuasion (Nye, 1990, 2004). The aim of such persuasion is to set and shape the agenda and preferences of all actors involved to realize the mutual interests and to allure a sense of cooperation rather than confrontation so that the ultimate employment of hard power is evitable (Nye, 1990, 2004). Based on this definition, however, one could conclude that the ultimate aim of soft power is to influence the behaviors of other states to our own preferences or interests. The powerful states can opt to do so via coercion with threats, persuasion with cash or attraction and co-option by the attraction of ideas (Wilson, 2008). State can utilize soft power through mobilizing non-physical, abstract, subjective and often subtle attribute of power along three dimensions: culture (in places where it is attractive to others), political values (when it lives up to them at home and abroad) and foreign policies (when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority) (Nye, 2004, 2008).

Unlike Joseph Nye, Alexander Vuving (2009) offers three alternatives on how soft power is produced: benignity, brilliance and beauty. 'Benignity' is able to generate soft power through the production of gratitude and sympathy because when you as an agent have a positive attitude towards your client, your client will pay back its reciprocal altruism to you. 'Brilliance' generates soft power through the production of admiration that, for instance, when you can achieve the extraordinary result, people tend to learn the success from you and in this sense you have the influence over them. 'Beauty' defined as an aspect of actors' relations with ideals, values, causes, or visions generates soft power through the production of inspiration that, for example, if state A shares values of state B, state A tends to follow what state B says (Vuving, 2009).

However, each of these three concepts has a flaw in itself. First, while a state is more benign to other states, it has not been proved to guarantee that the other states will follow the wishes of the benign one. Second, in the international anarchic system, it seems that if state A is more brilliant than state B, it can turn out that state B is fearful of state A. For instance, China is now so brilliant in terms of science and technology, especially the military capacity, which makes some Indian scholars view China as a threat (Verma, 2016). Third, Vietnam shares the Chinese communist regime but why is Vietnam still fearful of China's long-term intention? These concepts remain contested.

III. Sources of China's Soft Power in Cambodia

1. Chinese diaspora

One of the most crucial aspects of the sources of China's soft power in the world is its policy of "huaqiao" (*Overseas Chinese*). One could argue that the political motivation behind the policy of 'Overseas Chinese' is to influence the decision and shape the agenda of other states through its overseas Chinese. The Chinese minority in Cambodia may be able to influence the decision made in the country in many ways. If they have Cambodian citizenship, for example, they can work for the government. In this case, they can choose to make the decision favorable to China. Moreover, most of the Chinese minorities in Cambodia are businesspeople who generally have the power to lobby the government to make the decision friendly to China. However, as argued by Chang (2013), while ethnic Chinese worldwide share linguistic and cultural bonds, most ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia,

including Cambodia do not possess a bond with China beyond purely economic interests and thus do not want to risk losing political and economic privileges to serve China's broader interests.

One of the crucial roles of the Chinese diaspora is to project China's soft power by spreading its culture. Generally, every person with their origin culture usually preserves it through practicing and nationalizing it wherever they live. Cambodia is a good example. The Chinese New Year which is not a national holiday and traditional festival of Cambodia is celebrated across the country by Cambodian people with the Chinese origin. Some schools and state institutions in Cambodia are closed to allow their students and staff to enjoy the Chinese New Year. Even those Cambodians who have no Chinese descent also celebrate the Chinese New Year because they believe that the celebration will bring them luck, wealth, and happiness throughout the year (Xinhua, 2014). Such a phenomenon is really a sign of the overwhelming Chinese influence in Cambodia.

2. Chinese film and philosophy

China's soft power in Cambodia is also generated from Chinese films and philosophy. Many of the Chinese folktales have been turned into the world-renown movies and the educational values in these movies are very influential in Cambodia. Take a movie, *A Tale of Three Kingdoms*, dubbed in Khmer as an example. In the meantime, several strategic concepts in this movie have also been pronounced among normal Cambodian citizen. There are several examples about such a case. As far as my personal observation is concerned, many people have posted quotes from the movie along with their favorite character who said those quotes on Facebook so that other fellow Cambodians are able to see and learn from the quotes. Some companies even use the similar approach to advertise their products by creating the image of the actor and their respective speech, along with their company's name and products or services. Such practices show how the Chinese ancient philosophy from the Chinese movies has influenced the perception of the Cambodian people. This influence is not likely to fade away but rather rooted in the Cambodian society.

3. Confucius Institutes

Confucius Institutes (CIs) have been increasingly set up around the globe and playing a leading role as a Chinese policy tool to project its soft power.

However, their operations have faced many challenges. While there are linkages in terms of finance and administrative monitor between CIs and the Chinese government, CIs have been perceived as a ‘propaganda tools’ or one of ‘China’s foreign propagandists (Brady, 2010) or spying tool (Zanardi, 2016). There are several cases, which could be found. In Canada, a Toronto District School board committee voted to terminate the Confucius Institute programs, accusing this institute of having hidden political agendas that try to influence their students (Howlett & Alphonso, 2014).

Despite the overwhelming skepticism about the activities of CIs, its number grows at a steady pace in Cambodia, up to 3 CIs now. The first one is located at Royal Academy of Cambodia. The second one is at Asia Euro University and the last one is at University of Battambang. There are also 3 Confucius classrooms. The first one is at Angkor High School. The second one is at the 70th Brigade, and the last one is at Police Academy of Cambodia. One should expect that the more presence and activities CIs have in Cambodia, the more influence China has on this small country.

4. Chinese initiatives of multilateral institutions

Another way China can advance its soft power is to actively participate in regional forums and play a leading role in establishing development projects in the region. China has participated in various ASEAN-centered forums and institutions such as the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), ASEAN Plus Tree (APT), East Asia Summit, and the ASEAN Defence Ministers Meeting Plus (ADMM Plus), affirming the ‘ASEAN Way’ to demonstrate its sincerity in engaging the region, in abiding by various ASEAN norms, in partaking in multilateral cooperation, and in showing greater transparency in its dealings with Southeast Asian nations (Li, 2015).

The recent launch of ‘One Belt, One Road’ (OBOR), later also known as ‘Belt and Road Initiative’ (BRI) and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) to fund the infrastructure projects has received a warm welcome from Cambodia. As noted in Xinhua News, Prime Minister Hun Sen stated, “We particularly welcome the establishment of the AIIB, initiated by China but now involving a strong partnership of multilateral and bilateral agencies”. He continued, “Cambodia, as a founding member, will greatly benefit from this bank in terms of infrastructure investment needs” (Xinhua, 2016).

Furthermore, China has played a leading role in initiating many development programs in Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar and Vietnam (CLMV). Another new regional development initiative China has proposed for CLVM is the Lancang-Mekong Cooperation (LMC). These initiatives have demonstrated China's commitment to strengthen bilateral relations and building trust with ASEAN nations. They can also reassure China's immediate neighbor of China's peaceful rise (Weissmann, 2014).

Among these initiatives, the LMC has generated significant influence of China's soft power on Cambodia and the region. The reason is that instead of using political means to influence the Mekong sub-region, China has incorporated economic incentives and policy of non-interference to forge closer ties and build new regional architecture (Lim, 2009). While every participating country within the context of the LMC could see the mutual interests, China has no reason to coerce the countries along the Mekong River to join the project with its mighty military force.

5. Chinese aid, loans, trade and investments

Another powerful source of China's soft power is how China is able to allocate its aid and loans and boost bilateral trade and investment in the kingdom. Since 1992, China has provided around \$3 billion in congressional loans and grants to Cambodia (Var, 2016a). Moreover, during the Chinese President Xi Jinping's recent visit to Cambodia, Xi pledged some \$237 million in aid, eliminated almost \$90 million in state debt, and additionally offered \$15 million in military support (Khy, Paviour, & Khoun, 2016). The bilateral trade between Cambodia and China reached \$4.3 billion in 2015, an increase of about 15.19 percent from the \$3.8 billion in 2014. China is the largest foreign investor in Cambodia with an aggregate investment of more than \$14 billion between 1994 and 2016 (Sum, 2016). In terms of foreign loans, Cambodia owes China \$3.59 billion (Ministry of Finance and Economy, 2017).

Remarkably, the Chinese aid is well appreciated by the top Cambodian leaders. Prime Minister Hun Sen has relentlessly praised the aid from China that it has no strings attached, unlike the funds from the US and the EU that are often predicated on liberal reforms and democratic commitments (Hutt, 2017). But to reiterate that China aid to Cambodia has no strings attached can be a huge fallacy. In return for the China's aid and loans, Cambodia has to advocate 'One China Policy' and support China's position at the South

China Sea, all of which is to serve China's strategic interest (Var, 2016b). Cambodia also supports 'One China Policy' by banning the Taiwan flag from being hoisted in the country (Chung, 2017). Moreover, in 2012 it blocked the ASEAN joint communiqué to avoid criticizing the Chinese assertive actions at the South China Sea (Bower, 2012). It again prevented any statement referent to the South China Sea dispute in the 2016 ASEAN joint communiqué in Laos (Baliga & Vong, 2016).

With the Chinese influence, Cambodia has recently postponed the Angkor Sentinel, a joint military exercise with the US (Ben & Meyn, 2017), and delayed indefinitely the Seabees aid program, known as the US Navy Mobile Construction Battalion whose mission is to carry out the community service at the underserved areas of Cambodia since 2008 (Hul, 2017). All of these decisions tend to serve China's strategic interests, proving that China's efforts in providing aid and loans to Cambodia have paid off.

IV. Motivations behind the Chinese Pursuit of Soft Power in Cambodia

There are several key factors encouraging China to actively promote its soft power in Cambodia. First, given its economic and military rise, China needs to assure its neighboring countries that its rise is and will be peaceful through its soft power promotion (Glaser & Murphy, 2009). Professor John Mearsheimer's simple but influential argument is that if China continues to rise economically for the next two or three decades, China will turn the economic might into the military superiority in the region in a way that no state can match and ultimately dominate Asia (Mearsheimer, 2014). How soft power is projected to combat the negative image of China will add up China's ability to establish good cooperation with its neighbors.

China's efforts in combating the 'China Threat' Theory have been very effective in Cambodia. Chheang Vannarith, a co-founder and Chairman of Cambodian Institute for Strategic Studies (CISS) said during an interview that China's rise is good news for Cambodia. He further stated that China would remain a very important strategic and economic partner for Cambodia as the country strives to drive its economic development and combat poverty (May, 2016). When it comes to a security dimension, Jeffrey Becker also noted that the security cooperation between China and Cambodia continues to expand and its growing military capacity is likely to provide the public goods to the region that no one should concern (Becker, 2017). The Chinese intention to show that its rise is peaceful has enabled China to make friends

with Cambodia. Prime Minister Hun Sen who used to label China as a ‘root of all evils’ in the 1980s has changed his tone to praise and depict China as a ‘most trustworthy friend’ (Hutt, 2017).

In addition, China has realized that the global situations have been relentlessly evolving and that the use of military power to coerce other states and become a real superpower will only generate a harmful backlash. Nye (1990) perfectly pointed out that the demise of the Soviet Union was the result of the US’s wise approach to employ the ‘smart power’, integrating ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ to dissolve the Soviet Union’s ideological foundation. China is also able to enjoy the ‘latecomer advantage’ and learn that the failure of Japan and Germany during the World War II was because these two countries depended heavily on its military power.

It would not be too surprising to argue that the quest for natural resources to fuel its domestic economic growth has been a reason for China to promote its soft power. The Chinese leaders are fully aware of how scarce its resources are that they have to secure easy access to critical commodities both to feed an increasing population and to accelerate the output and export-oriented industries (Burgos & Ear, 2010). In this regard, China’s National Offshore Oil Corporation (CNOOC), which is one of Chinese state-owned enterprises, has signed the deal of joint production operation with the Cambodian National Petroleum Authority to burrow natural gas and oil in Cambodian shores (Lum, Morrison & Vaughn, 2008). This is part of the Chinese plan to secure its access to energy sources to advance its industrial growth.

V. Constraints of China’s Soft Power in Cambodia

Despite its enormous influence on Cambodia, there are some limits and constraints for China to project its soft power in this small country. Kurlantzick (2007) has noted that China only works with the ‘elites’, while leaving the ‘general public’, behind. Moreover, some scholars believe that the Chinese aid and investments have aggravated corruption, deteriorated good governance, and human rights and damaged Cambodia’s resources and natural environment (Heng, 2013). For example, a Chinese dam building on the upper Mekong River is being tolerated despite potential environmental devastation affecting millions of Cambodians who depend on this water for drinking, irrigation, fishing and income (Var, 2016a).

A recent survey conducted by a group of Cambodian students to understand the perceptions of 500 Cambodian university students on Cambodia's foreign policy toward the US and China revealed that although the majority of Cambodian students acknowledged the Chinese contribution to the development of Cambodia, about 70 percent of them preferred to see Cambodia developing a better relation with the US (Heng, Sao, Chet, & Chan, 2017). The survey has demonstrated that China's soft power in Cambodia is rather limited, at least from the perspective of Cambodian university students.

VI. Conclusion

As China is rising, its soft power is also improving. In Cambodia, there are, as discussed above, several channels China has pushed forward its soft power. However, this soft power influence is still limited at large. China has great influence on Cambodia, in particular when it comes to the South China Sea dispute; nevertheless, Cambodia is still able to make decision to cater for its own interests, not always for the Chinese interests. The way out for Cambodia, China and ASEAN when it comes to the South China Sea, for example, is to push forward the finalization of the Code of Conduct on the South China Sea. When finalized, this framework should be able to address the South China Sea dispute.

When it comes to Chinese aid provision to Cambodia, the study conducted by a group of Chinese experts has offered some policy recommendations for China (Haibing, et al., 2015). First, China should not only work with the government but also allocate its resources with the grassroots people and civil society. China should realize that the long-lasting relationship between the two countries rest on the people, so China should take the Cambodian people needs and views into critical consideration. Second, the proportion of Chinese aid should go to programs, which are aimed at improving the ordinary citizen's livelihood. Third, building a new set of collaborations with other sponsors, especially NGOs to alleviate the political sensitivity of the Chinese aid has to be prioritized (Haibing, et al., 2015).

