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**Negotiating spaces for young students as informed and active
citizenry: Discourses on schooling and individual's aspirations
in contemporary Cambodia**

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ABSTRACT

Young people in Cambodia are faced with multiple uncertainties including how to exercise their rights as active citizens in a self-acclaimed democratic state. They are living in unfavourable socio-political contexts for civic participation (e.g. active participation negatively connotes politics synonymously as arrests, risks and death) as well as a discouraging cultural backdrop (e.g. 'age and knowledge hierarchy'). In addition, discussion of politics-related issues as well as on government's policy and performance are often viewed too political and are rarely expressed in public and on school campus.

This study is set to contribute both to the practices of active citizenship in Cambodia in particular and to the current state of practices of active citizenship in the field of youth and citizenship in general. To put it in crude terms, this study aims to understand the practice of citizenship in an 'authoritarian society'. Built upon the foci and questions of our time, this thesis aims to provide a thorough understanding of active citizenship spaces in schools for young Cambodians through civics education (Moral-Civics Education in Cambodia), which has a great implication for citizenship practices in a wider social context. Empirical data were collected through the mixed-methods design, including student questionnaire, semi-structured interviews with teachers who were currently teaching Citizenship Education in grades 10, 11 and 12, and the students in these grades at the time of data collection. The data were processed via SPSS and NVivo software, then analyzed and discussed through Bourdieu's theoretical lenses of 'shadow capital', 'institutional habitus', and 'doxa' and 'illusio'.

Understandably, young Cambodian students have been shaped significantly by the socio-cultural limitations on their citizenship aspirations, given the introduction of Moral-Civics Education, the façade of content delivery, the limited citizenship spaces on school campus. These are understood as the imposed limitation on the accumulation of different of capitals. However, there is an enlightened aspect of education, in which a unique form of Cambodian citizenship practices emerges despite various forms of restraints. As the above-mentioned, this study has implicated the important roles of citizenship education, albeit in its weak form, and historical, socio-cultural imperatives in shaping young people's citizenship aspirations.

STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

This is to certify that:

- i. the thesis comprises only my original work towards the PhD except where reference is made in the text;
- ii. due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used;
- iii. this thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution; and
- iv. the thesis is less than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, bibliographies and appendices

Pheaktra Pich

February 2021

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION: INTERROGATING CITIZENSHIP SPACES IN CAMBODIAN SCHOOLS

WHY CITIZENSHIP RESEARCH MATTERS

We subconsciously create the social structures of our world through our ongoing daily interactions in it, while at the same time the social structures of our world create us as we interact within them (Bourdieu, 2000). In Bourdieu's view, our history of life experiences can significantly contribute to how we embody the social structures of the world in which we live. In writing, as Griffiths (1998) points out, a researcher's social position helps readers to understand what is being communicated. In the same vein, graduate students are encouraged to reflect on why they are carrying out their research, relating such a reflection to their own biography, curiosity, and sense of responsibility (Fine, 2006). It is therefore useful to begin this journey, that is, my thesis journey, by explaining what drives me to undertake this research: why I am interested in youth citizenship research, with schools in Cambodia as sites for analysis.

Before coming to my "journey", it is important to foreground Bourdieu's theory of practice here as I use his other concepts (that is, shadow capital, institutional habitus, doxa, and illusio) to aid my arguments in this thesis. In this section, however, I only briefly explain my illusio in the field of citizenship research (more will come later in the thesis). To Bourdieu, social structures are *fields* and the embodiment of these structures is *habitus*. The established synergy between social structures and an individual's embodied disposition towards the field can result in not only the acceptance of the field but also belief in it (Bourdieu, 2000; Smith, 2014). These conditions can also lead to a state of doxa of the field of practice, which later leads to the state of illusio, while illusio exists when an individual has great investment and faith in a particular practice (Bourdieu, 2000). My illusio of citizenship (rights) and citizenship education was embodied in me by my life experiences as a Cambodian as well as by my involvement in the field of education as a language teacher at a Cambodian university.

It is also worth briefly mentioning how Cambodian people in general and youth in particular are experiencing struggles for their rights as democratic citizens. This certainly helps make readers understand my positionality as both a Cambodian and a researcher. Cambodian people, young and old, struggle to exercise their rights as citizens as civic engagement in Cambodia

simply means a process to negotiate not only institutional barriers but also cultural ones. Older family members do not encourage their younger family members to get engaged in actions perceived as challenges to the authority (OECD, 2017). Social institutions only create platforms for students to involve merely in volunteerism-related activities (e.g. directing traffic or distributing Cambodian Red Cross's aids to vulnerable households), whereas democratic participations (e.g. demonstrating for pay rise or protesting election results) are both discouraged and associated with risks as these are interpreted as politically motivated by the authority. Any conversations on perceived politics-related topics or on government's policy and institutions are often viewed too political and are rarely expressed in public and on school campus (Chan, 2015; Yong, 2005). Both young people and the majority of rural population have been involuntarily prevented from decision-making processes due to their under-privilege circumstances, including poor economic and social capital (networking) and unsupportive social institutions (Bong & Sen, 2017; UNESCO, 2011).

Having introduced Bourdieu's concepts and provided a brief of historical struggles in Cambodian society, I want to describe my journey to this PhD degree. In early 1997 I went to further my undergraduate study in Phnom Penh, the only Cambodian city that is home to business, administration, higher education, and culture, yet it was there that I was shocked to experience an attack on a peaceful demonstration. This attack was deadly. It was the first time I had heard about such a bloody attack on a democratic and peaceful protest since the Paris Peace Accord in 1991 that sought to end decades-long civil war in Cambodia. This attack also made headlines in newspapers for years after, with *The Phnom Penh Post* still referencing it twenty years later:

"On March 30, 20 years ago, four American-made grenades were lobbed into a group of Khmer National Party supporters rallying at Wat Botum to call for an independent judiciary. The resulting carnage, which Rainsy narrowly escaped, killed at least 16 people and injured around 120." (Phnom Penh Post, 2017)

Although the attack did not prompt me to think about the concept of citizens' right to demonstrate at that time, I kept following the news in both Khmer and English, mostly picking up the news through Khmer-language newspapers. It was not until 1999 that I was able to read English-language newspapers, the year I started my undergraduate education at the Royal University of Phnom Penh, majoring in Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL). The

two English-language newspapers I could access were *The Cambodia Daily* and the *Phnom Penh Post*. I accessed these two news outlets not only because I could improve my English but also because the newspapers dared cover the news that the government-affiliated news outlets did not; for example, these two newspapers kept covering feature news related to the grenade attack and other news related to people's demonstrations against land-grabbing, wage rises, and other human rights-related issues.

In 2006, I was awarded a scholarship to do my post-graduate degree at Simon Fraser University in Canada. This post-graduate study not only provided me with a degree but also oriented me to a new world of democracy. I maintained my passion for reading news. Cambodia's fourth national election (Cambodia's national election is regularly organised every five years; that is, 1993, 1998, 2003, 2008, 2013 and 2018) was held after I came back to continue work at the Royal University of Phnom Penh in 2008 as a language lecturer, so I experienced the election first-hand. Cambodian people have commonly experienced demonstrations against the results and irregularities of elections (Hughes, 2015; Committee for Free and Fair Election [COMFREL], 2003, 2012), with such post-election demonstrations being met with harsh crackdowns. As Lawreniuk and Parson (2014) report, garment workers in Phnom Penh city were gathering to demand an increase in their pay in late 2013 (that is, a monthly salary of USD 160), and subsequent demonstrations were waged until January the next year before they were stopped by the government in a bloody clash which left five people dead. These demonstrations took place alongside other demonstrations against 2013 election results. As a student and educator, I increasingly realised the important role of education in shaping individuals' thoughts and in the development of an active citizenry. I also started developing a passion for citizenship-related reading. At the same time, I observed that Cambodian young people seemed to be more active in various demonstrations and other democratic processes despite limitations imposed on them and despite ongoing crackdowns. During the national election in 2013, for example, there were 9.5 millions people registered to vote in 2013 election, and almost 37% were the young group of people below 30 (it is noted here that a Cambodian at the age of 18 is eligible to vote) (National Election Committee, 2012; CIA World Factbook 2013; Khun, 2016; Hughes, 2015). I came to believe that the only feasible way to advocate for citizenship rights was through education in general and citizenship education specifically.

My illusion of citizenship education was further reinforced when I had a chance to read the "Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young Australians" (Ministerial Council on

Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs [MCEEYTYA], 2008), which also encouraged me to do my PhD in youth citizenship. This joint declaration states that it is essential to educate young Australians so that they are well-positioned to lead their lives as productive and responsible citizens. In order that the vision in the declaration is realised, Goal 2 in the document mentions the important roles of schools and of young people as “active and informed citizens”:

“Australian governments commit to working in collaboration with all school sectors to support all young Australians to become successful learners, confident and creative individuals and active and informed citizens” (MCEEYTYA, 2008, p.8).

Central to this Melbourne Declaration are the roles of schools in educating young people to become citizens with informed knowledge and sense of active engagement and the citizenship education curriculum plays a significant role in this process. My life and professional experience have greatly informed my thesis, developing my interest in uncovering the effects, if any, that schooling has on young students’ citizenship dispositions. I personally believe that schooling and the citizenship curriculum play significant roles in the embodiment of citizenship values among students. Young Cambodians are active in democratic processes (such as registering to vote and voting, joining wage rise protests, and demonstrating against election results) despite possibly encountering harsh crackdowns.

Against this background, I chose schools as the site for my analysis in this thesis, with the focus being on the role of the Moral-Civics education curriculum in Cambodian schools (Citizenship Education) and other possible platforms for promoting citizenship practices. In this thesis I therefore examine secondary school students’ understanding of citizenship and its practices by exploring schools’ organisational practices and structures (such as school councils and elections for class captains), through examining teachers’ roles in the promotion of citizenship values through the Moral-Civics education curriculum, as well as their own practices in the school, and by exploring students’ conceptions of citizenship. In the section below, I outline the research aims and questions that guide this thesis, as well as offering a brief explanation of the methodology that informs this research. I continue by presenting my arguments detailing the reasons why schools and citizenship education are driving this thesis.

THE AIMS OF THIS RESEARCH

This thesis examines how young people in Cambodia understand and experience citizenship in their everyday lives, with schools as the sites for analysis. I intend to examine what citizenship means to the students and teachers currently engaged in citizenship education in grades 10, 11 and 12. I will also explore what it is that enables them to feel like active citizens, and what their schools have done to promote citizenship values. Furthermore, in the thesis I interrogate what constrains students' personalised views of citizenship, and what challenges both teachers' interpretation of citizenship values in the curriculum and their teaching of those values. As Smith, Lister, Middleton and Cox (2007) suggest, how citizenship is conceived is likely to have consequences for young people.

This thesis is an explanatory and interpretive study of what citizenship means to both students and teachers within their school contexts. Including these voices in the discussion, which to my knowledge has not been previously done, offers an important contribution to an understanding of what Cambodian schools are doing in enabling students to be active citizens as well as understanding how schools are negotiating opportunities for citizenship practice within the school context. I believe this is a critical space for research because the knowledge, skills, and experiences to which students and teachers are exposed will have great implications for their future. For many young people, however, citizenship and participation may feel like permanent sites of marginalisation. One of my aims in this thesis is therefore to explore the relationship between structural forces affecting the practice of youth citizenship in Cambodian schools, and the implications of different organisational practices in schools that continue to shape the participation of young people in a non-democratic state.

In order to respond to the research aims, it is necessary to examine what is really happening in schools and how students' and teachers' needs can be addressed. To analyse the possibilities for students and teachers in accessing citizenship teaching and learning, and how they are empowered through schools' organisational practices, I am conducting this study through the lens of two overarching questions:

How do Cambodian schools and citizenship education (known as the Moral-Civics Curriculum in Cambodia) prepare students to be both informed and active citizens?

What are students' citizenship aspirations, given the imperatives of both schooling and contemporary social-structural contexts?

These research questions are underpinned by the following four sub-questions:

What is the current form and content of Moral-Civics education?

What do young Cambodian students understand as active citizens, including their rights and responsibilities?

What are teachers' perspectives about teaching and learning citizenship in schools?

How do teachers teach citizenship in Cambodian classrooms?

In this thesis I adopted a mixed-method approach to research students' and teachers' teaching and learning and practices of citizenship. The collection of data for this thesis was done using a survey, focus-group discussions, and interviews with teachers and students in four government schools in Phnom Penh city. In addition, a content analysis of the current citizenship curriculum was also done to generate a secondary source of data to aid my arguments. A total of 206 students in grades 10, 11 and 12 completed the survey; 20 of these students participated later in focus groups discussions; and 4 teachers (one from each of the four schools) were interviewed for this research. A detailed explanation of this thesis' methodology, sample population choice and construction, research methods, and the collection and analysis of data process is provided in Chapter 5. Finally, to maintain confidentiality, I use pseudonyms to refer to students, teachers, and the four schools. My decision to select these schools for my research sites is informed by the belief that they offer meaningful and enabling opportunities for their students to participate as active citizens.