All in all, it is undeniably true that Cambodia has enjoyed great relations with China, particularly in terms of aid and loans, military cooperation, bilateral trade and investment. However, people-to-people exchanges have not been at the forefront of this relationship yet. Both Cambodia and China should work more collaboratively to establish more platforms that facilitate

the interaction between the people of both nations. Inclusive initiatives and plans such as joint research projects, cultural events, commercial conferences and youth exchange programs should be encouraged. All of these would ensure better mutual understanding between Cambodians and the Chinese at a micro level, which would in turn enable the Chinese soft power to flourish in the Cambodian society.

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Preparing Globally Competent Graduates: A Content Analysis of a B.Ed. in TEFL Curriculum at a Rural University in Cambodia

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Abstract

Global competence is an essential skill for 21st century learners. It is unclear however whether a curriculum of a Bachelor of Education in Teaching English as a Foreign Language (B.Ed. in TEFL) in Cambodia has fully embraced this notion of global competence. The study is therefore aimed at analyzing the B.Ed. in TEFL curriculum at a rural Cambodian university to find out the extent to which the curriculum can prepare students in the B.Ed. in TEFL program for their lives and work in a globalized world after graduation. For the purpose of the analysis, a checklist of themes of global competence was developed and all course outlines in the B.Ed. in TEFL were analyzed. The findings show that a theme related to subject matter knowledge occupies nearly half of the whole teaching hours of the program, while global competence-related themes receive relatively low attention in the curriculum. The study suggests that the B.Ed. in TEFL curriculum at the university under study be revised to include more themes related to building students' global competence so that they can become globally competent graduates who will succeed in their lives outside the university setting.

Keywords: Global competence; Global education; B.Ed. in TEFL curriculum

I. Introduction

Over the last two decades, Cambodia has seen a significant increase in the use of English as a medium of instruction and communication. English language learning and teaching have rapidly grown, for English, an official language of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), is the main foreign language for business, technology, and higher education in Cambodia. Schools, institutes and centers providing English training programs have mushroomed across the country. A similar growth is seen in the higher education sector where a bachelor's degree in Teaching English as a Foreign Language (B.Ed. in TEFL) is offered at many higher education institutions, both in Phnom Penh, a Cambodian capital, and in the provinces.

Fourteen years ago, Neau (2003) stated that a major concern facing English Language Teaching (ELT) in Cambodia was the fact that many teachers of English have severely limited English proficiency. Although this seems not to be the case a decade and a half later, ELT in Cambodia, in particular in public schools, is still facing many problems, including lack of proper facilities and teaching materials and equipment (Tith, 2015). Through his observations and experiences, Tith argues that ELT practice in schools and universities in Cambodia varies from one place to another, without a standardized system of practice (2015).

With regard to how globally competent Cambodian students and teachers are, Marginson, Kaur, and Sawir (2011) pointed out that the majority of Cambodian students and teachers are still on the outside edge of global knowledge, meaning that their knowledge about global matters is relatively low. The Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport (MoEYS) of Cambodia has also acknowledged its inability to equip teachers and students with proper skills to be ready to live and work in the ASEAN and the globalized society (MoEYS, 2014).

Given the limited global knowledge among many Cambodian teachers and students, it is interesting to find out what constitutes this seemingly low knowledge base and what should be done to improve it. This paper is therefore aimed at analyzing a current curriculum of a B.Ed. in TEFL program at a university in rural Cambodia to see whether there are elements or attributes of global competence included in the curriculum. The study also intends to put forward suggestions on how to successfully prepare

Cambodian students, particularly undergraduate students majoring in English, to work and live in a globalized world.

II. Literature Review

Given the limited knowledge of Cambodian English teachers and their pivotal role in preparing their students to respond to the changes in today's world and the impact of globalization, English teachers in Cambodia nowadays must transform themselves from mere transmitters of English knowledge to instructors whose major goal is to equip their students with English for global competence. This section discusses knowledge base of second language teacher education, defines global competence and global education, and examines the role of information and communication technology (ICT) as well as research in second language teacher education, all of which are defining characteristics of global competence.

1. Knowledge base of second language teacher education

To be a qualified teacher of English, one should at least have good English language proficiency, and having a good knowledge of their discipline is a must for any teachers to teach effectively (Bransford, Derry, Berliner, & Hammerness, 2005). Effective teachers, however, need to develop pedagogical knowledge that goes well beyond the content knowledge of the discipline (Shulman, 1987, as cited in Bransford, Darling-Hammond, & LePage, 2005). Beside linguistic and pedagogical knowledge, both teacher and pre-service student teachers of English must possess process knowledge, including interpersonal and team skills, observation and inquiry skills, and language analysis skills. Furthermore, a good understanding of curricular can help teachers decide on what to teach, who to teach and how to teach (Grave, 2009; Marsh, 2004). It also helps them understand education policy goals and purposes, principles of instructional design, and teaching options and possibilities (Bransford, Darling-Hammond, & LePage, 2005).

According Richards (1998), there are six domains of content which are the core knowledge base of second language teacher education (SLTE). Knowledge in all the six domains is crucial for teachers to make informed decisions to use any teaching approaches that are contextually and situationally appropriate for their students. These domains of content include (1) theories of teaching, (2) teaching skills, (3) communication skills, (4)

subject matter knowledge, (5) pedagogical reasoning and decision making, and (6) contextual knowledge. Table 1 illustrates each of these domains.

Table 1. *Knowledge base of second language teacher education* (Adapted from Richards (1998))

Domains of content	Descriptions
1. Theories of teaching	Teacher's personal theories
2. Teaching skills	Essential general repertoire and specific language teaching repertoire
3. Communication skills	General communication skills and target language proficiency
4. Subject matter knowledge	Knowledge of specialized concepts and theories and disciplinary knowledge
5. Pedagogical reasoning and decision making	Ability to make decisions when preparing and during teaching
6. Contextual knowledge	Knowledge of how a society, community, and institution affects and shapes language teaching

A decade later, Richards (2009), considering the unpredictable changes in the world today, called for a redefinition of SLTE in order to respond to the impact of globalization and the growing need for effective approaches to teacher preparation and professional development programs. Globalization has been transforming the world to be more interconnected and interdependent, shaping the landscape of education that requires teacher training programs to provide prospective student teachers with sound pedagogical knowledge and skills to educate their students for the global citizenry (Guo, 2014). As Ibrahim (2005) pointed out, the concept of global citizenship is related to “political, economic, technological and cultural trends summed up by processes of globalization” (p. 177).

Remarkably, language classrooms have become more demographically diverse, requiring teacher training centers or schools to equip student teachers with the necessary knowledge and skills to fulfill their prospective students' varied needs intellectually, socially, culturally and personally (Ambe, 2006). Therefore, the content of foreign/second language teaching and learning programs should not only be confined to mastering linguistic features and stressing what and how particular students should learn and be

taught, but it also needs to consider the inclusivity of other social and cultural positions across the world as well as its impact on their lives and professions (Graves, 2009).

2. Global Competence

The term global competence is defined by the Longview Foundation (2008) as “a body of knowledge about world regions, cultures, and global issues, and the skills and dispositions to engage responsibly and effectively in a global environment” (p. 7). Similarly, the term is described by Mansilla and Jackson (2011) as a human ability and attitude to comprehend and act on matters of global significance, and it involves the knowledge and skills needed for surviving in the 21st century. For National Education Association (NEA, 2010), global competence refers to knowledge and understanding of international issues, ability to learn and work with others from linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds and skills to function in an interdependent world.

A globally competent student, according to Mansilla and Jackson (2011), should be able to:

1. **Investigate the world beyond their immediate environment**, framing significant problems and conducting well-crafted and age-appropriate research.
2. **Recognize perspectives, others’ and their own**, articulating and explaining such perspectives thoughtfully and respectfully.
3. **Communicate ideas effectively with diverse audiences**, bridging geographic, linguistic, ideological, and cultural barriers.
4. **Take action to improve conditions**, viewing themselves as players in the world and participating reflectively. (p. 11)

In a similar vein, according to Longview Foundation (2008), a globally competent student has:

- Knowledge of and curiosity about the world’s history, geography, cultures, environmental and economic systems, and current international issues
- Language and cross-cultural skills to communicate effectively with people from other countries, understand multiple perspectives, and use primary sources from around the globe

- A commitment to ethical citizenship. (p. 7)

For globally competent teachers, they should possess three competency domains: knowledge, skills, and dispositions. Table 2 below illustrates each competency domain.

Table 2. *Globally competent teachers by knowledge, skill and disposition*
(Adapted from Kirby and Crawford, 2012)

Competency Domain	Attributes
Knowledge	Global issues and problems
	Human diversity and global interdependence
	Technology and intercultural communication
	World regions and current events
Skills	Creative and critical thinking skills
	Cross-cultural skills, digital literacy skills, and second language skills
	Social and political action skills
	Skills to create a classroom environment that values diversity and global engagement
Dispositions	Concern for environment and sustainability
	Curiosity, empathy, justice and fairness
	Open-mindedness to new ideas and experiences
	Value and respect for diversity

3. Global education and global citizenship education

Global education and global citizenship education play crucial roles in preparing students to live and work in the interdependent ever-changing world. The Global Educational Network (GLEN) defines global education as an active learning process grounded in the universal values of inclusion, solidarity, co-operation, justice, equality tolerance, and non-violence (GLEN, 2009). Its main purposes are to promote positive values and assist students to take responsibility for their actions and to see themselves as global citizens who can contribute to a more peaceful, just and sustainable world (GLEN, 2009).

Global Education (Oxfam, 2006) and Global Citizenship Education (UNESCO, 2015) are aimed at helping students to strengthen their ability in

investigation, analysis, and discussion of local and global matters. They give learners competencies and opportunities to realize their rights and obligations to promote a better world and future for all (UNESCO, 2015). Global citizenship education can equip students with the necessary knowledge and skills to cope with the realities of the world of interconnected societies, cultures and politics (Guo, 2014).

4. ICT in second language teacher education

The sociologist Manuel Castells strongly argued that any individual or society that is facilitated by technology can gain more advantages from the global economy than those that remain unplugged (Christie, 2008). Similarly, in second language education, the significance of ICT is beyond the core subject itself. The effective use of ICT can truly enhance the delivery of topics across the core curriculum, promoting interactivity among students and teachers (Williams & Easingwood, 2007). Second language teachers are turning to computer-assisted technologies to make many of their tasks more efficient and make learning faster, easier, less painful, and more engaging (Hanson-Smith & Rilling, 2006). Furthermore, the inclusion of ICT in pre-service teacher training programs enables student teachers to learn independently using web-based resources (Cheng, Tsui, Chow, & Mok, 2002).

To prepare students to work and live in a globalized world, teachers need to have a good understanding of ICT and be capable of using it to facilitate their teaching and students' learning. However, successfully integrating ICT into the classroom is based largely on the teachers' ability to harness the technology to make their classroom environment more socially active, engaging and collaborative (UNESCO, 2011). Therefore, it is important that language curriculum developers consider the crucial role of ICT and teachers' actual capacity in their curriculum development process.

5. Research in second language teacher education

The notion of the role of a teacher as a researcher is not new, and there is a need for the inclusion of a research responsibility in teaching roles (Loughran, 2002). Action research, for instance, offers many benefits for teacher researchers to observe and investigate their school policy and performance for improvement (Hine & Lavery, 2014). This type of research helps teachers identify the gaps between theory and practice and bridge them

(Johnson, 2012) and develop new knowledge concerning their pedagogical and instructional decision making (Hensen, 1996).

Burns (2009) asserted that language teachers should be encouraged to become action researchers to be able to cope with contemporary issues in their teaching practices. The main reason to teach research skills to student teachers, according to Griffith University (n.d.), is to develop and enhance their skills and capacity to think critically and analytically, to retrieve and assess information, and to solve problems. However, Borg (2017) recently argues that teacher research may not be suitable for all teachers. To help teachers engage in research productively, Borg offers twelve helpful tips for doing teacher research. Those tips are categorized onto four groups: quality/rigor, relevance, feasibility and collaboration.

III. Research Methodology

1. Research setting

The present study was conducted at a university in a Cambodian province where youth migration to Thailand for better employment is popular. It is therefore interesting to explore whether the B.Ed. in TEFL curriculum at this well-chosen university has considered and integrated the concept of global competence to prepare the student teachers for their future employment in Cambodia as well as in Southeast Asia.

2. Research instrument and data analysis

A document analysis or content analysis was used to analyze the existing content of a B.Ed. in TEFL curriculum at a university in rural Cambodia. The content analysis is useful for the examination and interpretation of materials, such as personal documents, public records, and curriculum standards (Springer, 2009). Therefore, to identify whether the themes related to preparing globally competent teachers exist in the B.Ed.in TEFL curriculum at the chosen university, the researchers created a checklist of themes of global competence for the basis of analysis. The checklist which can be seen in Appendix A consists of 14 themes relevant to the concept of global competence. Through a review of the literature on second language teacher education, global competence, global education, and global citizenship education, the authors developed the checklist by drawing on ideas and insights from a number of sources, including Leask (2009); GLEN

(2009); Graves (2009); Longview Foundation (2008); Oxfam (2006, 2015); Richards (1998); Roberts (1998); and UNESCO (2015).

During the analysis, any themes in the curriculum similar to the 14 themes of the global competence the authors had developed were classified and coded under their respective themes. To this end, all course outlines for each unit/course in the whole program of the B.Ed. in TEFL were examined and analyzed. A frequency count of the category contents was then conducted and entered into Microsoft Excel 2010 for analysis.

IV. Results and Discussion

1. The proportion of the 14 themes in the B.Ed. in TEFL curriculum

A detailed analysis of the B.Ed. in TEFL curriculum at the selected university reveals that all of the 14 themes are incorporated into the B.Ed. program's curriculum.

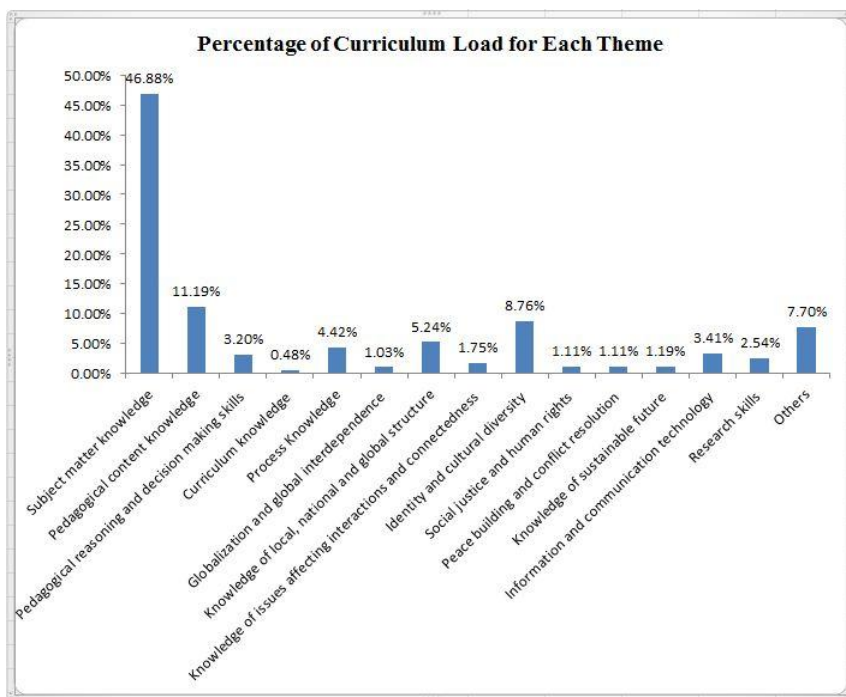


Figure 1: The proportion of each of the 14 themes in the B.Ed. in TEFL curriculum

As Figure 1 above shows, among the 14 themes, a theme related to the subject matter knowledge takes up almost half of the whole teaching hours of the program, accounting for 46.88%. The second largest proportion (11.19%) is allocated for the theme of pedagogical content. The theme of identity and cultural diversity is the third largest standing at 8.76%, while curriculum knowledge receives the least attention among other themes.

Figure 1 further illustrates that the proportion of themes which are literally and thematically related to the notion of global competence is very low. Globalization and global interdependence; issues affecting interactions and connectedness of communities at local, national and international levels; social justice and human rights; peace building and conflict resolution; and sustainable future each receive only around 1% of the whole teaching hours of the B.Ed. in TEFL program. ICT and research skills, the two main defining characteristics of global competence and the 21st century skills, are also found to receive relatively low attention in the curriculum. They stood at 3.41% and 2.54%, respectively. It should be noted that 7.70% of the whole teaching times in the program, labeled as ‘Others’, are used for exams and other units whose themes are not related to building students’ global competence.

The content analysis of the curriculum of the B.Ed. in TEFL program at the selected university in the rural Cambodian province revealed that all of the 14 main themes are found, despite their varying degrees, in the current curriculum under investigation. However, the curriculum loads for the major themes related to building students’ global knowledge and skills seem to be negligible, constituting around one fifth of the whole curriculum. This limited time allocation for the themes highly related to global competence could not provide students with plenty of opportunities to gain critical knowledge and skills needed to become globally competent students and graduates. Thus, the B.Ed. in TEFL program in this study is unlikely to succeed in achieving the themes or the subthemes of Oxfam’s (2006) Global Education and UNESCO’s (2015) Global Citizenship Education, which primarily involve teaching students to learn to investigate, analyze, and discuss any issues relevant to their lives and work in a globalized society. A global citizen should possess critical thinking skills, ability to argue, cooperate, and solve conflicts, and ability to challenge the injustice and inequalities (Oxfam, 2006).

2. The superficial focus of the course

The limited teaching time allocated for ICT and research may show that the courses on ICT and research skills are only designed to build students' general knowledge of research, such as identifying research topics and writing research proposals, not conducting an actual research study. This seems to reveal that ICT and research skills are not given due attention at all, which in turn affects the success of the B.Ed. in TEFL curriculum in building students' global competence. This finding reveals that the curriculum of the B.Ed. in TEFL program at the selected university places a great emphasis on building students' knowledge of the subject matter and pedagogical content, rather than preparing students for working and living in a globalized world as a global citizen. In this regard, it can be concluded that the B.Ed. in TEFL curriculum follows a model of a knowledge-based curriculum (Richards, 1998), mainly aimed at building student teachers' English proficiency.

Apparently, the B.Ed. in TEFL program at this university focuses solely on building students' English proficiency at the expense of their global competence. This seems, through the researchers' observations and experiences, to be the case of the B.Ed. in TEFL program at many other universities across the country. Therefore, teaching or integrating more themes of global competence into the B.Ed. in TEFL program at the surveyed university needs to be done systematically and cautiously to accommodate the needs of the students (Grave, 2009).

V. Conclusion and Recommendations

Global competence may be a new concept for Cambodian English teachers to embrace, but it should be seen as a necessity for teachers to prepare their students to become globally competent graduates. Although being competent in the English language is indispensable for both teachers and students of English at the chosen university and other universities in Cambodia, having practical knowledge and skills to live and work in a globalized society is even more important. From the document analysis, the B.Ed. in TEFL curriculum content at this rural university tends to be more knowledge-based, focusing mainly on building students' English language proficiency and pedagogical skills. However, to design a good B.Ed. in TEFL curriculum which is aimed at producing globally competent graduates, some modifications are required. Modifications such as increasing the presence of

themes of global competence and updating course content to include knowledge and skills characteristic of global competence should be taken into consideration.

1. Recommendations

Even though it is true that students in the B.Ed. in TEFL program at the university under investigation primarily need subject matter and pedagogical knowledge to be qualified as teachers of English, this university's B.Ed. in TEFL curriculum should be revised and updated to take into account the value of global competence and incorporate more global competence-related themes to offer students in the program the opportunity to build their knowledge and skills to become globally competent graduates and citizens.

Thus, to prepare the B.Ed. in TEFL students to work and live in a globalized world successfully, it is recommended that the university consider the following suggestions:

- Integrate more themes of Global Education (Oxfam, 2006) and Global Citizenship (UNESCO, 2015) which seem to be absent in the existing curriculum.
- Increase curriculum loads on the themes related to building students' global competence. An increase in the curriculum loads is essential to provide students with more learning hours that allow them to learn to investigate, analyze, and discuss the themes taught (Oxfam, 2006). Furthermore, the increase in the curriculum loads gives students more opportunities to reflect and relate their learning to the local and international communities.
- Balance curriculum loads to ensure that students' English language proficiency is taken good care of, so is their global competence. This seems to contradict the previous suggestions; however, a good balance should be achieved to ensure that students will not only become qualified teachers of English, the main goal of the curriculum, but also globally competent citizens.
- Redesign the B.Ed. in TEFL curriculum content to place greater emphasis on the themes of global competence so that students can enhance both their English and their knowledge of global matters.
- Increase the time allocated for ICT-related units to provide students with ample opportunities to engage themselves with ICT. This

engagement is useful for them as they learn to make use of ICT for their learning and later for their lives.

- Allocate more teaching time for courses related to building students' research skills, as they will need these skills in their future personal and professional lives outside the classroom.

2. Limitations of the study

It is obvious that the study has several flaws. Firstly, it is limited in scope as it only analyses the B.Ed. in TEFL curriculum of a single university in rural Cambodia, leaving out the B.Ed. curricula at many other universities across the country. Secondly, the research method used in the study is seriously flawed. The study fails to include more valid research methods using interviews, observations and/or questionnaires to better understand the issues discussed in this study. Thus, it appears impossible to determine the success or failure of the B.Ed. in TEFL program at this university by just analyzing the curriculum content. Further research should include larger samples and use mixed methods to collect data from multiple institutions so that a more generalizable finding can be reported.

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Appendix A

A Checklist for the Frequencies and Teaching Hours of the Themes of Global Competence

Unit name.....

Credit points:

Year:..... Semester:

Nº	Themes of Global Competence	Codes	Total hours	Comments
1	Subject matter knowledge (i.e. English phonetics and phonology, syntax, sociolinguistics, and discourse analysis)	SMK		
2	Pedagogical content knowledge (i.e. teaching methodology, classroom management, educational psychology, and student assessment)	PCK		
3	Pedagogical reasoning and decision making skills (i.e. how to teach students from different abilities and backgrounds)	PRDMS		
4	Curriculum knowledge (i.e. curriculum development and syllabus design)	CK		
5	Process Knowledge (i.e. communication, cross-cultural communication, critical thinking, and management and leadership)	PK		
6	Knowledge of globalisation and global interdependence (i.e. globalisation and its effects, global economy, global culture, and global partnership)	GGI		
7	Knowledge of local, national and global structure (i.e. identification, discussion and analysis of global governance systems, structure and process)	LNGS		

8	Knowledge of issues affecting interactions and connectedness of communities at local, national, and global levels (i.e. investigation, assessment and examination of local, national and global issues, responsibilities and consequences of decision making)	IAICC		
9	Knowledge of identity and cultural diversity (i.e. sense of individual and collective responsibility)	ICD		
10	Knowledge of social justice and human rights (i.e. human equity, gender equity, human rights, and democracy).	SJHR		
11	Knowledge of peace building and conflict resolution (i.e. conflict analysis, negotiation, dialogue and communication in order to live and work effectively with groups in diverse contexts).	PBCR		
12	Knowledge of sustainable future (i.e. environmental studies, climate change, greenhouse gas, natural disasters)	KSF		
13	Knowledge of information and communication technology (computer knowledge, web-surfing, emailing, and ICT application for learning and teaching English).	ICT		
14	Knowledge of research skills (i.e. research methods, action research)	RS		

General comments:

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Chinese Singaporean, Singaporean Chinese or Simply Singaporean: Ramifications of Various Self-identities with ASEAN and China

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Abstract

Local ethnic Chinese form the majority of Singapore's citizen population. While Singapore regards itself as a secular country, not one based on race/ethnicity, given that local ethnic Chinese are the majority, their influence within Singapore no doubt penetrates deeply into all spheres of life. This paper explores the various self-identities adopted by the majority Singapore citizen population and how it has changed over time and still continues to evolve. As the majority population of Singapore, their self-identities affect that of Singapore at large. All these are in the context of Singapore as a member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and how the majority of Singaporeans see themselves does have a sizeable impact on the country as a whole. This paper seeks to analyze three Singaporean identities: Chinese Singaporean, Singaporean Chinese or simply Singaporean and examine how a good understanding of each identity would enable us to see its implications on Singaporean society and to do cross-comparison studies across other ethnicity and nationality related issues.

Keywords: Chinese Singaporean; Singaporean Chinese; Identity; Local ethnic Chinese in Singapore

I. Introduction

Southeast Asia is home to the largest Chinese diaspora in the world, with different countries having different proportions of them. Singapore as a country in Southeast Asia stands out given it being the only one with

majority local ethnic Chinese population¹. The local ethnic Chinese in Singapore often have multiple identities, i.e. being ethnic Chinese, being Singaporean, and in the larger context being Singaporean of which Singapore is an ASEAN member in an era of the rise of the region's powerful neighbor, China.

1. Background of Singapore

Judging by physical size, Singapore is a small city state, one of the smallest countries in the world. Yet, in terms of Gross Domestic Product, it is also one of the richest countries in the world, despite being in a region having a much lower economic well-being.

Singapore defines itself as having four major racial/ ethnic groups, namely Chinese, Malay, Indian and others². Therein also lies the idea of meritocracy, where one is not judged by language, race or religion, as mentioned in the national pledge. This is seen as important in the context of the founding fathers of Singapore deciding that while Singapore is comprised of a mainly ethnic Chinese population, all races are deemed to be equal by law, of which due to limitations the history of why such is so will not be discussed here.

However, regardless of constitutionally guaranteed equality and what not, having a majority ethnic Chinese population does have its implications, especially so for a Chinese ethnic majority society. Despite the idea of meritocracy, being part of the dominant ethnic group in Singapore undoubtedly has its benefits in comparison to those belonging to minority ethnic groups (Barr, 2016). Adding to the mix of this is the peculiar fact of the existence of a local ethnic Chinese majority society; that is not a part of China³, as well as being a part of ASEAN.

¹ In many ASEAN countries, many of the people may have Chinese ancestry but do not identify themselves as such both recognition by law or culturally based on various situations in their home countries, and thus it is difficult to identify the proportion of local ethnic Chinese in these countries. Singapore however, through both state imposed and cultural reasons is able to maintain a clearly defined local ethnic Chinese majority population.

² The category "others" is a blanket category that does not fall neatly into the other three categories.

³ Singapore is the only recognized independent country by China as being a sovereign country with a majority ethnic Chinese population other than China itself.

In light of this, the paper seeks to look at the varying ways in which the Chinese community here is being defined, of which I would highlight the use of the following three ways: "Chinese Singaporean, Singaporean Chinese or simply Singaporean", followed by the implications of what the understanding of these identities can lead to.

2. What is a Chinese?

The term, "Chinese", is very much confusing. "Chinese" can refer to both nationality as well as ethnicity (Tsu, 2005). The Chinese nationality would refer to the citizens of the People's Republic of China (PRC), whereas the Chinese ethnicity would refer to those who culturally identify themselves with being "Chinese", be it if they hold PRC citizenship or otherwise. What actually constitutes a "Chinese ethnicity" is again itself a confusing one, as there are many ethnic groups in the PRC⁴.