Students and teachers are the informants in my research because they are directly involved in schooling as beneficiaries and curriculum implementers alike. Student involvement was critical as students could expand on their common experiences and how these were understood as citizenship practices. They were also able to articulate the impediments to their practising of citizenship in their daily lives. This kind of information that reflects their experiences of and attitudes towards government corruption, for example, cannot be captured in a predetermined

set of questions in a survey. I chose teachers as critical informants in this thesis because their perceptions of citizenship both through their teaching and through their schools' organisational practices are important in understanding the teaching and practice of citizenship. Teachers are at the coalface of citizenship curriculum implementation. They are subject to policies and are shaped by policy and bureaucratic constraints; nevertheless, their decisions on how to interpret and deliver the curriculum to students are of paramount importance.

WHY TEACHING AND LEARNING CITIZENSHIP IN SCHOOL MATTERS

A key observation that drives this thesis is that, when young people's direct involvement in conventional politics is not possible, alternative and less conventional forms of citizenship practice offer hope for increasing the space for their participation. This understanding has motivated me to examine citizenship practices in Cambodian schools, not least because there is an increasing interest in a less conventional forms of participatory processes by young people among youth citizenship scholars (Koffel, 2003). It is even more crucial to examine other forms of citizenship practice in which Cambodian students are engaged when practices perceived as conventionally driven by politics are restricted.

Public schools provide institutional structures that enable the social interactions required for the process of self-production (Wexler, 1992). As Wexler (1992) points out, schools "are one of the few remaining public interactional spaces in which we are still engaged with each other in the reciprocal, though organizationally patterned, labour of producing meaning—indeed, the core meaning of self-identity" (p. 10). Schools are often viewed as a key site for building youth participation in society through the teaching of citizenship education and through school's organisational practices. Print (2007), for example, contends that both formal and informal civics and civics education curricular play significant roles in shaping students' 'citizenly' behaviours. Citizenship education may be limited in scope, covering specific subjects in the school curriculum such as civics, government, or history. Several authors underscore the outcomes of formal citizenship education, suggesting that such education is a powerful predictor of engagement (Verba, Schlosman and Brady, 1995; Putnam, 2000), while others argue that there is a significant correlation between the duration of being in education system and citizenship values relevant to political etiquette, awareness and viewpoints (Print, 2007; Nie, Junn and Stehlik-Barry, 1996).

Citizenship education is designed to underscore the importance of the moral nature of citizenship, stressing the importance of citizens having virtuous characters and being proud to fulfill their responsibilities (Kiwan, 2008; Heater, 1990). Through citizenship education, students have the opportunity to critically explore broader citizenship concepts and practices. That said, I argue that the citizenship values accrued by young Cambodians are only partly determined by their experiences in schools. These experiences may either obscure or reinforce current structural barriers, which in turn threaten to constrain their future lives. As Marshall (1996a) points out, the policy and practice of education is predicated on the paradoxical principle that considerable ‘unfreedom’ must be imposed on young people in their early years if they are to be ultimately free.

In Cambodia, the current Moral-Civics curriculum is understood as citizenship education. It was first introduced and embedded in the secondary school curriculum between 1996 and 1997 (Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport [MoEYS], 1999). In grades 7 to 10, Moral-Civics is taught alongside four other subjects - History, Geography, Home Economics and Art Education - all of which fall under one umbrella subject, Social Studies (MoEYS, 2004b; Tan, 2008; MoEYS, 2016). In grades 11 and 12, however, it is taught separately from other subjects, with a separate textbook that was introduced in 2017 (MoEYS, 2017). Between grades 7 and 12, the themes and topics in this curriculum are related to values of human being, personal future plan, getting along with other citizens in both communities and wider society, all of which are underpinning values of Cambodian society (MoEYS, 2004b; Tan, 2008; MoEYS, 2016).

As Clayton (2005) indicates, Cambodia’s current aims of Moral-Civics education are informed by the government’s tendency to embrace liberal democratic values, with economy oriented to market-driven economic practices. According to the Ministry of Education, Cambodian students are to be educated to uphold the civic values of national pride, high morality as well as high responsibilities of their future (MoEYS, 2004, p.11). Therefore, examining how this content is practically interpreted and taught in classrooms by teachers and, ultimately, put into practice on Cambodian school campuses by both teachers and students is very useful for my thesis.

The examination of youth participation through students’ daily experiences in Cambodian schools is fertile ground for my analysis. In some cases, it can also provide much-needed insight into the intersection between young people’s participation and the challenges and/or

constraints that they face. In the process I examine how current citizenship education and schools' discourses of citizenship inform young people's construction of citizenship, and how that construction shapes their experiences of participation in a non-democratic setting.

It is therefore relevant and critical alike to ask people who directly participate in education (in my thesis, students and teachers) what they think citizenship means for them and how it is practised in schools. It is also important to recognise the alternative citizenship practices in which students are engaged, and what forms of citizenship disposition students are acquiring given the structural barriers that exist both on school campuses and in wider society. In addition, learning the different views about citizenship practice and its teaching from teachers is important. It is useful to know what real-life challenges the teachers are facing and how they negotiate these challenges. That said, exploring the subjective elements of citizenship values that are manifest in schools can surely offer us adequate understandings of how practices are coordinated and perpetuated in disadvantaged settings. Ultimately, it can also assist in developing an agenda for change.

In addition to the examination of formal platforms for citizenship practice, I also endeavour to explore other informal processes, including extracurricular activities. An examination of how class captains are selected, or of the roles school councils perform, if any, provides useful information for my analysis. Informal citizenship education through extra-curricular activities also contributes significantly to civic participation – such activities illuminate which students get to participate and which do not. Print (2007) affirms that the appropriate constituents of formal citizenship curriculum are important determinants in citizenship education. He raises a few of examples of such crucial strands as students' involvement in student government, school-based elections, voluntarism and other charity-related events.

Other researchers also make a similar claim by emphasising the important role of students' involvement in extra-curricular activities and positive relationship between young people's engagement both civically and politically (Finkel, 2003). Further, Biesta, Lawy and Kelly (2009) identify other less formal platforms through which students can both learn and practice citizenship, not least because these platforms serve as avenues for students to interact and participate alike. For these authors, family, peer groups and the media are all important spaces that can enable students to accrue citizenship values. As Fyfe (2002) points out, it is acknowledged that the curriculum policy in formal education is responsible for the preparation

of active citizens; however, informal education also plays a significant role in such preparation through youth work and community-based learning that characterises young people's everyday lives.

APPLYING BOURDIEU'S THEORETICAL TOOLS TO CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

I draw on Bourdieu's conceptual tools as theoretical lenses through which to analyse the data and understand citizenship practices and experiences. These conceptual tools include the use of such theories as habitus and capital (Bourdieu 1986; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992), shadow capital (Stich and Cipollone, 2018), institutional and familial habitus (Tarabini and Marta Curran 2018; Atkinson 2011), and *illusio* and *doxa* (Bourdieu, 2000; Threadgold, 2018; Wallace, 2018). Bourdieu's richly relational body of concepts provides a way forward for any research that aims to uncover and to better understand the more hidden mechanisms of social reproduction that are buried within the structure of any social field, such as schooling. Bourdieu's tools push us to think relationally, allowing us to make invisible structures visible and call attention to the ways in which inequality is reproduced through education. These conceptual tools will be discussed in Chapter 2; therefore, I will only offer here my justification for why and how I use them in this thesis.

As Bourdieu (1991) points out, schools function as one of the institutions of socialisation by educating students about 'particular' things and socialising them in 'particular' ways. Schools may be regarded as the most important formal institution where students gain experience and are socialised (Wyn, 2011; Schubert, 2008) as members of society. To this end, I use the theoretical frameworks of capital and shadow capital to illustrate the forms of capital embedded in the current citizenship curriculum. It is particularly useful to analyse the existing content to better understand how students are socialised in terms of the current knowledge and skills required for their future integration into society. Like Bourdieu, I search for a position that schools in Cambodia take in providing a form of cultural capital suitable for such integration.

Certain forms of cultural capital have great implications for students' dispositions and values. As Bourdieu (1986) argues, cultural capital exists in three different yet interrelated forms. While the objectified form is associated with material existence, the embodied form is not, and the institutionalised form is characterised by educational credentials. In my thesis, however, I

only use the concept of cultural capital in its objectified form (that is, the existence of a citizenship curriculum that is not fruitful) to explain why the current curriculum might not produce the satisfactory results envisaged in the Ministry of Education's policy. In so doing, I use the conceptual framework of 'shadow capital' to aid my arguments. Shadow capital is a distinct form of capital resembling the promised capital; however, it cannot guarantee the same quality of result when used (Stich & Cipollone, 2017) (Chapter 6). Illusionary as it can be, shadow capital merely replicates the real capital in objectified form, yet its real components greatly differ from those in the promised capital. Using this concept, I argue that the current citizenship curriculum falls short in inculcating active citizenship values, simply because the presented content exists in an illusionary form.

In addition to the concept of shadow capital, I also use the conceptual framework of habitus in Chapter 7 to understand schools' organisational practices in shaping students' dispositions of active citizenry. Continuing on from Chapter 6 in which I examine the curriculum, I expand my explanation by looking into how teachers implement the illusionary curriculum and by illustrating the platforms, if any, that schools establish to promote citizenship practices. These are all organisational practices which significantly determine students' citizenship values. Bourdieu (1993a) rejects the view that human beings are programmed automatons, not least because our physical and social spaces are continuously structured, thus giving rise to our practices (Bourdieu, 1993a/2000a). He refers to this phenomenon as habitus which is shaped and reshaped and characterised by "structured-structuring structure" (Bourdieu, 1994d, p.170).

To explore schools' perspectives regarding educating students in citizenship, I use the specific concept of institutional habitus to examine various constituents of their cultural ethos. By this I mean schools' organisational forms of collective practice such as school councils, class captain voting processes, or social events on school campuses. These analyses can provide me with a better understanding of the institutional habitus that school embodies, either by constraining or by stimulating students' sense of agency. It is argued that institutional habitus carries with it great implications for students' lives into the future, whether education results, choices they make, or other behaviours (Tarabini and Curran, 2018; Reay et al. 2001; Burke et al., 2018).

Finally, I found the concepts of doxa and illusio useful because they allow me to conceptualise the dominant discourse on citizenship in relation to Cambodia's context, past and present. I

explain conceptual tools in Chapter 2, and then use them in Chapter 8 to interrogate Cambodian students' citizenship aspirations to get a nuanced understanding of their embodied citizenship values. As Deer (2008) points out, doxa is structured by and through history, and Cambodia's young people have been experiencing multiple sociohistorical forms of oppression, ranging from the effects of radical social change and poor quality education to the denial of democratic participation (Chapters 2 and 4). Doxa refers to a "set of fundamental beliefs, which does not even need to be asserted in the form of an explicit, self-conscious dogma" (Bourdieu, 2000, p.15). Put simply, doxa is the unspoken but widely accepted logic that informs and structures social life (Deer, 2008). As doxa is understood as the predominant concept that shapes and guides practice, I employ it to explain the abstract beliefs among young students evident in their comments in both the student questionnaire and focus-group interviews.

My analysis and interpretation of students' common understandings is accompanied by the use of another concept, *illusio*, which refers to an individual's investment of their own time, effort, and emotion as a valuable endeavour in reaping the rewards of the field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Threadgold, 2018). As Bourdieu (2000) points out, *illusio* can be used to explain what it is that guides individual action (reflecting aspirations) as it is formulated to reflect how individuals are geared towards certain fields and not others. The concept of *illusio* therefore helps me to explain why the students involved in my research are devoting their time and their own material resources to helping their disadvantaged fellow citizens rather than engaging in other forms of democratic activity (that is, boycotting products, signing petitions, or protesting).

Ultimately, I believe that in order to get a nuanced understanding of how Cambodian schools are positioned to implement the citizenship curriculum we must investigate different dimensions of how the concept of citizenship is understood, interpreted, and finally promoted by those that it affects the most in a school setting: students and teachers. This means we should go further than a narrow focus on citizenship practice in relation to conventional politics to unearth the understandings, experiences, and practices of citizenship among students and teachers. Given the current political setting—that is, a non-democratic setting—any citizenship practices perceived as politically-driven are allowed no space on Cambodian school campuses. That said, alternative forms of engagement (such as everyday citizenship practices related to charity or volunteerism) should be considered because these reflect the prevalent beliefs and *illusio* among Cambodian youth. By examining where and what form of citizenship practices

fit as social processes, structures, and institutions, I hope that further spaces can be negotiated for future generations.