For the purpose of the paper, I will use the term "Chinese" in the context of the ethnic Chinese Singaporeans to be one that refers to ethnicity. I would also assume that they generally see themselves as having originated from a part of Chinese (mostly Southern China), and assume themselves as "Han" Chinese⁵, which is the majority of China. "Han" Chinese is actually made up of an extensive range of sub-groups speaking non-intelligible dialects to one another⁶.

3. Living in the Context of Singapore

Singapore is a country made up mainly of immigrants, with its 3 main ethnic groups defined by the Singaporean government as being the Chinese, Malays and Indians. While Malays are often said to be the "original" people of Singapore, this is actually not entirely accurate as majority of the Malay

⁴ There are Han, Mongolians, Manchurians as well as Hui just to name some of its many ethnic groups.

⁵ Han Chinese are the majority ethnic group in China. What makes one a Han Chinese is actually not something that can be clearly defined.

⁶ Singaporean ethnic Chinese as with most Southeast Asian ethnic Chinese descend from the various dialect groups of Southern China, such as Hokkien, Teochew, Cantonese and Hakka.

population had not originated in the location of what is today's Singapore, but rather from various parts of the Malay world⁷.

Singapore is clearly not the only country that was founded primarily on an immigrant population, as the same can be said for many countries, such as the USA. The difference lies in the emphasis in which Singapore strongly emphasizes the 4 major groups, namely Chinese, Malay, Indian and others (CMIO) (Alviar-Martin & Ho, 2011).

Countries have varying policies in which they manage their ethnic groups, where there can be policies of assimilation or integration etc. Regardless, while there are also other countries which promote the heritage and culture of their respective ethnic groups, few go so far to the extent to create clearly defined categories amongst its ethnic groups, as in Singapore's case. For example, in the Identity Card (IC) which Singaporeans have, their racial affiliation is clearly imprinted there. Even in the education system, students would learn their compulsory mother tongue language requirement based on their racial affiliation (Ng, 2014).

All in all, the context of Singapore is one where racial affiliations are strongly played out and ingrained in Singaporeans, and thus cannot be easily ignored.

II. On Identity: Chinese Singaporean, Singaporean Chinese or simply Singaporean?

Due to limitations in this paper, I am referring here specifically to ethnic Chinese in Singapore who hold Singapore citizenship. Apart from the ethnic Chinese who hold Singapore citizenship, there are also various other ethnic Chinese groups holding other passports. This would be namely the Southeast Asian Chinese diaspora as well as those from mainland and greater China. Recent years have seen a significant population of Chinese mainly from mainland China who have come to live, study and work in Singapore, which as a group itself also leads to further implications in relation to the local ethnic Chinese population (Yeoh & Lin, 2013), of which will be very briefly mentioned later.

⁷ This would be predominantly what mostly today's Malaysia and Indonesia regions is.

I would be looking at the three terms in a linear form, whereby the term Chinese Singaporean resonated more with the local ethnic Chinese of newly independent Singapore, while the term Singaporean Chinese resonated more for the second generation onwards. In terms of being simply called Singaporean, this would have started from, but not necessarily, the second generation onwards, to the current period.

While a linear explanation is used, this merely shows a preference for their identities in the varying periods, and is not definitive in anyway. In fact, the way they saw themselves could easily swing around depending upon the context, which will be explored later.

Finally, the arguments of this paper are based upon my perceptions and analyses of such and there are many varied ways to see these terms. There is also probably more often than not overlapping as well as situational uses of these terms, as we shall see later.

1. Chinese Singaporean

While the idea of being Singaporean might have already taken root pre-1965, I would here parochially use the period of post-1965 onwards where Singapore gained its independence, as it was then that people were internationally recognized as being Singaporean, citizens of a sovereign state (Yew, 2012).

Ethnic Chinese have long been in Singapore prior to 1965. But prior, Singapore as a state took on many different identities, such as being part of the various sultanates and kingdoms in the region, to being part of the British Empire, as well as later on the Japanese. It was from 1965 onwards that those residing in Singapore had to choose to officially become Singaporeans, or choose to be non-Singaporeans residing in Singapore, a situation similar to all the other newly independent states in the region.

A Chinese Singaporean is what I see as a local ethnic Chinese holding Singaporean citizenship, but puts the identity of the ethnicity of being Chinese as his/ her foremost identity, followed by being a Singaporean. This would be especially true, but not limiting to, the local ethnic Chinese at this point in time, since the idea of the Singapore nation was rather new, and prior to this they could have assumed a multitude of identities apart from being a Singaporean. They may have seen themselves as Singaporean, but

saw what being ethnically Chinese as what defines them most (Skinner, 1959).

2. Singaporean Chinese

The term Singaporean Chinese would be as I define the reverse of the Chinese Singaporean, where the emphasis is upon being Singaporean first as his/ her main identity marker, followed by a secondary identity of being ethnic Chinese. Such an identity formed over time, in particular for the second generation onwards in independent Singapore, with local ethnic Chinese seeing a greater sense of belonging to Singapore, and where the Singapore identity becomes more important than the ethnic identity, but in no means forgetting one's ethnic affiliations.

3. Singaporean

The final term would be seeing one simply as being Singaporean, and not at all affiliating with his ethnicity. I would argue that while such is becoming more common, it is still nowhere close to being taken to be a majority identity of local ethnic Chinese. However, this does not mean that local ethnic Chinese identifying themselves purely as just being Singaporean is not worth exploring.

The reason for identifying one as only being Singaporean and not relating to his/her ethnic affiliation could be due to a range of reasons to make one desire to do so. Possible reasons would be:

1. Local ethnic Chinese of mixed parental heritage, such that while their IC may put him/ her as being Chinese due to the patrilineal lineage, he may be of mixed ethnic background which makes the identity of being Chinese less relevant;
2. The changing perceptions of what being Chinese in Singapore means, in particular vis-a-vis the economic and political rise of the PRC, as well as the increasing large PRC population in Singapore.

As mentioned, what it means to be ethnically “Chinese” is itself something that is not fixed, and if local ethnic Chinese in Singapore seeing themselves as being increasingly unable to fit into the defines of what it means to be ethnically Chinese, they would simply end up drifting away from such an identity in the long run. The situation has been ever more stick with the

sizeably large PRC population in Singapore, whom as ethnic Chinese as well feel very different, making the local ethnic Chinese feel very different from what is the supposed “authentic” ethnic Chinese, since these ethnic Chinese come from the original place of ancestry, China.

4. Fluidity in self-identification of local ethnic Chinese

At the same time, one should also recognize the fluidity of self-identification of local ethnic Chinese in Singapore, such that it varies greatly across internal or external influences, over time and space.

For one, when local ethnic Chinese are overseas, they often simply refer to themselves as being Singaporean, for practical reasons of simplicity to relate to foreigners. It would probably be confusing for foreigners who know little of Singapore's context to identify oneself as Singaporean Chinese or Chinese Singaporean. It could be that also being in a foreign country would make nationality appear to be of greater importance as compared to back home where one need not emphasize his nationality on home ground (Kong & Mani, 1997).

It is also worth noting that for a small open country like Singapore, it is heavily influenced by what is around it, which could explain why such fluidity happens even for those who have a rough way of identifying oneself being able to switch to another so easily. This idea would bring us to the context of being a part of ASEAN and having the powerful China as the region's neighbor.

III. The Three Identities and its Intersection with ASEAN and China

For Singapore, given its geographical location as being in Southeast Asia, its relations with ASEAN countries is one whose importance cannot be understated, be it in terms of political or economic prosperity and stability. At the same time, China's rise in the world and in particular Asia has made it a country whose influence is not one that ASEAN and Singapore can afford to ignore, given how increasing profound the influence of China is being felt in the region (Storey, 2013).

As mentioned, being the majority group in Singapore, their self-identity will in turn affect how Singapore is seen as well as how it positioned in the

diverse and ever-changing landscape, and could spell all kinds of implications, both the good and bad for Singapore.

1. The three identities and ASEAN

Southeast Asia is a highly diverse region, be it in terms of politics, economic levels as well as socio-cultural characteristics. However, despite their differences, one thing that ties them together as that of a region is that of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), which provides a common platform and recognition of its members as being part of the same region and having certain shared interests. ASEAN as an organisation clearly has had both its share of successes as well as failures, of which would not be the focus here. The purpose of bringing up ASEAN would be more to show that regardless of the differences amongst the various Southeast Asian countries, there is still recognition of the identity of being part of the region and how their fates are intertwined as a region to varying extents.

In light of such, the three identities show different inclinations vis-a-vis ASEAN. While Singapore is as it defines itself, a multi-racial country, majority of its citizens are ethnic Chinese. How they perceive themselves thus does make a difference with regard to relations vis-a-vis the ASEAN identity. By identifying one as Chinese Singaporean, it may mean putting the importance of the Chinese ethnicity above the identity of being Singaporean, which is an ASEAN member and a founding member nevertheless. This may in turn be perceived as leaning towards China, regardless of whether this is true or not, since the idea of being "Chinese" lies with ethnicity rather than nationality in Singapore. Likewise, the varying effects could be said for identifying one as Singaporean Chinese or simply Singapore. All of which would yet have to be further explored, but not in this paper, again due to limitations.

2. The three identities and China

The above mentioned point with regard to a possible leaning or lack of such would relate in turn to the relations with China. There is no doubt that the China in the recent decade is no longer the economically weak and closed country that it was at the initial couple of decades during the founding of the PRC. China today has great political and economic influence in the world and in particular over its immediate neighbours, Southeast Asia. While the idea of identifying with being Chinese in Singapore is more of an ethnic one

and not based on nationality, this does not mean it plays no significance in the perception of the relation to China.

People who identify themselves as ethnic Chinese as a main identity could be seen as leaning towards China, and China does indeed wish to reach out to the overseas Chinese diaspora, which it sees as its citizens scattered around the world (Chang, 2013). There also exists in China enormous amounts of work done on overseas Chinese, which carries on to this day.

Identifying oneself as being ethnic Chinese could have positive effects, such as being seen by China as a "relative" and potential partner to work with, seen with China traditionally conducting economic ties through the Chinese diaspora in the respective Southeast Asian countries (Gerke & Menkhoff, 2003). As a society that largely has the culture of working based on relations, or "guan xi", Singapore identifying itself as a majority ethnic Chinese society, in many ways related to China, could thus tap on this to better ties with China.

3. The intersection of the three identities with both ASEAN and China

Recapping, how the three identities affected Singapore's relationship with ASEAN and China and the intersection with both would be based on the premises that:

Placing the importance on the Chinese ethnicity or Singaporean identity, of which a Singaporean identity would be more linked to being a citizen of an ASEAN member⁸, while the Chinese ethnicity would see more of a leaning to China.

ASEAN as mentioned is in itself comprised of highly diverse members, making its identity as an organisation highly malleable and easily affected by externalities. China's rise and influence in the region is one major factor in ASEAN's identity as an organisation and region. It was only a couple of decades ago that the world was still dominated by one superpower, the United States of America. China's rise to power, although arguably not yet at the extent of the USA, has undoubtedly been a major world power regardless, and its neighbours in particular have to face up to the new reality.

⁸ While Singapore as mentioned at the start sticks out like a sore thumb amongst ASEAN members, the point here is to make such less apparent if Singapore wants to be seen as part of ASEAN by other members.

The intersection of the ASEAN identity has become ever the more complex given the rise of China. As immediate neighbours of a powerful neighbor China, ASEAN countries need to decide how they would each handle the rise of China, with each member clearly adopting different strategies given their varied needs and circumstances. There is a need to balance the needs of each country's own interest, the interest of ASEAN as an organisation, as well as that with the China, which is surely in no way easy to strike a balance.

Using the recent string of issues since the start of 2017 that Singapore faced with China, it shows how the three identities intertwine with both ASEAN and China. This would include the issues of the South China Sea dispute, the detention of Singapore's military vehicles in Hong Kong, as well as criticism of Singapore by China for its military trainings in Taiwan. The purpose here again is not to say whether China or Singapore is right, since the factors and reasons behind these issues make it far too complicated to be simplified to any side being right or wrong.

In the South China Sea dispute, Singapore took the stand of ASEAN needing to collectively settle the issue with China, whereas China wanted to isolate the dispute to settling it individually only with claimant countries. This was clearly an intertwining of issues of both ASEAN identity and with China. Also, it should be noted that while not a deciding factor in China's reaction towards Singapore, the idea that an ethnic Chinese country showed no support for China did play a part, of which the extend of which would be hard to gauge.

Another issue to note is the diversity within ASEAN itself, as well as the fluidity of this ASEAN identity. The "ASEAN Way" of consensus making, also means that members do not enforce their decisions upon one another, and rely on consensus making, which at many times would not work when it came to more serious global contentious issues, such as that of the South China Sea, of which a major power is involved and different countries would have its own policies with regard to dealing with China.

Again, the main point is not as to whether China, Singapore or ASEAN members were right or wrong, but rather to highlight the complexity of the issue. The three identities of seeing one as Chinese Singapore, Singaporean Chinese or just Singaporean would put it as one leaning more towards China, one leaning more towards Singapore, and also possibly also considering

ASEAN, yet still taking into account China's viewpoint, of varying degrees subordinate to the interest of Singapore. Finally, seeing one as solely being a Singaporean would clearly mean Singapore's interest is first and foremost the most important above all other issues.

The implications of all three identities are not easy to find out as they all exist alongside each other, meaning that a situation where one outward dominant identity capable of fully influencing Singapore's stand is clearly non-existent for us to gauge.

IV. What then: Chinese Singaporean, Singaporean Chinese or just Singaporean?

It beckons the question as to which identity would prove more beneficial for Singapore's local ethnic Chinese community, and in turn Singapore as a whole. Given the complexity of the issue, and how fast things change in this ever-changing world, there probably is no answer to this question. And indeed, even if there was an answer, it would probably be pointless as these various identities would continue to exist and change in proportion accordingly, which is not something that can be controlled.

Also, as the world becomes increasingly globalized and connected, new identities are also continuing to form just as we speak. The three terms used for ethnic Chinese in Singapore were identities that developed in the country's short span as a young nation, since its independence in 1965. With the increasing interconnectivity, we can only be sure that new identities would start to form at an even more rapid pace. It thus would mean that it really is not a question of whether the "Chinese Singaporean, Singaporean Chinese or just Singaporean" issues of identities are in themselves what is important, but rather the implications they bring about.

Comparing a particular identity to the other bears little meaning as seen throughout the paper, there is no one identity that is more beneficial than the other, as these identities do not exist by themselves, and are greatly affected by various internal and external factors. Furthermore, since people cannot be simply controlled fully into accepting particular identities even with the use of propaganda, it is not meaningful to make a comparison of which is better amongst the respective terms.

V. Conclusion and Implications

In learning about the three identities, what matters than is the implications that an understanding of them means to readers, regardless of where they might come from, be it Singapore, ASEAN, China, or anywhere in the world.

What is learnt from the three identities can be compared and contrasted to various forms of identity, be it supra-national level identities, national level identities, ethnic identities etc. After all, in this day and age with the fast changing landscape of the world, identities are what people are struggling to make a meaning out of, and rightfully so, as identity affects everyone, be it individually, at the societal and national level, or the international level.

It may not be surprising that in the future, for instance, if ASEAN as a community becomes increasingly integrated, identities such as “ASEAN Singapore”, “Singaporean ASEAN”, “ASEAN Singaporean Chinese” may just appear. The possibilities of all kinds of identities being shaped in the future is filled with boundless possibilities.

Knowing more about these identities can allows us to make better sense of how identity, nationality and ethnicity can intertwine to bring about impacts to the country which cannot simply be ignored. A clear potential possibility of a cross-comparison could be to for example India and that of the Indian diaspora in Southeast Asia. Of course, as mentioned above, new identities will continuously continue to emerge and they would too be able to be compared and contrasted to.

Further research and work would definitely need to be done to create better understanding, especially from the viewpoint of the country in which the diaspora resides rather than from the country of ancestral origin. Often, the country or region of origin for the diaspora would see the diaspora in terms of the connection to itself, and not focus upon the multi-faceted self-identities of these peoples. This is not to imply that research from the country or region of origin should be downplayed, but rather it needs to be complemented by research from both within the countries involved, as well as alongside various other sources.

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Democracy and Decentralization

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Abstract

Democracy is a contested concept and needs to be understood contextually if one is to understand the democratization process and avoid misinterpretation and malpractices. One of the arguments of why democracy is stagnant or even in retreat is the decay of state institutions. This paper discusses the conception of democracy by examining its root causes and ways to deepen democracy. A number of scholarly literatures related to democracy, democratization and decentralization are reviewed and discussed in order to assess the argument that political decentralization is crucial to deepening democracy.

Keywords: Democracy; Democratization; Decentralization

I. Introduction

It is acknowledged that there are many possible paths to democracy and not all authoritarian regimes have transitioned to democracy. Democracy connotes different meanings to different societies, yet it is claimed as a “universal value” that nearly everyone shares together (Sen, 1999). However, the concept of democracy is very perplexing to Cambodians in a number of ways. For example, the term democracy is associated with holding elections and yet not all elections are democratic as referenced by elections that took place over the summer of 1946. More importantly, the rhetorical use of the term democracy has been used by repressive regimes to mask their true intentions. Democratic Kampuchea, more commonly referred to as the Khmer Rouge, which committed genocide in the 1970s is a good example of the false rhetorical use of the word and contributes to the difficulty of the Cambodian people to fully understand the concept of democracy. Democracy is generally associated with freedom and human rights, which was introduced to Cambodia by the west in the 1991 Paris Peace Agreement and later reaffirmed in Cambodia’s constitution. Many regimes, including peace centered and repressive ones alike, rhetorically use

the same term – democracy. This conflicting use of the word concept has been explored by Mona Lilja (Lilja, 2010) whose research findings suggest that democracy has been understood differently among politicians, non-governmental organizations, and local citizens who seem reluctant to positively perceive the western view of democracy due to its misuse in the past. Her interviews provide significant insights on what democracy means to Cambodians:

Pol Pot killed all educated people in Cambodia. No one has education now. People are not educated. At that time the leaders called themselves democrats too. Even the country was named a democracy. Therefore, people lose their faith in democracy. Before they did not know what democracy was. Do they know that now?

(Lilja, 2010, p. 298, Interview, Politician, Phnom Penh, 19 April 2007)

There is no history of education and democracy in Cambodia. There is no strong culture and education, that is, education to understand the elections ... We must also fight the picture that democracy is a Western idea, which is created by the Asian value debate.

(Lilja, 2010, p. 298, Interview, Executive Director of a local NGO, Phnom Penh, 3 July 2007)

It took time to understand democracy due to the fact that Khmer Rouge used the word democracy. The language is not that clear. What means democracy? People understood a few points, but not the nuances of democracy. They understood elections, but not how they are exercised. Now we must understand the nuances. What is, for example, equality?

(Lilja, 2010, p. 299, Interview, Executive Director of a local NGO, Phnom Penh, 3 July 2007)

The United Nations introduced the concept of “liberal democracy” in the 1990s to Cambodia, yet the concept was not clearly communicated among the citizens, politicians, and the larger civil society. Mikael Baaz and Mona Lilja argue in their 2014 publication that the intended meaning of liberal democracy – the politics of ideas, is understood differently in the context of Cambodia because citizens see it as the politics of presence, in which personal identification is more important than party ideologies. They also warn that democracy in Cambodia has been hybridized and needs to be

understood clearly in the local context so that the democratization of the nation can be successfully consolidated.

Generated from various scholarly literatures, this article aims to first conceptualize democracy by discussing its root cause and the development of its conception. Then, it explores ways to deepen democracy under the proposition that deepening democracy is possible through decentralization. The purpose is twofold. First, this inductive approach will enhance the understanding of democracy under the argument that without fully disseminating its meaning and form to the public, the term democracy can be used to label undemocratic regimes and can lead to malpractices and abuses. Lastly, it provokes further discussion and debates about the possibility of deepening democracy through decentralization.

II. The Root Cause of Democracy

Liberalization is different from democratization since the former focuses on “the process of redefining and extending rights” and the later on “the processes whereby rules and procedures of citizenship are either applied to political institutions ... or expanded to include persons not previously enjoying such rights and obligations” (O'Donnell & Schmitter, 1986, pp. 7-8). The dominated analysis of what spurred the development of democracy over the past few decades has focused on Barrington Moore's work, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Moore asserts that the path to democracy lies with the rise of the middle class, and the struggle with the ruling elites to develop a balance of power in the political and economic spheres (1969). Using historical comparatives and analysis of case studies in England, France, the United States, Japan, India, China, and Russia, Moore (1969, p. 418) claims, “No bourgeois, no democracy.”

However, the capitalism that endangers parliamentary democracy does not satisfy Robert Dahl. Arguing based on insufficient cases and long historical analysis, Dahl, in his historical sequences condition, postulates that there are three possible paths for a regime to become a polyarchy – an alternative term for democracy which will be discussed later in this section (1971). The first path he alludes to begins as a closed hegemonic regime that opens up to public competition, which is then followed by public participation. The second path, in contrast to the first, is when a regime opens for public participation first, and is subsequently followed by public competition. Finally, in an accelerated way, a regime is “abruptly transformed into a

polyarchy by a sudden grant of universal suffrage and rights of public contestation” (Dahl, 1971, p. 34). Dahl’s other conditions determine whether or not a regime follows one of the paths. Those additional conditions are “the degree of concentration in the socioeconomic order, level of socioeconomic development, inequality, subcultural cleavages, foreign control, and the beliefs of political activists” (Dahl, 1971, p. 32). Dahl warns the first path is the “safest”; however, this option is no longer available to most countries as most are operating in the competitive open market already (p. 39). “Evolutionary processes” used by old regimes and revolutionary practices taken by new regimes are the main causes to force countries to widen their political competition (Dahl, 1971, pp. 40-41). The elites in the ruling party and the opposition party are still seen the main actors in causing evolution and revolution.

The work of Dankwart Rustow suggests a different approach. Rustow (1970) argues that the structural theory developed, for example, by Seymour Martin Lipset in which a high level of economic growth and social development are seen as a precursor to democracy cannot be interpreted as “preconditions” or causation to democracy (p. 342). Lipset is “careful to speak of ‘some social requisites,’ not prerequisites, ‘of democracy,’ and thus acknowledges the difference between correlation and cause,” Rustow reiterated (p. 342). Alternatively, Rustow theorizes that when political elites are struggling over conflicts but try to refrain from polarizing the nation, they will adopt a compromised strategy, which is conducive to democracy, regardless of whether democracy is the end goal or not. He asserts that, “a country is likely to attain democracy not by copying the constitutional laws or parliamentary practices of some previous democracy, but rather by honestly facing up to its particular conflicts and by devising or adapting effective procedures for their accommodation” (Rustow, 1970, p. 354). Thus, democracy is a result of the strategies employed by political elites trying to resolve political, social or economic conflicts when they agree to follow certain rules. However, Rustow does not suggest what causes conflict; instead he opens his argument for more possibilities. The strategic interaction used by political elites to deal with conflict among the “hard-liners” and “soft-liners” can also cause democracy to form (O’Donnell & Schmitter, 1986).

What actually causes a country to liberalize is ambiguous, as there are many possible variables. Rather than focusing on what causes a single regime to move towards democracy, Samuel Huntington categories the move from

non-democratic forms of governance to democracy into three waves of democratization (Huntington, 1993). "A wave usually involves liberalization or partial democratization in political systems that do not become fully democratic," according to Huntington (1993, p. 15). Arguing that not all non-democratic regimes transition to a democratic regime, Huntington places more emphasis on the democratization process, which involves three stages: the fall of authoritarian rule, the establishment of democratic institutions, and the consolidation of those institutions (p. 35). The first wave of democracy occurred in both the American and French revolutions from the 1820s-1920s. There are many root causes to this first wave of democratization, including economic and social developments and the triumph of the western allies in the First World War. The second wave began in 1943 and continued until 1962. This wave is largely in response to the democracy and interventions imposed by the western allies after the Second World War. The third wave begins with the Portugal revolution in 1974 and continued until the 1990s. Huntington (1993) provides reasons for citing the causes and times mentioned above as follows:

1. The deepening legitimacy problems of authoritarian systems in a world where democratic values are widely accepted, the dependence of those regimes on performance legitimacy, and the undermining of that legitimacy by military defeats, economic failures, and the oil shocks of 1973-74 and 1978-79;
2. The unprecedented global economic growth of the 1960s, which raised living standards, increased education, and greatly expanded the urban middle class in many countries;
3. The striking changes in the doctrine and activities of the Catholic Church manifested in the Second Vatican Council from 1963-65 and the transformation of national churches from defenders of the status quo to opponents of authoritarianism and proponents of social, economic, and political reform;
4. Changes in the policies of external actors, including in the late 1960s the new attitude of the European Community toward expanding its membership, the major shift in U.S. policies beginning in 1974 toward the promotion of human rights and democracy in other countries, and Gorbachev's dramatic change in the late 1980s in Soviet policy toward maintaining the Soviet

empire; and

5. "Snowballing" or demonstration effects, enhanced by new means of international communication, of the first transitions to democracy in the third wave in stimulating and providing models for subsequent efforts at regime change in other countries. (pp. 45-46)

Unfortunately, not all countries in the third wave have developed democracy. Some countries have ended up with one party systems, military regimes, and personal dictatorships (Huntington, 1993, p. 110). Observing the breakthrough of the dictatorships in post-communist countries in Europe and the former Soviet Union, Michael McFaul (2002) argues that those countries should have not been grouped in the third wave as it is "more accidental than causal" and he proposes to name it the Forth Wave of regime changes (p. 213).⁹ These countries did not experience "stalemate, compromise and pacts" that led to democracies or autocracies, but rather, the powerful groups who were inclined to possess either the former or later determined the future of the regime. The power imbalance produces a prolongation of uncertainty, "yielding unconsolidated, unstable partial democracies and autocracies" (McFaul, 2002, pp. 213-214).

Examining the cases in Serbia, Georgia, and Ukraine, McFaul (2005) further elaborates on seven conditions that could sway those countries to democracy. First is the growing support for opposition to semi-autocratic regimes. Since the elections are rigged, opposition parties gain more support due to the unpopularity of the incumbent parties, which is the second condition in the breakthrough. The third condition is the ability of the opposition groups to unite as political partners and challenge the incumbent together. The capacity of the opposition to conduct mass protests is the fourth condition. The roles of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are also important in mobilizing the people. NGOs can also help monitor the election process and provide independent, fast and reliable election reports, which can reveal election fraud and cause the incumbent parties difficulties in continuing to manipulate, or gain trust from, the citizens – this marks the fifth condition. The sixth condition is the advent of technology and the

⁹ This separated wave was also known as the second wave of postcommunist transition, which is also in part of the global "third wave" coined by Huntington (1993).

growing number of independent media outlets that facilitate communication and mobilize mass support. The last important condition is the split between authority forces. Armed forces are reluctant to obey orders to bloodily crush mass protests, which are being conducted nonviolently. These conditions strengthen the claim, which previous theories emphasize, that “the level of economic development,” “the split between hard-liners and soft liners,” and “the relationship between the incumbent and the west” are important to democracies formation, but they are not the only causes (McFaul, 2005, pp. 15-18).