THE ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

In Chapters 2, 3 and 4 that follow, I review the literature relevant to young people as citizens, the role of the citizenship curriculum, and what it means to be a young Cambodian, then sketch theoretical approaches to citizenship theories. In chapter 2, I examine the current circumstances of Cambodian young people, focusing on different forms of symbolic violence that they are experiencing. First, I examine their daily struggles against the practices that marginalise them from both mainstream and everyday politics. These include corruption, poverty, low wages, lack of decent jobs, nearly-zero welfare provision, and poor quality education, all matters that work to deny their right to full citizenship. I do so because I believe that the current situation is putting them at risk across multiple dimensions, in turn denying them most of their citizenship rights. I go on to focus on the conception of young people as well-informed citizens in the Cambodian context, with a focus on participation and empowerment, to better understand the current social processes shaping their citizenship.

In Chapter 3 I continue my examination of how Cambodian schools and citizenship education are positioned and designed to prepare students to be active and informed citizens. In so doing, I analyse the contents of the current citizenship curriculum (introduced by the Ministry of Education in 2016 and 2017). I also briefly discuss the development of the citizenship education curriculum by governments in the post-colonial period, a period referred to by many as a new page in Cambodia's modern history. I argue that the Moral-Civics curriculum fails to transmit genuine cultural capital as espoused by Cambodia's Ministry of Education. Current Moral-Civics education in Cambodian schools is 'education *on* citizenship' instead of 'education *for* citizenship', to borrow Kerr's terms. It is the result of the shadow capital in that curriculum.

In Chapter 4, I address the question: 'What does it mean to be a Cambodian citizen?' through an analysis of the sociocultural and political contexts of Cambodia and an examination of contemporary approaches to citizenship theory. In doing so I critically discuss the roles of Cambodia's various social institutions which are of paramount importance in achieving an understanding of citizenship dispositions and aspirations among young Cambodian students.

That said, the realities of struggles for rights and resources, of inadequate social welfare, and of the limited spaces in which citizenship can thrive are the backbone of the entire chapter. Ultimately, the discussions in this chapter foreshadow an understanding of the prevailing views of students regarding their aspirations as active social agents. I not only draw on the Marshallian paradigm of citizenship but also move beyond his position to embrace other contemporary notions of citizenship such as social inclusion and exclusion. In so doing, I incorporate other contemporary theories of citizenship from Turner, Lister and Levitas, among others, as theoretical lenses through which to better understand the denial of citizenship rights. Given the limitations on this newly-evolving concept of citizenship, I also provide critiques of Marshall's theory as justification. I believe that Marshall's dimensions of citizenship can be used with the concept of symbolic violence, and of doxa and *illusio*, to provide a very nuanced understanding of citizenship practices in Cambodia.

In Chapter 5, I lay out the methodological and research design of the thesis. My methodological approach is built on a mixed methods and interpretive research design, with the use of focus groups and semi-structured interviews as research tools, which, I argue, is the most appropriate approach for gaining an in-depth understanding of my participants' conceptualisation of citizenship in their social setting. I explain how my methodological engagement with the field of study (that is, active citizenship practices in Cambodian schools and the teaching of citizenship education) informs my research design. In this chapter I also explain the design of my research, such as the construction of my sample, the data analysis conducted, and my epistemological standpoint.

In Chapter 6, I examine the role of the current citizenship curriculum in preparing students to be active and informed citizenry. As mentioned earlier, I analyse the content of the Moral-Civics curriculum for grades 10, 11 and 12 to gain insights into the promised capital. To do this, I employ Bourdieu's conceptual framework of capital and the specific concept of shadow capital as theoretical lenses in explaining the type of citizen the Cambodian government wants to produce through its institutionalised Moral-Civics curriculum.

In Chapter 7 I explore collective habitus or institutional habitus (that is, the structural organisation and practices of schools) to understand whether schooling (that is, the delivery of the content of the Moral-Civics curriculum, and organisational practices) enhances students' citizenship dispositions. In doing this, I examine the citizenship ethos embedded in practices

such as school councils, teaching pedagogies, extra-curricular activities, and other platforms, analysed through the lens of theory of institutional habitus. To gain a deeper understanding, I also extend my discussions to include one form of primary habitus, familial habitus, for Cambodian families are understood as a one of the major factors in shaping the individual dispositions of their young people.

In Chapter 8, I examine students' citizenship aspirations through Bourdieu's other concepts of *illusio* and *doxa*. I intend to explain how *illusio* and *doxa* contribute to the formation of citizenship aspirations among Cambodian high school students, given the introduction of shadow cultural capital and the expressive order of institutional habitus. The arguments in this chapter illustrate and make visible students' aspirations through the application of the two abovementioned conceptual frameworks to enable a deeper understanding of the inculcation of active citizenship in Cambodian schools. These theoretical and empirical explorations draw exclusively from both the student questionnaire and the focus group discussions with students. The arguments, surprisingly, explain the enlightened aspect of education, although it is weak.

Finally, in Chapter 9, I conclude by outlining the major arguments and findings in this thesis. In so doing I emphasise the pressing need for the government to conform to the practice of rule of law, to commit to reform of education and training, and to commit to a redistribution of resources. Conformity to the rule of law should be a guarantee of strong institutions and leadership accountability. In other words, combating chronic social ills can be possible, youth voices and participation can be engendered, and freedom of expression can flourish, eliminating arbitrary arrests. Reforms in education and training should serve as a guarantee of a change in mindset (*doxic* views of fear), of better skills needed for living, of better living standards, of empowerment, and of an abandonment of polarisation and social division. Finally, redistribution of resources can be a guarantee of true peace, human dignity, an apparatus for support of the poor (including young people, the elderly, the disabled, single parents, and indigenous groups), and the effective operation of both traditional welfare (such as family support in times of financial crisis) and government institutions. In this way the perceived 'imposed limitation of the accumulation of capitals' among ordinary citizens can be overcome. Impoverished living conditions (economic capital) can be reduced; broken social trust (social capital) can be reinstated; and a strong education system (cultural capital) can be instituted.

CONCLUSION

Citizenship and youth citizenship matter in Cambodia because of the historical struggle for democracy in the country and because young people are its future. When the citizenship space in broader society is extremely limited, it is important to find spaces for the teaching and learning of citizenship so that younger generations can reanimate the possibility of building a democratic society. Such early intervention through school-based advocacy can make a difference in years to come, particularly given continued constraints, and notwithstanding the current illisio among young Cambodians.

The paucity of research in citizenship teaching and learning is a sufficient reason to believe that citizenship practices in Cambodian schools matter. My own biography exposed at the outset of this thesis generates an increasing pressure for me as a researcher to begin this journey, focusing on what has yet to be given attention.

On a separate note, to understand the relevance of the term citizenship, it is essential to move outside abstract conceptualisations and conventional politics characterised by protests, a boycott, or a petition. As I explain regarding students' citizenship dispositions, there are emerging issues that young Cambodians consider to be more important than merely voting, and this can be the starting point for the processes of negotiation and reanimation of an active and vibrant citizenship practice. There is therefore a need to explore the meaning of citizenship for recipients of education, as well as those teaching it, to provide frameworks that generate youth empowerment and inclusion. By knowing what schools have done, or have not done, and what the current citizenship curriculum is doing, we can construct advocacy approaches that encourage politicians, policy-makers, educators, and the wider society to provide more space for citizens to exercise their rights as well as educating students to be active citizens, as the curriculum currently promises.

In conclusion, this introductory chapter offers the roadmap of the whole thesis by providing details of each chapter's critical work in relation to the research aims and questions alike. In the next chapter, Chapter 2, I examine how Cambodian young people are negotiating schooling, citizenship and society, with a specific focus on their life experiences, including issues pertaining to the concepts and practice of social exclusion, marginalisation, and symbolic violence.

CHAPTER 2: CAMBODIAN YOUTH NEGOTIATING INSTITUTIONAL AND SOCIO-CULTURAL IMPERATIVES

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on critical literature reviews focusing on the life experience of Cambodian young people, drawing on the concepts of social exclusion, marginalisation and symbolic violence. It aims to address one of the overarching questions in this thesis concerning the relationship between students' citizenship aspirations and the existing social order. The arguments in this chapter aim to provide a deep understanding of social exclusion and marginalisation experienced by Cambodian young people. In order to make sense of their Cambodian context, I draw on conceptual tools of symbolic violence, shadow capital, habitus, *illusio*, and *doxa* (Bourdieu, 1977b, 1990c, 2000a). I use the concept of symbolic violence to explain different forms of struggle that Cambodian young people must overcome. Shadow capital is used as a theoretical lens through which to analyse current citizenship education in Cambodian schools. Finally, conceptual frameworks of habitus and *doxa* are utilised to explore schools' organisational practices and students' dispositions relevant to the embodiment of citizenship values.

I begin the chapter by discussing the social exclusion and marginalisation that young Cambodians have experienced, focusing on their life trajectories, including their education, their work/employment, and their social welfare benefits and resources. In the sections that follow, I explain how these young people are sidelined within the existing shrunken citizenship space by analysing their struggle for democratic participation, the limited platform for their participation, and the constraints in decision-making processes. Towards the end of the chapter, I discuss how Bourdieu's thinking tools (that is, symbolic violence, shadow capital, habitus and *doxa*) can be used to create insights into the current situation for Cambodian young people. The thinking tools introduced in this chapter foreshadow arguments made in my three data chapters (Chapters 6, 7 and 8) - in which these conceptual tools are utilised to explain participants' opinions and experience - to contribute to the development of this thesis.

SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND MARGINALISATION

Cambodian young people are subject to various forms of exclusion and marginalisation. Dealing with them will require political will and strong institutions. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development's (OECD) Youth Well-being Policy Review of Cambodia indicates that one out of every five Cambodian young people simultaneously experiences deprivations relevant to two or more well-being dimensions (OECD, 2017). These dimensions are health, employment, education, and civic participation. This policy review was informed by well-being conceptual frameworks in OECD's Youth Inclusion Project; this project aims to calculate and devise Youth Multi-dimensional Deprivation Indicator (Y-MDI) (OECD, 2017). The Y-MDI indicator measures the share of young people who are affected by multiple deficits in all of the four abovementioned areas. Early school leaving, for example, is indicated by the report to be the biggest problem Cambodia faces, with only 34% of students aged between 12 and 22 still in either secondary or tertiary education in 2016.

Furlong (2013) cites David Miliband, UK minister of state for communities and local government (2006:7), as saying that degrees of social exclusion could be identified, coining the term 'deep exclusion' to describe people excluded in multiple ways. Furlong (2013) further argues that a person struggles, for example, when he or she lacks necessary skills, and because of prolonged unemployment he or she surely experiences social exclusion. Undoubtedly, a child in this family is highly likely subject to poverty which also results in a socially excluded soul.

In the sections below, I illustrate how Cambodian young people are socially excluded by focusing on this concept of 'deep exclusion'. The discussion begins with the low level of education young people receive and their limited employment prospects given poor educational attainment. I then discuss how current limited social welfare benefits also contribute to youth marginalisation.

Low education and poor employment prospects

Young Cambodians experience difficulty integrating themselves into the labour market because of limited education and training, the absence of mechanisms to support their job searches, and poor links between education and the labour market. The OECD (2017) report

warns that, if these features persist, Cambodia will suffer from even higher youth unemployment in the near future. OECD/Development Centre (2017) reports that Cambodian youth are still struggling for quality education and decent employment prospects, not least because they are not trained to harness potentials from education system and there is a general lack of plausible employment opportunities. The same report continues that several issues are characterised by low job quality and low payment as well as the discrepancy between the skills they possess and the requirement in the actual labor market. It is reported that only 31% of young people in work have qualifications matching their occupations (OECD/Development Centre, 2017).

Employment prospects for young people in Cambodia are uncertain, in part because of poor synergy between employer needs and university courses, the poor quality of some university courses, the lack of established career paths, and a volatile job market (Peou, 2017). The performance of Cambodia's education system is still ranked lower than most ASEAN nations. On average, adults in Cambodia have completed six years of compulsory education, just above Myanmar's average of 4.1 years (OECD 2017, UNDP 2016). The labour market remains dominated by poorly-educated and low-skilled workers, while a serious lack of semi-skilled and skilled workers to meet changing labour market needs is not being addressed (CDRI, 2013).

The absence of welfare benefits for young people

Inadequate social welfare benefits can have a huge impact on perceptions of citizenship and community membership, often understood as social exclusion. Without financial support and other forms of social benefits (such as scholarships or proper accommodation), Cambodian young people who move from their rural provinces to continue their undergraduate education in the city will struggle. As Furlong (2013) points out, weak social welfare is synonymous with social exclusion. The social exclusion of young people can be regarded as directly linked to inadequate provision of resources by the state. Long-term unemployment, for example, is less likely to lead to exclusion in countries that provide generous welfare benefits (see, for example, Furlong and Cartmel, 2001; Heikkinen, 2001). Similarly, the young person living in a poor, inadequately housed family is excluded as a direct result of inadequate welfare benefits and a lack of high-standard public housing. To that young person, addressing unemployment among

his peers, that is, assisting them, removing structural barriers, and helping them experience upward social mobility, is of utmost importance.

Roche (1992) links a welfare state with a flourishing social citizenship state, arguing that “poverty is antithetical to full citizenship” (p.55). Poverty represents a strategically important limit to the concept of social citizenship, not least because people cannot be full and participating members of society unless they conquer this limitation (See also Townsend, 1979). Only by pushing beyond this limitation can people become politically, civically and socially included (Roche, 1992; Lister, 1990b).

Cook and Pincus’s (2014) contemporary definitions of social protection specific to developing countries are generally categorised in three ways. First, non-contributory social assistance is found in programs that provide direct cash or in kind to help support the poor or the vulnerable groups of the population. Then, social insurance is the second type of support through which the state may provide support to those employed to offset the incomes that these people experience due to the loss of employment. This second domain of social protection is also considered as a form of contribution because the support people get is from tax revenues. The third type of social protection scheme is not related to any provision of cash or finance, but it is related to the protection in employment. This means the state devises policies to regulate working conditions to ensure that the employees are safe, the workplace is hygienic, employees are allowed to negotiate with employers or that child labour is prevented. Overall, the OECD’s Social Protection System Review of Cambodia (2017) ascertained that the Social Protection Framework introduced by the government remains fragmented and insufficient, with the systems in place to protect vulnerable groups extremely limited. Public care facilities for the most disadvantaged children have gone backwards rather than progressed, although there is improvement in health provision, while the government has failed to provide financial support for those in desperate need of help, including the elderly and people with disabilities.

The Asian Development Bank/ ILO (2015) praise ASEAN nations such as Cambodia, Indonesia, Thailand and Vietnam for including social protection policies in their respective national economic development plans. These organisations argue that social protection schemes are integral to combating poverty, inequality and exclusion. Two years after that praise, however, the OECD (2017) assessed Cambodia’s social protection policy as insufficient. In 2017, the Royal Government of Cambodia introduced its Social Protection

Policy Framework (SPPF), but this so-called ambitious policy was inefficient in multiple dimensions, due chiefly to its infancy.

As the Asian Development Bank (2014) noted, approximately 90% of total employment in Cambodia is in the informal sector; that is, these people are either self-employed or unpaid family workers who represent both informal employment and underemployment. Despite such high levels of informal work, those involved are not covered by the government's social protection schemes, putting them at the greatest risk of life cycle shocks and economic downturns (OECD, 2017). In education and training, scholarships and school meals represent the bulk of non-health-related assistance spending, but their impact on poverty remains insignificant, while technical vocational education and training schemes available to informal-sector workers are few.

The discussion above highlights the concept of social exclusion through the lenses of education, employment and social benefits. In addition to these forms of exclusion, Cambodian young people are also sidelined by various other barriers that deny their rights as citizens. Put simply, they are not empowered to contribute, nor to participate, in a way that civilized citizens are, which I will explain in the sections below.

CITIZENSHIP AS A SPACE AND PLATFORM FOR ACTION

Not only are young people excluded socially and economically, they also risk being trapped in low-paid or unskilled employment, with ongoing educational opportunities lacking support and inclusiveness. In the section below, I further explore the concept of exclusion through the lens of citizenship practices.

Understanding the notion of participation

While youth participation may be restricted by structural barriers imposed by institutions, young people in Cambodia are struggling against double barriers: institutional and cultural. The OECD (2017) reported that engagement in civic life among youth remains limited, for young Cambodians are often told by their older family members (especially their parents) to stay away from any activities easily linked by authority to politics. Youth participation may basically, however, be expressed through volunteering activities, which are arbitrarily

inclusive. Institutionally, government institutions, for instance, have initiated very few youth-related organisations (e.g. red cross) only to serve as avenue for voluntary activities. However, there remains concern over the notion of inclusiveness because only the members of such groups from different schools can work together to direct local traffic or engage in other forms of voluntary activity. Non-member students are not called upon to get involved in these activities, an indicator of the absence of inclusiveness.

Institutionally, any activities initiated by young people are not supported by their respective communities; for example, young Cambodians are not invited by their local authorities to attend meetings in their communities. This reflects the lack of support from government and its youth policies, as well as from other community programs (Khmer Youth Association [KYA], 2008). Government neglect is further demonstrated in its weak political will in relation to initiatives proposed in the national youth policy promised in 1996; it was not until a decade after 1996 that the policy, drafted as the National Youth Policy Network (NYP-Net), appeared (Pact Cambodia, 2008). The Department of Youth at the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports (MoEYS) had been in charge of drafting the policy; however, no significant progress was made until mid-2011 when the MoEYS released the policy entitled National Policy on Youth Development, with the United Nations Country Team being the major driving force (Wallquist, 2002; Mansfield, 2008; UNCT, 2009; MoEYS, 2011). The lack of commitment to promulgating youth policy, and the lack of political will to implement the same policy once released, underscore the marginalisation that affects young people.

It is noted here that some laws and policies are arbitrarily drafted and passed faster than some others. The National Policy on Youth Development, for example, took more than a decade to come to life. The Anti-Corruption Law (ACL) initiated in 1994 was finally passed in 2010, followed by the establishment of the National Council against Corruption (NCAC) and the Anti-Corruption Unit (ACU), following pressure from the international community (Ear, 2016). Recently, the law relating to political parties, however, was passed within two months, allowing the ruling party to dissolve the main opposition party prior to the national election in 2018.

Platform for Citizenship practices

Both Bourdieu (2000c) and Schubert (2008) point out that categorisations make up and order the world in which people are subject to both constituting and ordering. To both authors, the existence of political struggle is a normal process created by the system to make social classification and categorisation legitimate. They continue to argue there is a resulting misrecognition in a form of abstract violence due to such arbitrary and historical categorisation.

In Cambodia, space for students to practise citizenship is also narrow, not least because activities on school campuses are usually perceived as implicitly political. The state once prevented young people from the Mass Youth Organisation who merely wanted to organise an event to raise students' awareness of literacy during school breaks. Elsewhere such an initiative would have been encouraged (UNCT 2009; Mysliwiec, 2005). UNCT (2009) emphasises that when Cambodia was seen enjoying peace that resulted from the Paris Peace Accord in 1991, and there was an expectation that citizen participation in social, political and economic processes would thrive. However, youth involvement in these spheres appears to have been limited, especially young people's involvement in politically related activities. Additionally, as Yong (2005) points out, the Royal Government of Cambodia may not make room on school campus for any discussions perceived as political, for schools are regarded as places free from politics. The notion of schools being free of politics is stipulated in the kingdom's 2007 Education Law's *Article 34*:

“Educational establishments and institutions shall respect the principles of neutrality. Political activities and/or propaganda for any political party in educational establishments and institutions shall be completely banned.” (p.12)

On August 11, 2015 (eight years after the law had been promulgated), another regulation was signed by the Minister of Education to direct school and educational institutions to strictly enforce the Education Law. Arguably, this regulation was introduced in response to the increasing numbers of young people involved in protests and demonstrations that had plagued the country since the controversy over election results in late 2013. *Article 52* in the Education Law states:

“All political activities or propagandizing for any political party in educational institutions or establishments violated Article 34 of this law shall subject to interim fines in cash from 1,000,000 Riels (USD 250) to 5,000,000 Riels (USD 1,250). [...] If the actor is legal entity who is educational institute or establishment, act as the first paragraph of this article and in case of recidivous violation, the educational license(s) shall be suspended or definitely cancelled” (p. 19).

That restrictions in civic and political activities are made clear and legitimised by the government is not a surprise, given the sociocultural and political environment. Not only is restricted youth participation in civic and political lives understood as reflecting the regime’s embodied values, but perceived political involvement (subjectively defined by the above law) is also understood as illegal, which is subject to law enforcement. These shared values and understandings of civic and political engagement among the ruled and the ruler derive, I argue, from different definitions of politics by these two groups. To the ruled, politics connotes arrests and/or retributions, whereas the ruler defines politics as the tendency to challenge or overthrow the government. Even the expressions of dissent towards the government connote rebellion or ‘colour revolution’; however, if the actors do anything to support the government, the activities are not defined as political, and can attract praise (UNTC, 2009; Yong, 2005; OECD, 2017).

Young people’s right to participate in political and civic life is protected by international law and organisations. For example, UN Convention on the Rights of the Child regulates that governments of the UM member states are responsible for devising policies and programs that in turn empower and create opportunities for young citizens to get engaged in decision making necessary for their daily lives. In reality, youth participation in Cambodia is hindered by restrictions such as lack of financial resources, the lack of an organisational culture of youth participation, and the lack of political and structural space for youth engagement (Youth Policy Working Paper, 2016). The idea of youth participation is itself a challenge, let alone support for their full participation. This is because in Cambodia the idea of participation is often associated with political risk or trouble, as argued in the preceding section (Yong 2005). Bong and Sen (2017) find that young people are afraid of ‘getting into trouble’ if they become involved in politics, a fear that often results in a lack of willingness to be involved, excluding them from the policy planning process. In addition, the ongoing economic and social barriers still alarmingly prevent the majority of the poor people in rural Cambodia from participating

in the processes required for citizen's rights, resulting in frustration and hopelessness among even the most privileged in the population and among young people (UNESCO, 2011).

Given a tight restriction on the platform to practice citizenship, it is important to state some activities that students and young Cambodians can do as a form of citizenship practices, all of which are doable with less or even no restrictions by the government (a wide range of activities are discussed in Chapters 8). Cambodian students and youth opt to embrace the values of sharing their time, efforts and resources to disadvantaged groups of people, including financial contribution to hospitals that offer service to the poor and children. Other young people would go to remote areas in Cambodia with their family members on weekend to donate clothes or make other in-kind contributions. They also financially contribute to build infrastructures in Buddhist temples because they believe that such an act will bring them happiness and luck. It is argued that when formal platforms are deemed politically motivated, young Cambodians seek alternative avenues to claim their citizenship rights, all of which are more about everyday citizenship practices.

Challenges in decision-making and empowerment

Young people's participation as decision-makers remains a challenge in the context of an entrenched age hierarchy. Following the national election in 2013, for example, there were only three parliamentarians aged under 35, representing approximately 1% of members of parliament (Bong & Sen 2017). Five years later, in the 2018 national election, nothing much had changed; the domination of elderly parliamentary members remained pervasive.

According to official results released by the National Election Committee [NEC], 91 of the 125 members of parliament (73%) were aged between 61 and 76, with the oldest member aged 85. There were only 8 young members (6.4%) aged between 33 and 40, and 13 members (10%) aged between 41 and 60. Putting it crudely, in the 125-seat national assembly, 97 seats (78%) belonged to members aged between 61 and 85 while only 8 seats (6.4%) were taken by younger members (NEC, 2018).

This paucity of recognition of young people's needs and perspectives is linked to such factors as the stereotypes of various hierarchies; that is, low social status and lack of experiences derived from being young in both family and wider social contexts (Yong, 2005), and to the

‘knowledge hierarchy’ under which older people and leaders consider young people as immature: those lower in the knowledge hierarchy (Yong, 2005; Brown, 2008).

APPLYING BOURDIEU’S THINKING TOOLS

The above discussion provides the context for understanding the lived experience of Cambodian young people through the lenses of both social exclusion and struggle, and of citizenship space. The current generation of young people is negotiating various forms of symbolic violence coming from cultural and institutional factors. In order to make better sense of the experience of young people, I will analyse in the section below what is happening to young Cambodians framed by the symbolic violence they are experiencing. It is noted here that Bourdieu’s theories are also intertwined with my primary data, mainly in the three data chapters (e.g. Chapters 6,7 and 8); therefore, it is necessary to begin my discussion of the youth literature here through the lens of these theories.

Youth negotiating symbolic violence

Symbolic violence, as the term suggests, is not usually recognised (or misrecognised, to use Bourdieu’s term) in that it is abstract and exists in various forms disguised as cultural and socially normative phenomena. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992a), for example, argue that social hierarchy and inequality remain prevalent even in contemporary societies. However, such phenomenon does not exist in a sensible form; this takes on a form of symbolisation.

Bourdieu (1977b) further argues that there is perceived violence associated with symbolic domination (that is, the hierarchy and inequality), and this form of violence is characterised non-physical attributes. He observes that the post-war education system under the French marginalised the disadvantaged groups of people (e.g. the working class), and finally maintained the existing reproduction processes of social divisions. At that time, education system was merely created not only to marginalise working-class students but also to make these students believe that their academic failure stemmed from their own lack of natural talent in lieu of the unjust system (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992a).