So far we have seen that it is impossible to find a single root cause of democracy, this is because democracy evolves from interrelated causes. The role of the middle classes in supporting democracy as suggested by Moore may not be applied to all cases as it revealed that the middle classes are generally supportive of “early liberal reform,” but often reject the “call for full parliamentary government” (Moore, 1969). It should also be noted that the middle classes in Latin America have often supported military coups (Rueschemeyer et al., 1992, p. 271). The modernization theories that suggest economic growth, urbanization and raised education levels are main factors in developing democracy have also been proven to negatively affect the development of democracy (Teorell, 2010). Scholarship focusing on building democracy and democratization after the third wave seems to place more importance in finding ways to deepen democracy rather than focusing the root causes of democracy because most countries have already been liberated.

III. Democracy: The Conception and Stagnation

The term democracy has its roots in Athens. Under Cleisthenes’ reforms, the first democratic system emerged. The word itself doesn’t ascribe any conception or description that could transcend time, much as Anthony Birch argues, “the Greeks gave us the word, but did not provide us with a model” (Birch, 2001, p. 71). Birch claims that the term itself is not perplexing, but there is confusion because of “the vagueness of the terms commonly used to define a democratic political system, the difficulty of clarifying these terms in a value-free way, and the array of partially incompatible justifications for democracy advanced by democratic theorists” (p. 73). However, David Held asserts that the conception and principles of Athenian democracy have shaped, guided and influenced various thinkers over time and still today (Held, 2006). Held’s *Models of Democracy* traces the developmental

conception of democracy and its characteristics from Athens to the contemporary world. Held's (2006) models democratic governance into ten categories, namely Ancient Athens, the Republican (Protective and Developmental), Liberal (Protective and Developmental), Marxist Direct, Competitive Elites, Pluralism, Legal, Participatory, Deliberative, and Autonomous/Cosmopolitan Democracy. The principles and characteristics of each model have certain weaknesses, strengths, and overlapping areas. Each group tends to fill in gaps presented by other models over time and space. The last model, "Autonomous Democracy," Held defines a democratic state in the following way:

Persons should enjoy equal rights and, accordingly, equal obligations in the specification of the political framework which generates and limits the opportunities available to them; that is, they should be free and equal in the processes of deliberation about the conditions of their own lives and in the determination of these conditions, so long as they do not deploy this framework to negate the rights of others. (p. 282)

This model stresses the important role of state and civil society, which are accountable to, and operate under, the rule of law. Meaningful participation of citizens across social classes in the realms of political, social, and economic development is crucial. Held's model is considered as one of the many "thick versions" of democratic conceptions (Coppedge, 2012; Sørensen, 2007).

Democracy has also been conceptualized according to four main dimensions, which are constitutional, substantive, procedural, and process-oriented (Tilly, 2007). Constitutional types focus on the "constitution," substantive on the "condition of life and politics," the procedural on the "elections," and process-oriented on the "minimum set of processes". This understanding of democracy is mainly derived from Robert Dahl's Polyarchy (Tilly, 2007, pp. 7-9). Arguing that Dahl's conception cannot be examined, Tilly proposes that a democratic country should be identified according to "the degree that political relations between the state and its citizens feature broad, equal, protected and mutually binding consultation" (p. 10). From this we note that relationship between the state and its citizens in all countries has been moving back and forth between the four dimensions (breadth, equality, protection and mutually binding consultation). This, however, does not suggest any precise way to deepen the relationship.

Robert Dahl describes types of regimes that are “relatively democratized nation-states (countries)” as Polyarchies (Dahl, 1982, p. 4). The conception of Polyarchy refers to political institutions that characterize a democratic regime that meets the following criteria:

1. Control over government decisions about policy is constitutionally vested in elected officials.
2. Elected officials are chosen in frequent and fairly conducted elections in which coercion is comparatively uncommon.
3. Practically all adults have the right to vote in the election of officials.
4. Practically all adults have the right to run for elective offices in the government, though age limits may be higher for holding office than for the suffrage.
5. Citizens have a right to express themselves without the danger of severe punishment on political matters broadly defined, including criticism of officials, the government, the regime, the socioeconomic order, and the prevailing ideology.
6. Citizens have a right to seek out alternative sources of information. Moreover, alternative sources of information exist and are protected by law
7. To achieve their various rights, including those listed above, citizens also have a right to form relatively independent associations or organizations, including independent political parties and interest groups (Dahl, 1982, pp. 10-11).

According to Dahl (1971), “democracy” is a governing system in which the government “responds to citizen preferences” by opening up for political competition and inclusion (pp. 1-2). To him, democratization is the change of regimes from “hegemonies and competitive oligarchies into near-polyarchies”, from “near-polyarchies into full polyarchies”, and from “full polyarchies to further polyarchies” (ibid., p. 10). He affirms that “no large system in the real world is fully democratized,” but rather “...are closest to the ... polyarchies” (ibid., p. 8). Dahl’s conception of democracy lies within the dimension of the citizens’ rights to contestation and participation in politics under free and fair regulations. The first four requirements suggest the minimal aspect that “elections are inclusive, fair, and competitive,” and the last two are “necessary not only during but also between elections” so that they can be “fair and competitive” (O’Donnell, 1996, p. 35). This “minimal procedural” requirement is not enough to describe “modern

political democracy” (Schmitter & Karl, 1991, p. 81).

In addition to the seven requirements of Dahl’s Polyarchy, Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lunn Karl in their 1991 publication, claim that there are conditions, which are necessary for democracy – they are an elected government that is able to govern without interference from internal forces, for example, by the military or an external political system. This, of course, has to be practiced under certain rules or norms that require cooperation between the ruled and the ruler, including free and fair competitions, and the ability of civil society to influence to public decisions (Schmitter & Karl, 1991). Schmitter and Karl define modern political democracy as “a system of governance in which rulers are held accountable for their actions in the public realm by citizens, acting indirectly through the competition and cooperation of their elected representatives” (p. 76). This definition is elaborated on further by the following quotation, “and in which citizens comply voluntarily with their rulers’ decisions—even when they have not explicitly approved these decisions—because they regard them as having been taken legitimately” (Schmitter, 2015, p. 36).

Dahl’s conception is usually labeled as a “liberal democracy” (Schedler, 1998, p. 92). Andreas Schedler indicates that the two opposite directions of regimes can be classified, on the negative end, as an authoritarian regime, and an electoral, liberal, and advanced democracy on the other, positive end. Schedler (1998) claims no democratic regime has ever been ever completely consolidated but generally moves back and forth over the four categories. These clear dimensions show us that countries are democratizing as they move away from authoritarian regimes towards advanced democracies.

However, the assumption that countries are democratizing themselves simply because they are liberating or reforming its economic and political governance is a flawed argument. The belief that countries are transitioning toward democracy fails to account for what Thomas Carothers describes as the “gray zone”, in which regimes have certain democratic institutions but are less accommodating to political opposition and civil society participation (Carothers, 2002). The political gray zone is a space where countries are “neither dictatorial nor clearly headed toward democracy” (p. 9). This gray zone produces subtypes of politics in which either the competitive political parties are not serious enough to democratize (“feckless pluralism”), or the dominating ruling parties are controlling the state to ensure that they always win the election (“dominant-power politics”), asserted Carothers in his 2002

work. Citizens living in the context of a gray zone do not meaningfully participate in the polity besides from voting, and the political parties are entertaining each other without making any serious reform toward a deeper democracy. Similar to the gray zone context, in 2002, Schedler introduced the term “foggy zone” where two types of regimes, electoral democracy and electoral authoritarian, are trapped in between a closed authoritarian government and attaining liberal democracy. To him, elections are needed to create a democratic country but it has to go beyond the election with liberalism where “rule of law, political accountability, bureaucratic integrity, and public deliberation” are institutionalized (Schedler, 2002, p. 37). What distinguishes an electoral democracy from electoral authoritarianism is that there are certain rules in which people have equal rights to contest and participate in a free and fair election in the former, while those rights are absent or rarely implemented in later.

Democracy is such a contested concept that has been continuously defined and redefined according to the forms of the governing regimes that emerge. Democracy can be described as a “principle or doctrine of government,” “set of institutional arrangements or constitutional devices,” and a “type of behavior” (Crick, 2002, p. 5). While electoral democratic regimes connote the minimalist concept of democracy, which abides by rules and norms to ensure that there is inclusive, free and fair elections, liberal democracy is substantial since it goes beyond elections to include the social and economic equality, regime accountability, and rule of law. Advanced democracy is usually attached to the concept of democratic consolidation where democratic rules and norms have become “the only game in town” (Linz & Stepan, 1996, p. 15).

As democracy has been declared a “universal value” (Sen, 1999) and liberal democracy has won great victories over any other type of government (Fukuyama, 1999, 2000), regimes have transformed their governance from closed authoritarian values into a blurred zone where it is difficult to distinguish between a democratic regime and non-democratic regime. However, what vary between the types of regimes are the quality dimensions of their democratic institutions. Diamond and Morlino (2004) have precisely laid out those qualities in dimensions that one can evaluate and seek ways to improve. They outline eight quality dimensions with their definitions followed by conditions necessary to enhance those qualities as well as the means to improve them. The table on the next page briefly describes those aspects of democratic quality dimensions.

Table 1. *Aspects of democratic quality*

Quality Dimensions	Definitions	Conditions	Means
1. Rule of law	Laws are equality fairly, and consistently applied to all people	Democratic values among elites; strong, effective, impartial bureaucratic system	Build up independence, capacity, and authority of law courts; mobilize and raise awareness by civil society
2. Participation	The rights to fully participation in politics and civil society organization must be granted not only to vote but also to any decision making process	Citizen with basic and civic education; knowledge of government and political affairs	Tolerate to different cultural and political beliefs
3. Competition	Recurring free and fair election	Legal and constitutional guarantee of fair funding and access to media	Set up accountable and independent electoral commission
4. Vertical Accountability	Elected political leaders are to communicate their decision with their constituencies	Lively participation and competition; fair power distribution	Enhance process of evaluation and assessment through relevant stakeholders – civil society, media, and think tank.
5. Horizontal Accountability	Officeholders are to check each other for appropriate and lawful conducts	Legal system enforcing checks and balances	Build capacity; train leaders; encourage responsibility

6. Freedom	Freedom of political, civil, social and economic activities	Fair, vertical and horizontal accountable, and independent institutions; inclusiveness; competitions;	Mobilize citizen through civil society to help check and defend the freedom
7. Equality	Equal rights to access legal protection	Political, social, and economic equalities; political will; strong horizontal accountability	Increase political space; develop autonomous groups;
8. Responsiveness	Answer to what citizens need and demand	Strong vertical accountability with robust civil society; functional party system	Increase public resources; shape public interest

Source: Diamond & Morlino (2004)

So far, a number of democratic conceptions have been raised. Democracy is conceptualized around the relationship between state and its citizens, institutions, and quality governance. The relationship between state and citizens has to be constitutionally guaranteed, and citizens must have the right and freedom to elect their representatives, and to hold their representatives accountable. In addition, citizens must have the right to organize groups so that they can mobilize and advocate for certain issues. This can be either in the form of a political party or a civil society. State institutions must be able to facilitate and strengthen the dual relationship in a way so that government can effectively and efficiently respond to citizens' demands by either informing, persuading, rejecting or proposing policies to create a better society. The state must also make sure they govern using democratic principles, in which both leaders and citizens are mutually responsible to each other under the rule of law. Democratization is the process of enhancing the three dimensions mentioned above, which make the relationship between citizen and state closer and create effective institutions that respond with quality public services. Theories of democratization explain some different approaches and conditions that cause democracy either to prevail or be derailed. However, it is not helpful to understand its

evolution process alone. It is necessary to look at ways to deepen the democratic dimensions as well.

IV. Deepening Democracy

Fukuyama published a paper in the *Journal of Democracy* in 2015 posing a question why democracy is not improving so well. With the diminishing quality of freedom as pointed out by Larry Diamond, the influence of big authoritarian states such as Russia and China, and the instability of states caused by the Arab Spring, Fukuyama is not sure about the future of democracy in the world. However, one thing he that is hindering democracy, is the “failure of institutionalization” (Fukuyama, 2015, p. 12). To him, state institutions must be able to secure legitimate power, under the rule of law, to provide better public services. To have a modern government and successful democracy while “the initial mobilization against tyranny gets institutionalized and converted into durable practices,” Fukuyama urges further steps by, first, transforming “social movements into political parties that can contest elections” and, last, using “legitimate authority and providing basic services to the population” (p. 19). With the two-stage suggestion, he sees the role of civil society organizations and grassroots efforts as less important by claiming, “the motive of creating modern governments was not grassroots pressure from informed and mobilized citizens but rather elite pressure” and “civil society organizations usually focus on narrow issues and are not set up to mobilize voters” (pp. 16-19). He also affirms that, “the legitimacy of many democracies around the world depends less on the deepening of their democratic institutions than on their ability to provide high-quality governance” (p. 15). Elsewhere he also connects government legitimacy to public governance by asserting “the government actually had to deliver better results if it was to be regarded as legitimate, and needed to be more flexible and responsive to changing public demand” (Fukuyama, 2017, p. 111). A regimes’ failure to modify its governance or justify its legitimacy to rule often leads to political decay. While his claims and arguments may be valid in certain circumstances, they are perplexing in a number of ways.

It seems that there is a dichotomy between deepening democratic institutions and high-quality governance. It can be questioned whether or not a state can build its legitimacy without deepening its democratic institutions to provide better quality services to its citizens. How can public demands be heard and responded to by weak democratic institutions or authoritarian governments?

Thus, the term political decay should not be used to describe the state of authoritarian governments, as they do not possess legitimate power or strong state institutions to respond to public demands.

From Latin America, Eastern Europe, to Asia, deepening democracy is necessary for democratic survival and to prevent democratic derailing (Diamond et al., 1997; Goldfrank, 2011; Huber, Rueschemeyer, & Stephens, 1997). It is argued that political decentralization “can deepen democracy without compromising state strength” (Faguet, Fox & Pöschl, 2015, p. 61). The concept of deepening democracy underlies the “maximization of popular control by expanding opportunities for direct citizen input, oversight, and participation in the policymaking process and by enhancing the accountability of elected representatives to their constituents” (Roberts, 1999, p. 26). The definition is also in line with Dahl’s level of inclusiveness and contestation and Diamond and Mornilo’s aspect of democratic qualities. Deepening democracy also refers to the extent that citizens participate in governing and demand more responsive government policies (Goldfrank, 2011). Decentralization is supposed to fulfill that obligation and it will be discussed below.