In the same vein, Schubert (2008) elaborates on this taken-for-granted violence, for “it is everywhere, and it is nowhere” (pp.195-6). To Schubert, such a form of violence exists

everywhere, simply because it is disguised as a legitimate system in which we live and we do not recognise that we are being classified and categorised. Symbolic violence adversely impacts on our views of the world by making us consider social hierarchies as natural and by limiting our ability to imagine a possible alternative world. As a result, the suffering we are experiencing is perceived as a natural way of life (Schubert, 2008). Symbolic violence is too abstract a concept to be easily recognised, as Bourdieu suggests:

“Symbolic violence is ... a generally unperceived form of violence and ... is an effective and efficient form of domination in that members of the dominant classes need exert little energy to maintain their dominance. They need only, ‘let the system they dominate take its own course’ in order to exercise their domination”

(Bourdieu, 1977b, p.190).

As discussed in the preceding sections, young people are up against social struggles that have thus far marginalised them from both the mainstream and everyday politics; their struggles against corruption, poverty, low wages, lack of decent jobs, near-zero welfare, poor quality education, to name just a few barriers, deny their right to full citizenship. White, Wyn and Robards (2017) argue that one of the ways to neutralise the social expense of inequality and disadvantage is to construct official state ideology that reinforces the individual nature of the problem. Someone is, for example, unemployed because they don’t have the right skills, training, attitude or work ethic.

Often, through these processes of neutralisation, Cambodian people see deprivation and limited rights as the result of their own deficits; it is the outcome of this form of violence. Although there are few local job opportunities, they never march in the streets to demand government’s intervention; instead, many either move to the capital city of Phnom Penh or migrate to Thailand and Malaysia for new job opportunities. An estimated 1.19 million people, many of them young people, left Cambodia in 2015 for job opportunities in countries such as Thailand, Malaysia, South Korea or Japan (ILO, 2007; OECD, 2017). Between 2000 and 2015, the emigration rate among Cambodian workers increased by approximately 160% (OECD/CDRI 2017).

Migration to foreign countries in part reflects the failure of Cambodia’s economy to generate enough jobs to meet demand, and the fact of Cambodia’s wages being uncompetitive compared to other countries (OECD/CDRI 2017); however, the issues of lack of employment and out-of-

country migration are neutralised by casting them as individuals' problems (such as low education or lack of skills). As Schubert (2008) emphasises, the repudiation of the role of existing symbolic violence is per se corresponding to the impact of the system, for the sufferers are led to believe that the suffering is not a genuine outcome of its effects; their pain and misery is delegitimised (Schubert, 2008). Bourdieu aptly illustrates how the sufferers unconsciously accept the suffering:

Using material poverty as the sole measure of all suffering keeps us from seeing and understanding a whole side of the suffering characteristic of a social order which ...has multiplied the social spaces and set up the conditions for an unprecedented development of all kinds of ordinary suffering (1999a, p.4).

In another example, the current regime's support is seen to be not only inadequate but discriminatory towards the poor. Cambodia still faces some challenges in inclusiveness, apparently unable or unwilling to address the welfare and productivity of the population living near the poverty line. There is a great need for more investment in health, education and social protection (UN, 2015b; Ou & Chheat, 2015). This confirms the observations of the OECD (2017) regarding the deprivation facing Cambodians and their fragmented social protection schemes amidst the fact that an estimated 25% of the population are still categorised as 'poor', 'near poor', or slightly above the poverty line (CDRI, 2013; World Bank, 2015).

Given the objectives of social protection schemes, there seems to be a consensus that social protection schemes are set to provide support to both individuals and families in such a way that their basic needs are met. Therefore, such support is targeted to better their daily consumption and living standards, especially during their hard time (e.g. ill-health, unemployment or retirement) (Cook & Pincus, 2014). There is a contradictory trend between the role of welfare system in modern societies and what Cambodia is preforming to get close to a supportive system. Chem et al. (2011) note that there remains a concern over the ongoing rural poverty in Cambodia, where majority of the population lives, and that weak social protection and great social inequality are quite common. Furlong (2013) identifies different ways of how an individual are socially excluded from the perspective of social scientists. The idea of social exclusion, albeit somewhat problematic in the loose way the term is used in policy circles, is linked to long-term unemployment and poverty and, especially, to multiple

disadvantages. Social exclusion, argues Furlong, can be thought of as a possible consequence of long-term unemployment.

In participation processes, young people are facing significant challenges caused by weak institutions and cultural barriers. The National Policy on Youth Development is viewed as the only national policy seeking to authorise youth participation; however, no significant improvement has ever been made in young people's involvement in the youth development process. Since its appearance in 2011, the policy has done very little to empower young people thanks to its slow implementation (Heng et al., 2014), characterised by the absence of commitment. With regard to cultural barriers, Cambodian families do not encourage younger family members to get involved in civic participation matters, while young people themselves remain reluctant to exercise their rights as active social agents. These common disenfranchisements are shaped by past experiences as well as by what they observe in their daily lives. The OECD/ Development Centre reports that

*“Civic participation in Cambodia is usually associated with political activities, which are believed to be unsafe. **Parents discourage their children** from joining political groups or volunteering their time for social activities. **Youth themselves are reluctant to engage in politics for fear of retribution.** Concepts such as democracy, national assembly or commune council are unfamiliar to the majority of youth.” (2017, p.37, **emphasis added**)*

Although young Cambodians have shown a keen interest in making a difference, their aspirations are constrained by several hurdles. They may not have the high level of attentiveness required for civic engagement, and may lack the actual activist skills to make things happen (Peou & Chea, 2011); they are generally totally dependent on older family members because the respect due to their seniors is regarded as important in Cambodian traditional hierarchy. Young people therefore have little hope, if any, that they can make a difference in society (Forum Syd, 2005; BBC Media Action, 2014, UNDP, 2010). Bourdieu (1991a) associates symbolic violence with customary social and historical processes, emphasising that the reproduction of social hierarchies is just normalised, resulting in violence which is symbolically expressed.

For the notion of citizenship to be meaningful in the lives of young people, they need to experience genuine participation in decisions relating to those lives, particularly in their schools. Schools, after all, are perhaps the most important formal institutions in which children have regular involvement (Wyn, 2011). For Bourdieu and Schubert, schools function as a social institution that programmed to teach and socialise students; however, there is an inconsistency between what is taught to students and how students are allowed to behave (Bourdieu, 1991,1991a; Schubert, 2008, p.188). In order to understand what roles the schools in Cambodia play with regard to the practice of citizenship, I use empirical data collected in four sample schools in my case study, as well as drawing on the frameworks of capital, habitus, doxa and illusio as theoretical lenses.

The concept of shadow capital

The lack of knowledge about civic participation, rights and obligations, and lack of civics education among Cambodian young people, is well documented. The BBC Media Action (2014) report indicates a knowledge vacuum about terms such as democracy, commune council, and national assembly; more than 20% of the young people interviewed were not aware of the National Assembly. Still, surprisingly, 60% of those who had heard about the institution did not actually know what it was. These concerns are shared by other reports that focus on youth involvement in political decisions. COMFREL (2009), for example, reports that in politics-related endeavours, the participation rate among young people remains low while There is an indication that young people still have limited knowledge about citizenship-related concepts including democratic values and civic rights. Of the three terms, civic engagement was the least-known term among the young cohort surveyed by the UNDP country team. According to the same report, 92% of the sample (2000 young people) were aware of ‘commune councils’ yet unable to explain the responsibilities of those councils, while most of the sample could not describe the role of the National Assembly (UNDP, 2009).

Bourdieu (1986) outlines three interrelated forms of cultural capital, and cultural capital can be translated into either economic or institutionalised capital when specific conditions are applied. In its objectified form, capital is materially associated with such things as books scientific instruments (e.g. things we can see, touch or observe). In its embodied form (disposition/habitus), capital is believed to exist between the objectified and embodied forms, for it does not have any material existence, and it can only be realised in practice. The

institutionalised form of capital (formal education) is associated with educational qualifications, and it is perceived as the origination assets of cultural capital.

My fieldwork at four high schools in the capital city of Phnom Penh, however, and my analysis of the content of morals-civics textbooks used by grades 10, 11 and 12, significantly and surprisingly reveal that the cultural capital transmitted to Cambodian students is more shadow and illusion than the form of capital promised by the country's ministry of education (Chapter 6).

Stich and Cipollone (2017) define such a shadowy form of capital as a form of capital that only replicates true cultural capital; however, the one in its shadowy form cannot guarantee the products of the same quality or value. Shadow capital mimics dominant capital [dominant capital refers to that of elite groups (the system) in Cambodia who have control over the nation's institutions and have strong social networks with powerful government officials]. However, its constituents are distinguished from the capital of the dominant class—the qualities required to build dominant capital. Superficially, therefore, shadow capital connotes the illusory nature of capital, appearing as the dominant form yet exhibiting different composition. Weis et al., (2015) link the failure to include required content in college-preparatory courses in schools to adverse effects on the achievement of students' college aspirations. Deil-Amen and Tevis (2010) and Stich and Cipollone (2017) argue that students' agency, and most importantly students' aspirations, do not last long and are circumscribed by the accumulation of such cultural capital.

The field of moral-civics education in Cambodia can be arguably understood as a field of struggle (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992), for the goal of Moral-Civics Education (MCE), at least on paper, embraces the notion of active citizenship and upholds the values of democratic practice. Practically, however, the current form of citizenship education is not doing enough to uphold active citizenship values, not least because the very contents of the citizenship curriculum are presented in a 'shadowy form'. The word 'shadow' signifies the illusory nature of this form of capital; it appears as the dominant form, but its composition differs greatly. Unlike other forms of valuable cultural capital possessed and enacted by non-dominant groups (Yosso, 2005) or subcultures (Thornton, 1995), shadow capital is neither a form of dominant nor non-dominant cultural capital in terms of the value it offers students.

Shadow capital is produced through social processes that reproduce efforts to stratify, instead of democratising, by impeding their embodiment (Stich & Cipollone, 2017). Applied in Cambodian contexts, shadow capital superficially represents the institutionalisation of the concept of active citizenry among Cambodian high school students. The shadow capital in MCE is understood through its lack of in-depth content, its delivery of content which is not conducive to debate or the promotion of critical thinking (4), the mismatch between realities and the information in textbooks, and the nature of exams which encourage mere ‘memorisation’.

As I work to conceptualise shadow capital that is prevalent in Cambodian school’s curriculum, I further reflect upon the value of Bourdieu’s theoretical-cum-methodological tools in moving my thinking forward in order to better explain various existing elements in the Moral-Civics education curriculum. Shadow capital constitutes a distinct entity and becomes detectable relative to the habitual that generates it and its activation within the larger field of education (Lareau & Horvat, 1999). In this respect, I continue to explore the role of schools in shaping students’ citizenship dispositions by focusing on the organisational practices of schools (such as teachers’ perspectives regarding the teaching of Moral-Civics education and the schools’ space for citizenship practices).

Institutional Habitus

Education system in Cambodia is still characterised by several obstacles but one thing that might significantly affect the operation of citizenship practice is that schooling fall short to contribute to student’s critical thinking skills (UNESCO, 2011). The study by this organisation also indicates that characteristics corresponding to citizenship practices including the expression of opinions, community engagements, and political influence are missing out among students (UNESCO, 2011).

Bourdieu (1994d) argues that habitus underpins social agency, and that it can have great implications for a person, a group of people or even an organisation and/or institution; as he puts it “[habitus comprises] structured and structuring structure” (Bourdieu, 1994, p. 170). That said, an individual’s life experiences (e.g. family socialisation and education) are important contributors to that person’s beliefs and practices. In other words, a person’s habitus is shaped

and reshaped by sets of dispositions which in turn inform their conception and guide actions (Bourdieu, 1990c; Matron, 2008). Bourdieu relates his three technical terms as he puts it:

It expresses first the *result of an organizing action*, with a meaning close to that of words such as structure; it also designates a *way of being, a habitual state* (especially of the body) and, in particular, a *predisposition, tendency, propensity or inclination* (1977b, p, 214).

Bourdieu (1993a) posits that habitus is not independent from other factors, and he adds that we are not subject to automations. By this he means what we are doing can be attributed to some relationships in social fields, not least because both physical and social spaces are important determinants and the interplay by these spaces is relational to the concept of doing (Bourdieu, 1993a, 2000a; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992)

My discussion of Cambodia's Education Law and the regulations issued by the ministry of education, as well as literature on the concept of school as a natural place discussed above, are evidence of the restriction on citizenship space on school campuses. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977a) emphasise the role of school in legitimising symbolic violence. Bourdieu (1994a) critiques the roles that schools are playing by arguing that students are usually socialised to behave as the system desires; that is, while they are taught only certain values that are aligned with system's agenda. He goes on to strongly suggest that it is critical to cast doubts on the roles of both society and politics in educating and helping students Bourdieu (1994a). Moreover, there is a pressing need to question teachers' approach to deliver the content because "pedagogic action is objectively a symbolic violence to the extent to which it is an imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power" (Bourdieu, 1994a; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977a, p. 18). White (2007) calls this educational practice a paradox of youth participation, for most young people (and older people) are disillusioned with mainstream political parties and parliamentary systems.