V. On Decentralization

Decentralization has become one of the governing policies of developing countries over recent decades. It is believed that decentralization can solve certain issues caused by centralized administrative deficits. Governments are encouraged to decentralize because this will reduce poverty and ensure that citizens benefit equally from national growth (Rondinelli, 1981). By transferring “authority, responsibility, and resources,” decentralization is seen as a kind of de-concentration, delegation, or privatization (Rondinelli et al., 1984). The evolution of this conception has been divided into two waves. From the 1970s to 1980s it has focused on “de-concentrating hierarchical government structures and bureaucracies,” and from the mid of 1980s it extends to “include political power sharing, democratization, and market liberalization, expanding the scope of private sector decision-making” (Cheema & Roninelli, 2007, p. 2). With the pressure from globalization, decentralization is not only referred to the “transfer of power, authority, and responsibility within government, but also the sharing of authority and resources for shaping public policy within society” (ibid, p. 6). The theory of decentralization provides promising results to democratize state institutions as it shortens the gap between citizens and authorities. This section discusses

political decentralization, as I believe it is crucial to democratization. According to Cheema and Roninelli (2007), political decentralization can be defined as:

Political decentralization includes organizations and procedures for increasing citizen participation in selecting political representatives and in making public policy; changes in the structure of the government through devolution of powers and authority to local units of government; power-sharing institutions within the state through federalism, constitutional federations, or autonomous regions; and institutions and procedures allowing freedom of association and participation of civil society organizations in public decision making, in providing socially beneficial services, and in mobilizing social and financial resources to influence political decision making. (p. 7)

The definition reiterates the important role of civil society and the participatory process in developing public policies. This is to clarify that deepening democratic institutions need to be both maneuvered by government and strengthened by other related stakeholders.

Participatory approaches to decision-making that involve local citizens are believed to have positive outcomes when decentralizing the state and increasing citizen participation. This, however, could lead to “new tyranny” (Cooke & Kothari, 2001, p. 4). The authors (pp. 7-8) identified possible oppressive climates: 1) where the political facilitators exert their influence to undermine the “legitimate decision-making processes”, 2) the existing powerful groups dominate the decisions made, or 3) the “participatory methods” used are not inclusive enough. This relies mostly on the role of political facilitators in effectively organizing the participatory decision-making process. Ineffective facilitation in participatory approaches fails to reach inclusive decision-making. However, inclusiveness can also be a threat to democracy. In 2007, Zakaria Fareed warned of ineffective decision-making when unspecialized citizens who are not experts in the field of the policies being made participate in creating policies. For Zakaria, “what we need in politics today is not more democracy but less” (p. 206). Although he does not prefer dictatorship, he intends to make sure that state institutions function properly without the interference of mass participation.

Similarly, Huntington (1975) warned the American government about the consequences of the “excess of democracy” in the 1960s (p. 113). He further

asserted, “*The vitality of democracy in the United States in the 1960s produced a substantial increase in governmental activity and a substantial decrease in governmental authority* [original emphasis]” (p. 64). He hypothesizes that:

1. Increased political participation leads to increased policy polarization within society;
2. Increased policy polarization leads to increasing distrust and a sense of decreasing political efficacy among individuals;
3. A sense of decreasing political efficacy leads to decreased political participation. (p. 84)

According to Huntington, political participation decreases once citizens lose trust in the authority, which results from biased and/or polarized policies. There have been those who oppose the idea of decentralization and participation seen since the ancient time of Plato to Mosca and Schumpeter, who averred that “too much participation leads to inefficiency, ungovernability, and citizen frustration, and that a centrally organized government is a better locus of decision making” (Goldfrank, 2011, pp. 19-20). From the adversary’s perspective, decentralization is not inclusive when facilitators dominate the decision-making process. Also, if those who influence the decision are not experts, the policies responding to citizens’ needs will not be effective. In addition, if policies are inclined to serve one particular group and are prejudice against another group, polarization is likely to occur, thus, discourage participation.

Advocates for decentralization and participation, on the other hand, argue that firmly fixed democracy needs a certain level of participation to ensure that the democracy is working well (Pateman, 1970). This needs “some degree of congruency between the structure of authority of government and non-governmental authority structures close to it, then stability can be maintained” (p. 14). Analyzing Rousseau’s participatory system, Pateman claimed that by participating in the decision-making process citizens would learn how to be responsible for their actions and their surroundings. The participatory approach enhances individuals to become “(and remain) [their] own master”, “dependent on each other and equally subject to the law”, and have a sense of “community” (pp. 26-27). John Stuart Mill’s political theories also reinforce Rousseau’s claims (Pateman, 1970).

The concept of Tocqueville's independent townships is also crucial to decentralization (Goldfrank, 2011), which creates "active and public-spirited citizens, while centralization diminishes 'civic spirit'" (p. 17). Observing what happened in Latin America decades ago, Campbell (2003) describes the decentralization process as a "quiet revolution" in which both national and international agents' roles are taken into account (p. 3). Lessons suggest that "political power sharing" has pushed Latin America to "decentralize decision making and spending" and "the consolidation of political power at the local level was the most important factor in the long-term financial sustainability of decentralized governance" (pp. 6-7). However, there is also an attempt to limit reforms at the local level by national and international policy making because there is a concern about "fiscal instability". Thus, there are some difficulties that hinder the success of the decentralization process. The difficulties tend to be focused on "poor leadership, distorted incentives, and unclear rules of the game" (Campbell, 2003, p. 11).

Successes and failures of the participatory approach to deepen democracy can be seen in a comparative study of three cities – Porto Alegre, Montevideo, and Caracas in Latin America. The study conducted by Goldfrank (2011) confirms that deepening democracy through decentralization is possible at the local level when there is enough support from the central level. The party structure must also allow genuine participation from citizens with transparent and responsive leadership (Goldfrank, 2011). The institutional design also plays a significant role in determining the success or failure of democracy deepening efforts. Participatory programs that are open for wider participation, more informal in their settings, and face less institutionalized political parties tend to encourage more participation from citizens (ibid).

This idea is supported by what happened in Indonesia. Even though decentralization reallocates power and resources to the local level, it is not enough to make local government accountable; there has to be a system to ensure that citizens can fully participate in "governing their own communities by monitoring the government, holding it accountable and limiting state power" and there also has to be "affirmative political action in order to give voice to the needs of the poor and thus actively promote social justice, i.e. to usher in more progressive and social justice politics" (Antlöv, 2005, p. 248).

VI. Conclusion

So far, the article discussed a number of theories related to democracy, democratization and decentralization. If something could be drawn from this discussion, it is that decentralizing by transferring power and resources to local authority are ways to improve good governance and deepen democracy as long as people participate and local authorities are responsive and accountable in delivering public services. This article describes the concept of the democracy and assess if it is deepened through political decentralization.

The apolitical agenda of decentralization that aims to strengthen good governance actually is embedded with the democratization concept. The closed hegemonic country, China, also gives power to local people by allowing them to select their township/village leaders. And administratively, China is decentralizing as can be seen, for example, in the formulation of the Copyright Law in 1990 to secure her trade agreement with the US. All of these activities ultimately grant power to lower levels of authority to enforce the law (Pang, 2014). Decentralizing by transferring power and resources to local authorities has been seen as a way to improve good governance and it does deepen democracy as long as people participate and local authorities are responsive and accountable to deliver public services. Politically, decentralization grants certain rights to citizens to participate, advocate and demand an accountable and responsive government; however, other parts of decentralization such as deconcentration shall be implemented along the way.

The conceptual confusion among Cambodian citizens toward democracy as highlighted in the introduction has probably resulted from the absence of enforcing democratic values inherited along with democratic institutions. If political decentralization is a way to deepen democracy, it is necessary to push these efforts further ahead with the commitments from all relevant actors.

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BOOK REVIEW

English Language Teaching Today: Linking Theory and Practice

Willy A. Renandya and Handoyo P. Widodo (Eds). Springer, 2016. Pp. xiv + 307. ISBN 978-3-319-38834-2 (eBook). DOI 10.1007/978-3-319-38834-2

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A quick glance at its title and contents will draw our attention to this fine volume edited by two established Asian scholars, Willy A. Renandya from Singapore and Handoyo P. Widodo from Indonesia. This edited book whose editors and contributing authors are English Language Teaching (ELT) experts and practitioners is organized into two sections: theories and practices. The first theory-based section has seven chapters, including the introductory chapter written by the editors, while the second practice-based section consists of thirteen chapters, each of which offers practical pedagogical approaches for teaching such language skills as listening, reading, speaking, writing, grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation.

As an ELT practitioner myself, I have been familiar with some of the famous names in the field, such as Willy A. Renandya, John Macalister, Brian Tomlinson, James D. Brown, Thomas S. C. Farrell, and many others. Seeing that each chapter in this volume is authored or co-authored by these world-renown and other emerging ELT experts motivated me to begin reading the book from start to finish and write this review. In what follows, a concise and accurate summary of the book is offered, followed by a critical analysis of its quality and scholarship.

Section 1 of this volume, entitled *Theories, Research, and Principles*, starts with an introductory chapter in which the editors strive to set the scene for the book by briefly discussing different aspects of ELT, such as the rise of new varieties of English, the changes to how English is taught, and the growing acceptance of English as a second or official language. The chapter then introduces the aims of the book and provides a brief synopsis of each of the 19 remaining chapters.

Chapter 2, co-authored by George M. Jacobs and Willy A. Renandya, discusses student-centered learning in ELT. What is best about this chapter is that it presents 10 key elements of student centered learning and elaborates

on how each element can be implemented in the classroom. Chapter 3 by Ahmar Mahboob and Angel M. Y. Lin explores the role of local languages in English language classrooms. This chapter explains why local languages are devalued in English classrooms, discusses benefits of integrating local languages in English classes, and outlines a teaching-learning model that offers a place for local languages in English language classrooms. Chapter 4, written by a curriculum design expert John Macalister, examines how research-based learning principles can guide instructions and the use of coursebooks, often accepted by teachers and students as a curriculum, to enhance students' learning outcomes. To this end, the author discusses four key principles which can help language teachers decide how to use the coursebook. These principles include the principle of the four strands, the fluency principle, the frequency principle, and the interference principle.

In the next chapter, Brian Tomlinson, a leading expert in language materials development, turns our attention to the needs and wants of learners of English as an International Language (EIL) and proposes a set of guidelines for developing materials which can cater for the needs of such learners. Tomlinson suggests we consider nine ways when developing materials for learners of EIL. Moving on to chapter 6, James D. Brown introduces us to his area of expertise which is assessment in ELT. In the chapter, Brown discusses 12 assessment types classified into four categories, including receptive-response, productive-response, personal-response, and individualized-response categories. Practical suggestions on how to compare, select and use each assessment type are offered in detail, followed by a useful appendix describing advantages of each assessment type. A contributor to this last chapter (chapter 7) in this theoretically oriented section is Thomas S. C. Farrell, who asks whether regular journal writing promotes reflective practice among EFL teachers. Having explained what reflective practice is, the author reports on a case study with three EFL teachers in Korea by discussing topics generally included in the journals, specifically how journal writing can facilitate reflection and problems associated with writing reflective journals. Farrell concludes the chapter by offering suggestions and cautions for English language teachers so that they can take advantage of this mode of reflective practice.

Section 2 of the book, *Pedagogical Practices*, focuses on pedagogical approaches for teaching various language skills. The first chapter in this section (chapter 8 of this volume) is by Willy A. Renandya and George M. Jacobs who examine extensive reading (ER) and extensive listening (EL) in

the second language classroom. The authors cleverly discuss key characteristics of ER and EL, their benefits for language learning, seven core principles for implementing ER and EL in L2 classrooms, and legitimate concerns preventing teachers from fully implementing ER and EL in their teaching. The next chapter (chapter 9) is from Anna C.-S. Chang who looks at L2 listening in and outside the classroom. This is a really practical chapter which discusses almost everything about L2 listening, including its significance and factors causing difficulties in listening comprehension. More importantly, Chang offers a three-stage lesson (i.e., the pre-listening, while-listening and post-listening stages) for teaching L2 listening and suggests three approaches, namely narrow listening, repeated listening, and reading while listening, teachers can use to promote students' listening practice outside the class.

Chapter 10 by Lawrence J. Zhang is on teaching reading and reviewing skills. This chapter begins by discussing major views on reading and viewing and briefly elaborates on factors which affect reading and viewing success. It then looks at 10 principles for teaching reading and reviewing skills, followed by practical reading and viewing teaching strategies (including the use of the K-W-L chart) that can be applied in the classroom. The next chapter focuses on teaching speaking skills. This chapter, written by Christine C. M. Goh, explores the construct of speaking, including interaction management skills, discourse organization skills, and communication strategies. What is significant in this chapter is a presentation of a comprehensive and holistic approach to teaching speaking, an approach which takes into account learners' cognitive, linguistic, affective, and metacognitive needs.

Chapter 12, contributed by Jonathan Newton, deals with the teaching of English for intercultural spoken communication. This chapter offers a brief background of the field of intercultural language learning and teaching, a set of principles for teaching intercultural spoken communication, and six practical classroom applications guided by intercultural communicative language teaching principles (iCLT principles), a term coined by Newton and his co-authors. The next chapter is by Yin L. Cheung who introduces us to the teaching of writing. Cheung briefly describes paradigm shifts in approaches to teaching academic writing before arguing for a more practical approach to teaching this skill: a socio-cognitive approach. In this chapter, the author discusses various aspects of second language writing, including writing competence, writing process, and strategies for teaching writing, all

of which are to set the scene for implications and pedagogical principles of the socio-cognitive approach to academic writing.

Similar to the previous chapter, chapter 14, by Zhichang Xu, is about teaching academic writing in context. In this chapter, Xu briefly reviews literature on World Englishes, English as an International Language, academic writing as community of practice, and intercultural rhetoric before introducing us to academic writing courses in three different contexts: Beijing, Hong Kong and Melbourne. Drawing on these contexts, a set of pedagogical principles for teaching English academic writing is then discussed. Chapter 15 by Helena I. R. Agustien examines the teaching of English grammar in Asian contexts. Agustien proposes three sets of a form-meaning-use strategy to address problems with the teaching of Finite verbs that Asian learners usually face. The proposed three-stage strategies are for dealing with the absence of Finite, the incorrect use of Finite, and the overuse of Finite. This chapter is interesting in that it looks at the teaching of grammar from the perspective of a systemic functional grammar tradition.

The next chapter in this volume is about teaching vocabulary in EFL contexts, co-authored by Anna Siyanova-Chanturia and Stuart Webb. This chapter touches on several issues which are of significance to learning and teaching vocabulary in the EFL context. It discusses such issues as vocabulary size, types of vocabulary to be learned and taught, vocabulary learning programs, and out-of-classroom vocabulary learning activities which promote indirect vocabulary learning. The following chapter by Cathy S. P. Wong turns our attention to the teaching of English pronunciation. Considering the role of English as a global lingua franca, Wong examines English pronunciation aspects that deserve instructional attention, such as the significance of intelligibility, learners' awareness of regional varieties of English, their ability to self-monitor their own pronunciation, and their understanding of English sound-spelling (arbitrary) correspondences, word stress, and knowledge of phonetics and phonology. Wong also discusses important elements in pronunciation teaching methodology, specifically the role of explicit instruction and the internet.

Mark Wilkinson's contribution in Chapter 18 looks at language learning with ICT (Information Communication Technology). This chapter discusses how L2 learning theories are supported by CALL (Computer Assisted Language Learning); it also examines benefits and drawbacks of flipped learning, principles for selecting and evaluating ICT tools, and digital tools,

applications and platforms for L2 classes. The chapter ends with an illustration of how to use digital storytelling, an ICT-infused L2 learning activity, and a discussion on how this activity can be assessed. This chapter will be of great interest to many readers, particularly language teachers who wish to use digital learning tools and activities to enhance their students' L2 learning. The next chapter by Handoyo P. Widodo examines the teaching of English for Specific Purposes (ESP), in particular English for Vocational Purposes (EVP). In this chapter, Widodo looks at needs analysis in ESP, EVP, and seven elements of ESP materials before suggesting three EVP tasks, namely vocational vocabulary building, vocational knowledge building, and functional metalanguage analysis of vocational texts. ESP teachers may adapt and tailor these tasks for their EVP classes.

The final chapter of this volume is contributed by Radhika Jaidev and Brad Blackstone who explore workplace communicative competence by basing their discussion on a professional communication course, called Proposal Communication Project, offered at the National University of Singapore. This chapter illustrates how workplace communicative competence, including some twenty-first century skills, can be acquired through group projects and collaborative web-based tasks.

English Language Teaching Today: Linking Theory and Practice, overall, is a great collection which, despite several typographical errors, offers a general overview of recent research and thinking in the field of ELT. The book is certainly an invaluable resource for all ELT stakeholders, particularly teacher educators and researchers. Students and teachers in TESOL programs can also find this volume an excellent source of teaching strategies and principles.

Although it may not be the best successor for Richards and Renandya's (2002) classic collection, *Methodology in Language Teaching: An Anthology of Current Practice*, this volume is a new book which will not disappoint readers who wish to keep up with recent developments in ELT or teachers who need a good language teaching methodology book as a required or recommended textbook for their TESOL classes. In sum, this volume is clearly a welcome addition to a growing body of research and scholarship in the field of ELT.

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BOOK REVIEW

Implementing Public Policy: An Introduction to the Study of Operational Governance (3rd ed.)

Michael Hill and Peter Hupe. London: Sage, 2014. Pp. xv + 231. ISBN 978 1-4462-6683-0.

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Implementing public policy was jointly written by two leading scholars in the field of public and social policy – Michael Hill, the Emeritus Professor of Social Policy of the University of Newcastle, and Peter Hupe, Public Administration Professor of the Erasmus University Rotterdam. Building on the success of the previous two editions of the same title, this book aims to be a state-of-the-art identification of critical issues relating to public administration and governance, including a comprehensive literature review. In its third publication, the book is believed to be the best text book serving as an excellent introduction to public policy theory and practices in the context of new governance. It is not only valuable to students of related majors but also to those who want to better understand the policy-making process and also implications involved in implementation.

The book is composed of nine chapters, starting with introductory remarks that set out the structure, and also highlight how the book differs from previous editions. It progresses through the definition of public policy and what it means for implementation, the top-down and bottom-up approaches that lay out the policy implementation process, and layers in policy processes. The book also aims to synthesize a broad range of sectors including the role of state, linkage between policy framework and governance, and the implementation of research. It concludes with the future of implementation studies before highlighting promising developments to enhance the study of the implementation of public policies.

The first chapter gives attention to some conceptual issues involving the definition of key terms related to public policy and its implementation. It begins with a thorough discussion on how public policy is defined. The authors claim that policy is subjectively defined, thus its definition can vary from one author to another or can depend on a specific aspect of phenomena in the real world. An easy to understand definition is provided by Anderson

who identifies policy as a purposive course of action followed by an actor or group of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern in society. When it comes to public policies, the author refers to those policies developed by government institutions or officials. This review is followed by an illustration of the policy cycle said to consist of three major stages, including meta-policy-making, policy-making and post-policy making. According to this interpretation, there is a total of 18 sub-stages in the policy process. Each stage is concerned with transforming policy intentions into action. This chapter then goes on to discuss policy implementation and its results. It analyzes the causes and consequences of implementation failure and ways to promote implementation success.

Chapter 2 positions implementation in a historical context, and implementation theory is the subject of analysis. The authors believe that policy implementation has emerged since the 1970s, well before textbooks on this topic sought to provide answers. Although the word ‘implementation’ was not often used by writers, the word was normally used to explore the ways in which public administration specialists regarded it as relevant. In this chapter, implementation is defined as to carry out, accomplish, fulfill, produce and complete a policy. Concerns about success of implementation are raised, and the authors suggest that implementation needs to consider the rule of law where citizens should be able to predict the impact resulting from the actions of the state when policies are implemented. This chapter then relates the role of law to democracy which could have an impact on the implementation process. It discusses institutional theory and the distinction between politics and administration by comparing the system in Western countries and the United States. It highlights Woodrow Wilson’s famous essay stating that political interference in the administration is a source of inefficiency and corruption. Woodrow Wilson saw the need to reform the American administration.

The third chapter revisits the definition of implementation and policy process and formation. The majority of this chapter represents brief views of key authors of different nationalities such as American and British, on the top-down and bottom-up approaches and then points out ways in which these authors differ from each other. Donald Van Meter and Carl Van Horn, said to be the proponents of the top-down approach, see implementation as a process that starts from an initial policy decision and then encompasses those actions by public and private individuals. In contrast, Michael Lipsky, who is believed to be the father of the bottom-up perspective, argues that

implementation of policy is really about street-level workers, including the expectations of people at local levels. He believes that the decisions of street-level bureaucrats, the routines they establish and the devices they invent to cope with uncertainties and work pressures, effectively become the public policies they carry out. Authors in this chapter argue that the right approach to policy formation and implementation might depend on issues intended to be addressed.

Chapter 4 delves into implementation theory and the search for a linkage between the top-down and bottom-up approaches to ensure successful implementation of public policies. Scholars claim that both approaches play important roles in the implementation process, but a synthesis between the two is critical. Richard Elmore suggests adopting an open-minded or a mixed method to achieve a satisfactory outcome. It is stressed that without citizens' trust in the institutions responsible for implementing public policies, implementation is likely to fail. This chapter goes on to discuss layers in the policy process by focusing on federalism in the US government, widening networks, promoting decentralization and non-hierarchical models.

In chapter 5, the authors position implementation theory in its societal context by focusing on developments in both the practice and study of public administration. It starts by giving a historical account of a period of more than 60 years following the Second World War on the relations between the study of implementation and the practice of public administration. It places an emphasis on developments in the United States, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands where three phases of implementation are identified. The first is the era of great expectations from society that leads to a broad intervention from the government, originated in the 1930s. The second is the period of government retrenchment, looking at itself as being a business corporation, that took place between the 1980s and 1990s. The last section is the current phase, where governments in various countries have become more aware of their own role (neo-interventionism). This chapter concludes that the governments in the Western world have become more selective in the way they are proceeding with policy implementation. This chapter ends by exploring the linkage between the study of implementation and the practice of public administration and presenting the shifts in the practice of public administration in paradigm.

Chapter 6 reassesses the stages model of the policy process by linking them to a governance framework. This chapter emphasizes that policy process is

about problem identification, leading to agenda formation and proposals for a solution, and the way in which policy implementation will put the chosen solution into effect. These processes will be accompanied by policy evaluation for monitoring the results. However, when conceived as part of governance, the authors argue that the stage model was not so much a model; instead it is a general analytical framework, with shortcomings. The chapter then discusses alternative frameworks developed by authors from contrasting scholarly backgrounds for analyzing public policies and addressing consequences of policy actions carried out by government bodies. Among those, the authors favor two frameworks – *institutional analysis* and *development framework* as formulated by Elinor Ostrom and her colleagues. This chapter also identifies *aggregated framework* as proposed by Lynn, Heinrich and Hill. The earlier definitions focus on collective decisions and mechanisms made by officials and citizens to determine, enforce or alter actions authorized within institutional arrangements, while the later differentiate stake relationships, such as between citizens' preferences and legislative choice. The authors consider these frameworks to be the most developed.

Chapter 7 gives attention to undertaking implementation research that is particularly pertinent for those who want to know about how implementation can be studied. It starts with some reflections on the difficulties in defining exactly what is meant by studies of implementation discussed in the second chapter, before discussing the relationship between studying implementation and studying evaluation and distinguishing policy formation and implementation. The authors then explore challenges that researchers of implementation face, including dealing with multiplicity of layers in the policy processes, specifying inter-organizational relationships, differentiating ways to manage implementation within single organizations, and identifying the impact of the response by those affected by a policy. The chapter ends with a discussion on issues about quantitative and qualitative methods in implementation research.

Chapter 8 moves from prescriptive approaches to focus on implementation in practice and relate this to governance. The authors claim that policy implementation is part of governance that involves activities in relation to public tasks implied by directional decisions on those tasks. It explores how governance is being practiced, and also circumstances that practitioners in public administration need to deal with as contexts of action. From there, the authors go on to discuss three modes of governance such as governance by

authority, *transaction* and *persuasion* for implementation. The first refers to making directive decisions, and the delivery of products and services is seen as having exclusive character or in monopoly decisions. The second emphasizes frameworks that other actors can perform, while the last mode focuses on joint efforts between government and other actors in society. The appropriateness of applying any of the modes depends largely on the contexts in which practitioners of public administration are acting. The chapter suggests that an understanding of institutional contexts and policy objectives are vital in policy implementation.

In the final chapter, titled *The Future of Implementation Studies*, the authors go back to discuss the objective of studying implementation, research implementation and operational government. The authors examine some promising developments that can be judged as enhancing the study of implementation of public policies, for example studies of governance performance and measuring the results of government action. In their conclusion, Hill & Hupe encourage researchers to think about descriptive perspective on policy-making – how it proceeds and how it can be improved.

Overall, this book offers a concise delineation of some 60 years of implementation research, summarizing the authors' own previous research and also combining with major insights of other authors from diverse background who discuss the implementation concept, alternative definitions and framework of implementation policies, theories of implementation and formulation of public policies.

Compared to the previous editions of Michael Hill and Peter Hupe on this particular subject, this latest edition seems to be more interesting because it links implementation theory to the study of governance. I particularly found Chapter 1 to 6 very useful because the authors offer useful explanations about what governance means for implementing public policies, the state of the art in implementation studies and the top-down/bottom-up approach, policy implementation theories and models of interactions in governance frameworks, and a comprehensive discussion on the role of the state. Chapters 7 and 8, however, are overwhelmed with too many details of how we research implementation and how we implement research. While I was expecting to read the authors' views on how governance theories can successfully be applied to implementation of public policy in their final chapter, Hill and Hupe unfortunately go back to discuss the distinction between governance and implementation.

However, even so, I am not disappointed with the work of Hill and Hupe. Instead, I still find the book very informative, which I will refer to in my future studies and research on implementation of public policies. The book is a valuable resource that provides a good idea of what implementation has been and will be about. I am looking forward to learning more from Hill and Hupe on how operational governance can be distinguished from other models of governance and how the bottom-up approach can successfully be implemented when the top-level players or politicians do not offer support.

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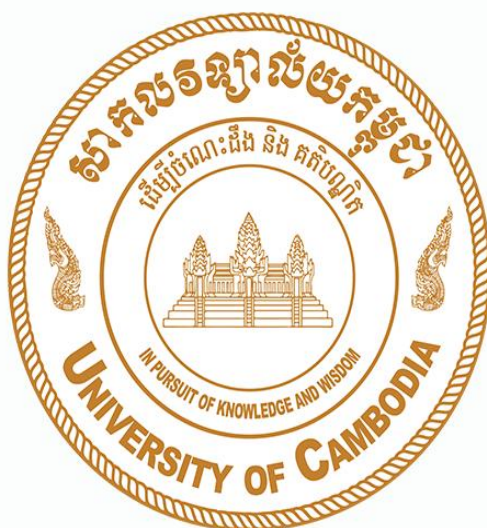
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