Institutional habitus has the greatest impact on individual aspiration, irrespective of country and indicator. Some scholars such as Ingram (2018) and Tarabini and Curran (2018) used the concept of institutional habitus to investigate student's education achievement and conclude claimed that school's habitus contributes to either success or failure in student's attainment. The poor results do not come from their economic, cultural or personal incapacity, nor the

students' rational decisions and choices. As Ingram (2018) points out, whenever students' habituses are not properly aligned with those of their schools (e.g. assumptions, requirements and values), there is a predictable result of a failed relationship, thereby adversely affecting their achievement in school. This is also confirmed by Reay et al. (2001) who conducted a similar study of the effects of institutional habitus on students' choices of higher education institutions, and they argued that institutional habitus is an intervening variable which leads to students' class, race, and gendered processes - what they call a 'semi-autonomous' means for students. The notion of institutional habitus can be investigated through a complex interplay between the performance of social agents and existing social space (Reay et al., 2001; McDonough, 1996). Ingram (2018) and Reay et al. (2001) argue that it is the school's cultural ethos that underpins its institutional habitus, and therefore certain institutional practices are informed by deeply-embedded relational issues and priorities.

In the same vein, Burke, Emmerich and Ingram (2013) associate collective habitus with the notion of institutional habitus, considering the term as heuristic and as a socio-analytic tool. In this sense, they contend that a person's habitus is constructed, shaped and reshaped by an institution's operations. Therefore, it is useful to acknowledge and analyse various elements, if any, perceived to be an institution's collective forms of practices in order to get a nuanced understanding of that person's habitus (Coleman, 1991). In keeping with Coleman's words, Burke et al. (2013) assert that there is a direct correlation between an individual's inclination towards certain practices, and this phenomenon can be explained through the examination of school and/or other institutions. In other words, it is important to note there that a student's accrued positive values and norms are arguably a reflection of their school cultural ethos.

In theorising habitus, Bourdieu and Wacquant use technical terms such as "a socialized subjectivity" and "the social embodied" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992a, pp. 127-8). Put simply, the sets of dispositions a person possesses are the results of the reciprocal relationship between that person's internalisation and social structures, and this relationship keeps evolving so that each of which can reinforce another and vice versa. As this logic continues, a person's habitus is reinforced, producing a common belief in how he acts in a social field—doxa of the field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992a, pp.66 & 74). In what follows, I briefly discuss how history fundamentally contributes to the formation of normative views of doxa and *illusio* among the Cambodian population, old and young, albeit to different extents.

The application of doxa and illusio in explaining Cambodian students' citizenship

Historically informed doxic attitudes among Cambodian people are strongly associated with radical changes, both prosperously and tragically, over more than half a century (Clayton, 2005). Following its independence from French colonisation in the early 1950s, Cambodia saw national development in many aspects of life. The nation fell into the hands of the Khmer Rouge, however. During their reign approximately two million lives were tragically lost due to excessively hard work, starvation, malnutrition, illness and systematic execution (Chandler, 2000). This part of Cambodia's modern history has left mental scars on the Cambodian people: the doxa of passivity and conformity.

Deer (2008) argues that doxa is structured by and through history. Throughout Cambodia's modern history, the long-standing doxa is characterised by the 'no involvement in politics' stance, given that perceived politics-related activities connote risk. As Hughes (2015) points out, Cambodia's older generations are haunted by the dark side of Cambodian modern history which is associated with social disruptions and intimidation. This common fear is the result of Cambodia's tragic past in Khmer Rouge regime (1975-1979) and the soldier conscription and deadly civil war between 1980 and 1989. While Generation X (those born between early 1960s and early 1980s) have been affected by wars and internal conflicts, Generations Y and Z (the millennials and those born just at the start of the millennium respectively) (Wallop, 2014) are denied their civil and political rights. Younger generations have experienced this denial both in their lived experience and in education. In their experience, different protests, whether for pay rises, demands for social, political and economic reforms, or for the elimination of land grabbing, social injustice, illegal logging, or natural resource destruction, have encountered harsh crackdowns. In late 2013, for example, the harsh crackdown on young garment workers who demonstrated to demand a marginal increase in their monthly pay (Lawreniuk & Parsons, 2018) sent another clear message to young Cambodians about the associated risks derived from their collective bargaining. Group gathering, albeit peaceful, is easily interpreted as a challenge to the system.

The common doxa of political alienation (or the no-politics disposition) among Cambodians, young and old, is apparently passed on from Cambodian parents to their offspring through family socialisation and home indoctrination. The example in Khmer literature above, and the comments by students during focus group discussions, are good reflections of doxa formed

among Cambodians. Bourdieu (1990c) argues that although one's habitus is structured by both family (via primary socialisation) and social institutions, he acknowledges that an individual may argue: "Why does someone make petty bourgeois choices? Because he has a petty bourgeois habitus!" He claimed to be "keenly aware of this danger" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992a: 129).

Through education, involvement in politics or politics-related activities is discouraged through another educational means. In one of the modern Khmer literary books in the upper-secondary school curriculum, 'The New Sun on the New Land' (*Preah A Tit Thmey Reah Loeu Den Dey Chas*), for example, senior members in one working-class family during the Sankum Reastr Niyum (1953-1970) era compare politics with 'trick, cheating or breach of trust', and Cambodian people are well aware of the term '*No Yo Bay Yo Boak*' (politics is about cheating). Texts such as this have resulted in the doxic view that any form of protest presages danger and risk, especially among Generation X. As Lawreniuk and Parsons (2018) point out, following the deadly crackdown on the wage rise protest in early 2014, the momentum among workers was lost, underscoring as it did the danger involved in democratic participation.

It is argued that these historical and social contexts have significantly contributed to the construction of youth citizenship and informed citizenship-related practices among young Cambodians. The doxic views among Cambodians are significantly shaped by these accounts. Bourdieu emphasises the roles of social structures and history in constructing the world in which we live, and unfortunately, there is an attempt by the system to create and reproduce symbolic violence. Through this process, argues Bourdieu (1991a), we are subject to the orthodoxy of the social field, and this makes us believe that we are unable to challenge the system.

Although it is difficult to challenge the system, Bourdieu's concept of *illusio* brings hope to young Cambodians. Instead of going against the orthodoxy (such as not protesting, not boycotting products, or not signing petitions), the student develops an *illusio* of helping other people by investing their time and materials. Bourdieu (1990a) identifies *illusio* as the belief that entering, practising and competing in the game is worthwhile. This belief comes from an "ontological complicity between the habitus and the field" (Bourdieu, 1990a, p.194).

Shaped by *illusio*, human beings develop their own understandings of how to make their daily experience a rewarding one by investing their resources in a feasible way to live by (Threadgold, 2017). In Bourdieu's terms, *illusio* is how we are captivated by things and invest in them without reflecting too much on their actual meaning. Threadgold (2017) finds that young people who find the promises of governmentalised norms (such as working hard, gaining education, making the right choices) hollow and hypocritical critically engage in *illusio*. The conceptions of *doxa* and *illusio* are used to analyse Cambodian students' citizenship aspirations in detail to get a nuanced understanding of them.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I illustrate how Cambodian young people are negotiating existing symbolic systems, the result of which is the *doxic* view of citizenship practice. Despite its silent nature, symbolic violence does have an enormous impact on young people in multiple ways. Key challenges they are facing today are disguised as the normative challenges facing young people and the general population. Young people are discriminated against and denied their rights through education, poverty, migration, reproduction of cultural barriers, and poor social protection. With all of these, their social mobility is understood as more uphill. They are deprived of all four main dimensions of social well-being: education, employment, participation and social protection.

As can be seen, Cambodians have strong relationships of trust with their family members who can be a resource when in need, given extremely limited social protection. When their families are trapped in poverty and debt, they choose to quit education and take on a job. Their *doxic* views are that education cannot help them much when they have nothing to eat or are unable to pay back loans. These *doxic* views are reinforced day-by-day, making them believe that, no matter how hard they try or how well-educated they are, their upward social mobility is 'uncertain' or even impossible; that is, they are fulfilling the stereotype of having no networks, ***khsear*** (meaning poor social networks as the family is poor, lacking the economic and social capital required to experience upward mobility).

The failure of education to promote students' critical thinking skills, and to equip them with skills needed for decent employment, exacerbates the experience of social exclusion. Young people keep dropping out of school in order to contribute to their families' incomes, only to be

trapped in low-skilled jobs, or in informal economic activity which is deemed vulnerable. This is not good enough; the focus should be extended to the government being ‘legally responsible’ for not only the rich, the elites and the powerful. In the long run, Cambodia needs strong and transparent institutions so that public services are fairly and efficiently delivered, be they educational, political or social.

In both policy and practice, young people are still significantly marginalised. The examples of the dominating older members of parliament, and the restricted citizenship space in school and in the wider social context, signify the ongoing symbolic violence serving to silence dissent. The phenomenon of age hierarchy remains fixed; exclusion exists in many dimensions. Limited social protection schemes, and the ignorance to involve young Cambodians in participation processes only further marginalise this disadvantaged group of population.

Young people who leave school for work are trapped in low-skilled jobs, forced into migration, either rural-to-urban or international, while education systems are ineffective. Exclusion in multiple dimensions has put Cambodian young people at risk, just like citizens with ‘disabilities’, unable to think critically, influence established systems, exert political influence, or be economically strong, all thanks to their levels of education.

In this chapter, I have introduced the conceptual frameworks that are used throughout the thesis as theoretical lenses through which to gain a better understanding of the empirical data. In Chapters 6, 7 and 8 in particular, I use each of these conceptual frameworks to aid my data analysis with regard to the main arguments I make in each chapter. In Chapter 3, I specifically discuss Cambodia’s version of citizenship education as a means of exploring and explaining how current citizenship education contributes to the conceptualisation of citizenship values among students.

CHAPTER 3: MORAL-CIVICS EDUCATION IN CAMBODIAN SCHOOLS

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I focus on the unique history and nature of citizenship education in Cambodia. The arguments and analysis in this chapter draw on the most recent curriculum of the Ministry of Education (MoEYS, 2016, 2017) as the main source of information, and on Bourdieu's concept of doxa.

The chapter first briefly illustrates the historical and educational transformations in Cambodia's political timelines in the past seven decades. This section offers a partial retrospective on how regime changes affected Cambodia's education system, which is useful for our understanding of the current curriculum. Next, I discuss the present-day general education system, focusing on what is expected in this country's important field. The divisions of level and modifications of systems following the end of the civil war, as well as the introduction of education law in 2007, form the central focus in this section. The chapter then goes on to identify the ongoing issues pertaining to the development of the education system, with a focus on resources (human and finance).

In the section about Cambodian citizenship education, I describe current citizenship education and the values underpinning the current curriculum by drawing on the latest citizenship curriculum. What follows is a critical analysis of the content of the curriculum conducted in relation to the literature on citizenship education and its conception. I use the concept of doxa to explain the nature of doxic views of citizenship among students, drawing on Bourdieu's theoretical lens to provide a critical content analysis of the current curriculum.

In this way, the chapter is set to provide the background for my arguments made in subsequent chapters, particularly in Chapter 6, where I posit that current citizenship education builds a form of shadow capital. I contend in this chapter that, historically, Cambodia's education system has done little to promote a sense of active citizenship and empowerment; instead, the education system has been continually politicised in accordance with the ideologies of successive regimes, their ideologies reinforcing symbolic power and the established social order.

HISTORICAL AND EDUCATIONAL TRANSFORMATIONS

Bourdieu (1977b) uses the concept of *doxa* to explain how social structures exert their influences on people's agentic practices. By this he means that there is an interconnectedness between a person's internalised dispositions and social world, and that the results of this interrelation are the unquestionable conformity. In other words, there is a prevalent belief among people and this belief can prevent them from challenging the arbitrary social stereotypes (that is, classifications, values, or categorisations) that have resulted in *doxa* to be continuously misrecognised and to be persistently reconstructed (Deer, 2008). Both Bourdieu and Deer contend that *doxa* underpins almost every social field a person's common belief keeps evolving by being reconstructed in social fields and by reproducing itself in accordance with that person's perceptions and actions, that is, *habitus* (Bourdieu, 2000a; Deer, 2008). Historically, Cambodia's education system has been guided by various subjective organising principles so that the desired objective social structures can be bolstered. In the section that follows, I illustrate how Cambodia's education system has been shaped and discuss the expected *doxic* views of such a system.

In the 1950s, in an attempt to reduce the long-standing effect of French educational and cultural imperialism on Cambodia, King Father Norodom Sihanouk set forth the purpose of education. Clayton (2005) comments that the former King Father took on education reform when he reigned Cambodia between 1953 and 1970 so that the country could no longer be subject to the effects of colonization as well as to reinstate Khmer values. These values are underpinned by Cambodians' attitudes to live peacefully with other fellow citizens and by the Cambodian post-colonial government to stay neutral between the two blocs (e.g. communism and the west during the cold war) in the country's foreign policy. Nationally, the notion of 'Khmerisation' is guided by citizens' respect and love of their own cultures and traditional values, and morally good behaviors. Although these values are seen as a precondition for the hard-earned peace in war-torn Cambodia, the lasting effects of these values undermine contemporary Cambodia's ability in building a strong democracy, for they may prevent ordinary people from challenging the unjust system. Significantly, the ongoing cultural practices of living in harmony and of forgiving others are major obstacles to challenge the social injustice and inequality.

Bourdieu (1994d) asserts that different social institutions (e.g. education or religion) can be instrumental in the process of categorizations and value allocation; these established

institutions serve as a mechanism to ensure a smooth operation of symbolic power. In this respect, the reform in post-colonial education system by the new regime aimed to instill a new doxa, in Bourdieusian terms – one that produced in the population, and particularly in school students, a more local way of viewing and understanding the social world rather than one that reflected a European mindset. Clayton (2005) contends that such essential contents as Cambodian culture, civic engagement and morality are just a few examples of the foci of school curriculum and that pedagogies were also chosen carefully with the intention of instilling national pride among students. Then a coup in 1970 led to a new government (1970-1975) which aimed to promote traditional culture in the hope of making its new regime legitimate (Hagai et al., 2017; Ayres, 2000).

Between 1975 and 1979, Cambodia's education system was reduced to ashes by the Khmer Rouge regime. A new form of doxa inculcated by this regime was the ineffectiveness of formal and higher education. Issues that mattered were related to self-survival, the economy, a sense of strong nationalism, and hatred towards neighbouring countries perceived as invaders. A new education system, with a focus on embracing the values of love of one's nation and protection from outsider's encroachment, was established under the regime's leaders. Clayton (2005) discusses how the education system was changed, noting that not only human resources but also education infrastructure were destroyed, with schools ruined, books burnt, and teachers killed. Clayton notes however that the regime instituted a new education system that was fully devoted to the instilling of morality among students. Different scholars, such as Dy (2004), Duggan (1996) and Chandler (1998), argue that during this period, especially in the early years, basic education was deemed unimportant because almost all citizens were working in factories and farms. There was no literacy education beyond the lower grades, formal schooling was eradicated, and only basic reading and writing were taught. There was no national curriculum. Clayton (2005) cites one of the Khmer Rouge leaders' views of education: that the knowledge students acquired in the rice paddies reflected the reality of the nation, and that education should aim to instill values that underpinned patriotism, nation building and protection.

The post-Khmer Rouge government came into power (1979-1989) with a more systematic education system reinstated and the inculcation of new values among students. The government at that time aimed to reinforce the doxa of the danger of change and of foreign interference, especially the danger of imperialism from the West. The doxic view of the change and danger nexus is promoted through the provocation of hatred towards the Khmer rouge regime,

legitimising the new regime at the same time. It is also noteworthy that during this period Cambodia was still adversely affected by the Cold War. As Clayton (2005) explains, education in this period aimed to produce “new” men and women who “would be willing to fight against imperialism and capitalism” (p. 511-12). Regarding the content of curriculum, Hagai et al. (2017) assert that the curriculum and textbooks used are merely characterized by the tendency to reinforce the government ideology and its authority legitimacy. The content of the new textbooks in the 1980s focused on the political transformations that Cambodia had experienced (that is, independence, the Cold War, and the civil war that resulted from the Cold War). There was also the notion of “*neo-Khmerization*”, beginning with discussions about a glorious ancient past in the hope that the students would be proud of their own nation, which would lead to the rebuilding of the great nation again (See, for example, Ngo, 2014), while the propaganda in the textbooks aimed to instill in students a culture of violence, hatred, and revenge towards the Khmer Rouge (Dy; 2008; Hagai et al., 2017).

Between 1989 and 1993, Cambodia began a shift to a Western liberal democracy style of government, embracing the values of pluralism and a free market economy, and education was supposed to follow suit. Although there was a shift in political ideology, the education system saw little change because the doxic views entrenched in the PRK government were still reinforced. Hatred towards the Khmer Rouge and fears of regime change were still reinforced because the education system was still under the control of the government. To exemplify, Clayton (2005) notes that upon the Vietnamese departure, the ideological remnants of the curriculum were also removed, yet education at that time still juggled two traditions; that is, the education system was influenced by explicit socialist rhetoric and an ‘un-socialist’ free-market economic trend (OECD, 2013). It was not until late 1993 that Cambodia began experiencing a real move to democracy. This was signalled by the peace agreement and the first general election organised by international community. Under the interim leadership which was established by the parties involved in the peace agreement, the education system from the previous regime was not modified, for the government of the State of Cambodia still had control over the education sector; however, it is documented that the NGOs whose mission was to promote the development of the education system were active (OECD, 2013).

As the above discussions unfold, it is important to emphasise that reforms in Cambodia did not take place in an ordered or developmental fashion – they were radical, with successive

transformations occurring that were designed to eliminate the previous government's legacy rather than adding to (or modifying or expanding) what already existed.

Every change was built on the destruction of the pre-existing system. Chheang (2017) points out that post-colonial Cambodia has experienced five regime changes associated with war and violence, with the root causes being political distrust, ideological differences, weak democratic institutions, and foreign intervention. The “survival of the fittest” strategy and the “culture of revenge”, argues Chheang, will most likely continue to haunt Cambodian politics into the future (p. 4). Bourdieu (1977b;2000a) and Deer (2008) both discuss how certain prevalent beliefs among people are continuously reinforced by underscoring the important role of state's symbolic power. To this end, they argue that misrecognition and arbitrary stereotypes are mediated through the operation of the state, thereby reconstructing various elements that underpin such symbolic power. As discussed, different regimes seeking to establish their legitimacy define various education values to accommodate their desired doxa through the language of nationalism, of danger deriving from regime change, and of hatred towards other regimes. Deer (2008) associates persisting unrecognizable violence with an individual's commonly held belief, arguing that as a common view of social world doxa simply prevents people from questioning or challenging the system. Instead, people are forced to believe and accept the legitimacy of the ruler manipulating the power.

CAMBODIA'S CONTEMPORARY EDUCATION SYSTEM

The current government of Cambodia has made some commitment to reform of the education sector, despite institutional and sociocultural constraints. Education Law and other policies, for example, have been revised to guide Cambodia's efforts in education reform. According to *World Vision's Policy Brief 2017*, several policies (e.g. teacher policy and teacher policy action plan), and action plans, and standards have been written in a perceived effort to ensure that students are able to harness the benefits of quality education. Priorities have been set in order to increase textbooks, to lower teacher-student proportion and to increase student attendance (Browes, 2017). Article 17 in the Education Law (2007) outlines Cambodia's General Education system, emphasising not only the phases but also the goals of the 12-year education system:

*“General education shall be the education that allows the learners to progress their knowledge of **morality and good characteristics** by enhancing their personal, intellectual and physical capacity by assuring their use of knowledge and fundamental skills. General education is the fundamental education for learners **to continue their studies and receive other training**... Secondary education shall teach learners having complete personality and characteristic by enhancing the knowledge, skill, vocational training, education of morality, which allow them to **participate in the economic and social development** and qualify to continue to study at higher education or technical and vocational training or **to participate in the social life**. Basic education is the first 9-year education, comprising grade 1 (one) to grade 9 (nine) of the formal general education or the equivalent level of education”* (pp. 6-7, **my emphasis**).

Noticeably, the goal of general education is not explicitly stated to equip students with the skills necessary to participate in political life, not least because the term ‘politics or political’ is sensitive (See Chapter 2); rather it explicitly emphasises the role of education in integrating students into social and economic life (though success in this may be illusory). There is a specific form of doxa intended in the new education system, that is, the form of participatory citizenship, unrelated to political life among citizens and students, that is to be promoted through education. This is overshadowed by the vision of promoting increased access to education and contributing to the nation’s capacity-building.

In 1990, Cambodia joined the *World Conference on Education for All* and since then has attempted to implement the policy on “Education for All” (UNESCO, 2007). Strategically, the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport implemented an Education for All National Plan for 2003-2015, and the primary focuses of which were, among others, the provision of equitable access to education, of efficient operation of the system and of development of capacity building (UNESCO, 2007). This national plan aimed to allow students to at least get a nine-year schooling regardless of their backgrounds, whether ethnicities, socio-economic and geographical backgrounds, or abilities (UNESCO, 2011; Chhinh & Dy, 2009).

The issues plaguing the education system

Although the government has promised to improve the education system, entrenched issues still plague this weak institution. The problems reflected in the questionable quality of service, lack of qualified teachers, alarmingly high dropout rates, and impoverished conditions have not been eliminated over the past decades.

Statistically, there are 12,889 schools across Cambodia, with 3,077,660 students from kindergarten to grade 12 currently registered (MoEYS/ OECD, 2018). However, the number of student attending schools keep decreasing when the grade is higher, and high dropout rates are commonly cited as a chronic issue hurting Cambodia's education system (MoEYS/ OECD, 2018). In addition to high dropout rates, the quality of general education is generally poor. World Vision (2017) reports that a 2013 national grade 6 assessment revealed that only 45.7% of students were passing tests in Khmer [language] and only 43.4% passing in maths. Arguably, the report continues, Cambodian students are reported to score poorly on literacy, and the contributing factors to these bad outcomes are linked to the limited resources, especially the reading and print documents.

The loss of classroom teaching time and high student-teacher ratios are also frequently cited as the major causes of poor results. By law, official teaching hours in Cambodia are 684 to 760 hours in a school year (MoEYS, 2004; NEP, 2015; UNESCO/VSO/NEP, 2014; World Vision, 2017). World Vision (2017) indicates that this record is far much lower than the internationally recommended hours (e.g. between 850 and 10,000 hours annually), and in relation to teacher's quality, only as many as 58% of primary school teachers possess a grade-12 diploma.

Cambodia's education has historically been plagued in the past several decades by poor quality teaching due to a shortage of qualified teachers, inadequate learning materials, and poor school governance (Browes, 2017; Vicheanon, 2016). Chhinh and Dy (2009) argue that education reform in Cambodia faces multiple challenges arising from not only the financial constraints to accelerate the proposed reform but also capable staff to implement it, coupled with the political circumstances and governments' unwillingness to enact change. Despite external influences (such as the provision of aid based on government performance) and globalisation playing important roles in seeking to address reform, absence of political will remains a key factor. I will focus on the content of Cambodia's citizenship education in what follows.

The discussion above is significant to our understanding of education in Cambodia as a system and, in particular, of citizenship education. The loss of teaching hours, the impoverished conditions in schools, and high dropout rates have great implications for citizenship education, including the feasibility of curriculum implementation and the amount of time students are allowed for study of the content.

Cambodia's distinctive citizenship education

Conceptually, citizenship and civics education tend to encompass the crucial roles of curriculum and school in educating students so that they can exercise their rights as citizens later in life, and this is linked to the broader role of education, with its concern for schooling, teaching and learning (Kerr, 1999; McLaughlin, 2006). Potter (2002) adds that the wider purpose of citizenship education extends beyond its learning outcomes, and therefore, citizenship education must commit to making learners active citizens who not only have considerable knowledge but also necessary skills to engage in citizenship-related activities. A scholar such as Kerr affirms that citizenship education is to be translated as either citizenship or civics education, comprising elements and/contents relevant to civic and moral values as well as subjects falling under social studies (Kerr, 1999). Other scholars assert that citizenship education attracts huge interest in many countries, and in supra-organisations such as the European Union, not least because there is an urgent imperative to better equip learners with competencies required for their life journeys in the evolving world, given the unpredictable challenges and opportunities ahead (Helve & Wallace, 2001; Ichilov, 1998; Vakaoti, 2019). In Cambodia, citizenship education is termed Moral-Civics Education, implying the importance of the moral nature of citizenship, stressing the importance of citizens having virtuous characters and being proud to fulfill their responsibilities (Kiwani, 2008; Heater, 1990). In the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport's 'Policy for Curriculum Development 2005-2009', Moral-Civics Education embraced democratic and active citizenship values as promised cultural capital. In this sense, the Ministry aimed to equip students with "the capacity to exercise judgement and responsibility in matters of morality", to embody "a public spirit characterized by equality and respect for others' rights", to "be active citizens and be aware of social changes, to understand Cambodia's system of government and the rule of law, and to demonstrate a spirit of national pride and love of their nation, religion and king" (MoEYS, 2004b, p.5; Tan, 2007). The Education Law's (2007) Education Program emphasised moral-civics education program in Article 23:

“The Ministry of Education shall determine specifically the fundamental education program for general education ... Education of morality and civic, education on how to live together, education for peace, education for sustainable development, and education to respect cultures and traditional values, shall be the main components of the fundamental educational program...” (p.9).

Whereas education law underscores the importance of an education program that aims for the creation of good character and social harmony, the Ministry of Education’s curriculum policy identifies specific elements of a culture of peace, of *khmerization*, and of other elements seen as ‘embryos’ of citizenship. Understandably, there is an apparent mismatch between what the law says and what the government actually do. It is not uncommon to identify what is regulated and the operation looks like in Cambodia, not least because the practice of symbolic violence has become a social norm (Chapter 2). The system is trying to draw the public attention to the bright side of its tasks, yet actions are merely symbolic or illusionary (in Chapter 6, I use the concept of shadow capital to illustrate the illusionary form of cultural capital in citizenship curriculum). Ultimately, whereas the education law shapes education system toward the moral dimension of citizenship, it is less likely that the essential elements of active citizenship materialise, albeit curriculum objectives aim for such achievement. In the section that follows, I investigate the detailed elements of the Moral-Civics Education curriculum in upper-secondary education, followed by discussion of its outcomes. The discussion captures the purposes of and topics covered at the above-mentioned level (that is, in grades 10, 11 and 12) in order to reflect the values underpinning the subject and draw on the latest curriculum published by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport in 2016 and 2017.

THE UNDERPINNING VALUES OF THE CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION CURRICULUM

The discussion at the beginning of this chapter illustrated how the education system has played a role in forming doxic views among Cambodian people but Bourdieu (1998b) emphasises the importance of education in challenging the orthodoxy of doxa. His argument is reasoned by the fact that external factors (e.g. highly educated minds or the media) also play a significant role in the preparation of citizens who are brave enough to challenge the doxa of the existing cultural and intellectual fields. This argument is proved particularly crucial as there are current debates about emerging pathways to youth citizenship practices by scholars working on youth citizenship such as Helve (2001) and Harris, Wyn and Younes (2007). As Bourdieu (2000a)

points out, the dissent from a cultural field originates from social agents who are neither members of those in high social class nor of those in working class. This particular group of people have different life experiences from those of the two above-mentioned groups, but what is special about them is that they accumulate high value of cultural capital yet low economic one. Bourdieu goes on to argue that appropriate volume of knowledge is a ticket to cultural and intellectual fields and that an individual with this asset is able to deal with orthodoxy (Bourdieu, 2000a). It is useful to reflect what happened in Cambodia during the Khmer Rouge regime, when the educated were executed and schools either closed or destroyed. In the section below, I illustrate how Cambodia's citizenship is shaped. The discussion also reflects the form of doxa being reinforced among Cambodian young people.

In grade 10, moral-civics education is combined with another three subjects to form Social Studies (Geography, History, Moral-Civics, and Arts Education). At a glance, the curriculum aims to equip students with knowledge of gender equality, world industry, world agriculture, the industrialised nations of Asia and the Pacific, population growth, urban planning, world history, the Middle East's history, Cambodian history, human values, the culture of peace, and community involvement processes. Although the whole textbook is used to teach four different subjects, my discussion will now focus only on those chapters relevant to Moral-Civics education. There are three chapters devoted to Moral-Civics, covering such themes as *human values, the culture of peace, and community involvement* (See Table 3.1).

The first chapter on *human values* consists of six different lessons: creativity, making sound decisions, forgiveness and constructive feedback, human dignity, social morale, and virtues. In the second chapter *the culture of peace*, five other lessons are included, their themes centering on *Khmerization*, for all the lessons are about Khmer civilization, Khmer architecture, feminism in Cambodian culture, family happiness, and wellbeing. The last chapter of the subject is about *community involvement*, with six other lessons focusing on rule of law, the constitution, the three branches of the country's institutions, citizens' rights and responsibilities, freedom of expression, and the right to have rights. As suggested by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport, the teaching approaches of this content consists of observation, sharing ideas, pair or group discussion, critical thinking, and research - rather than memorisation with little or no understanding.

Table 3. 1. Moral-Civics Education in Grade 10

Chapter	Lesson
Human Values (6) *	creativity; making sound decisions; forgiveness and constructive feedback; human dignity; social morale; and virtues
Culture of Peace (5)	Khmer civilization; Khmer architecture; feminism in Cambodian culture; family happiness; and wellbeing
Community Involvement (6)	Rule of law; the constitution; the three branches of the country's institutions; citizens' rights and obligations; freedom of expression; and the right to have rights

*The number in brackets is the number of lessons under each theme. Source: MoEYS (2016)

Starting from grade 11, it should be noted, Moral-Civics subjects are separate from the other three subjects as in grade 10, with a separate textbook. In this grade, the subject focuses on the teaching of values, virtues, multiple religions, wellbeing, human rights, democracy, administration law, labour law, and other laws being promulgated in Cambodia (See Table 3.2). In this grade, students are expected to develop their thinking skills so that they can become good members of the family, the community, and their country. The first chapter with 11 lessons, at a glance, is endorsed by Buddhism, for Buddhism is the nation's official religion through which Cambodian society has been influenced in almost all aspects of life. Chapter two, *The Culture of Peace*, shares the same title as that in grade 10, yet the contents are more about the culture of peace deriving from the practices of religion. The last chapter in grade 11 is *Community Involvement*. The title of the chapter sounds like a repetition of the last chapter in grade 10, but in this grade the focus is narrowed down to specific laws which are being promulgated in Cambodia.

The suggested method of teaching is similar to that in grade 10: students are expected to cultivate their knowledge through observation, sharing ideas, inquiry, thinking skills, and real-life practice. They should acquire knowledge, skills, and the positive attitudes expected through “*innovative methods*” introduced by their teachers so as to avoid rote learning which may not lead to understanding. Like the textbook in grade 10, the subject is divided into three chapters: *The Values of Human Beings*, *The Culture of Peace*, and *Community Involvement*.

Table 3. 2. Moral-Civics Education in Grade 11

Chapter	Lesson
The Values of Human Beings (11)*	Buddhism; human values; the four precepts in Buddhism; the culture of non-violence; truthfulness; liberty or freedom; self-dependence; judgment; forgiveness; right thinking; transparency and solidarity
The Culture of Peace (12)	The beginning of religions; religious and government institutions; pagodas and monks; rights and obligations for monks; Mahayana Buddhism; Christianity; Islam; Taoism; the current religious practices today; the consequences of drugs; the consequences of alcohol and smoking; and anxiety
Community Involvement (12)	democracy; civil rights; rights and responsibilities; citizens' roles in community; labour law; family and marriage law; civil law/civil code; criminal code; public administration; political parties and their roles; and standing for election

*The number in brackets is the number of lessons under each theme. Source: MoEYS (2017)

In the final grade at upper-secondary level (grade 12), the subject aims to better equip students with knowledge of themselves, their rights, their relationship with others in the community, their values, and other issues pertaining to the law. It also seeks to broaden students' understanding of their roles and obligations as a member of a family, a community and their country as well as helping to equip them with the ability to care about their personal wellbeing, family members' wellbeing, and that of others in their community (See Table 3.3). Each of the lessons reflects on the reality in society and in government. The first chapter **Human Values** has 11 lessons, all of which are more concerned with philosophies, while the **The Culture of Peace** chapter is expanded beyond Buddha's teachings to a global perspective with 13 different lessons. The last chapter of the **Community Involvement** textbook in grade 12 is devoted to local government institutions, linking them to global perspectives even though the title duplicates curricula in grades 10 and 11. Typically, students in grade 12 are expected to cultivate the knowledge of these matters by observing, expressing their ideas, thinking, and finally putting into practice the lessons learnt via innovative methodology. Interestingly, all the chapter titles are the same as those in grades 10 and 11: **Human Values**, **The Culture of Peace**, and **Community Involvement**, except that there is an expansion in terms of setting—a move from a local to an international focus.

Table 3. 3. Moral-Civics Education in Grade 12

Chapter	Lesson
Human Values (11)*	Intelligence; invention; critical thinking; attitudes/tendencies; willingness; values and morality; psychology; responsibilities and sanctions; virtues; rights and laws; and justice
The Culture of Peace (13)	Thirty-eight forms of happiness/prosperity; parallelism in different religions; universality of morality; the birth of human rights; international laws on human rights; the relation between economy and globalization; UN's Declaration on rights to development; human rights in Buddhism; minority group rights; women's rights; children's rights; punishment on genocide; and psychology and social issues
Community Involvement (12)	Government and its institutions; government institutions; sub-national administration; judicial institutions; challenges in community and resolutions; the importance of national census; different forms of governments in the world; immigration laws; citizenship laws; world economy; world environment; and global citizenship

*The number in brackets is the number of lessons under each theme. Source: MoEYS (2017)

As the current citizenship curriculum unfolds, the intended doxa is reflected through all the three main chapters across three-year levels. The notions of human values, the culture of peace, and a focus on community involvement are built around the doxa of allegiance to the ruler and obedience to moral standards. This form of pervasive commonsense is normalized in Cambodian society in which the ruled are not positioned to question the ruler, thereby resulting in the misrecognition of “rule of the game” among social agents (Bourdieu, 1998b, 2000a). In the section that follows, I link this form of doxa theoretically with the literature on citizenship education.

UNDERSTANDING THE CAMBODIAN VERSION OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

It is imperative to make a connection between what is being taught in Cambodian schools with the scholarly works on citizenship education, beginning with what form of citizenship curriculum reflects its underpinning values.

The citizenship education curriculum

The aims and content of Moral-Civics curriculum are an accurate reflection of Cambodia's political move towards a liberal democracy (Clayton, 2005), and education system is also superficially reformed to recognise this tendency. In this effort, the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport (MoEYS) endeavors to educate students so that they can appreciate a social value of "national pride" and "high standards of morals and ethics" (MoEYS, 2004a, p.11; Tan, 2007). Through citizenship curriculum, students are expected to build their capacity for "moral judgement and responsibility" and "to be active citizens" (MoEYS, 2004a, p.5; Tan, 2007).

It is easy to see how Cambodia's Moral-Civics Education is closely associated with what McLaughlin (1992) calls a minimalist definition of citizenship education. To McLaughlin, the minimalist elucidation of citizenship education is characterized by the teaching of citizenship with a focus on basic fact relevant to a nation's branches of government and the suffrage laws. Some other focuses including voluntarism and social or moral responsibilities may also be included in curriculum and taught to students (McLaughlin, 1992). However, the maximal interpretation of citizenship education, on the other hand, not only replicates what is included in the minimalist interpretation, but also actively vitalises an examination and interpretation of other possible ways that these elements are defined and inculcated (Kerr, 1999; McLaughlin, 1992). In this sense, citizenship education programs are designed primarily to both inform and enable students to understand and enhance their capacity to participate (Kerr, 1999).

The nature of citizens' relationship with their government determines what type of citizen is valued by that society (Crick, 1998). Citizenship is thus a status that mediates the relationship between an individual and a political community. That said, citizenship education is regarded as one of the approached to connect an individual with others in the same political sovereignty (Faulks, 2000). In other words, the types of citizens can be understood through the social machinery—in this sense the education system. Galston (1989) defines types of citizens as either 'autarchic' or 'autonomous'. In his work, Galston contend that citizenship education serves as an important catalyst to equip students with the ability to seek truth through their critical inquiry approaches. In this way, they can grow up becoming individuals who will live their lives effectively in their political economy and support it, which is the criterion of the adequacy of civics education. Galston's autarchic and autonomous citizens refer to McLaughlin's minimal and maximal citizens respectively, with the former associated with law

abundance, public spiritedness, and limited rational deliberation and self-determination (Galston, 1989).

The curriculum in focus

In Cambodia's Moral-Civics Education, the three main chapters across the upper-secondary school curriculum are the same: **Human Values**, **The Culture of Peace**, and **Community Involvement**. What is clear, however, is that the content in three chapters and in every lesson is geared towards the minimal interpretation of citizenship. In the 'Human Values' chapter in grade 10, for example, social harmony and virtues mean the provision of information regarding the definition of morality and the principles of moral behaviour, as well as a focus on the importance of virtues and upholding social virtues so that everyone can live together in harmony. In essence, the defined social values and virtues in grade 10 centre on how Cambodians need to behave if they are to live happily together. Students are expected to inculcate such values as forgiveness and constructive feedback, the making of sound decisions, and creativity in the way they live. In grade 11, the same concept of social harmony is linked to inner peace, not least because all the eleven lessons are dominated by the values of Buddhism. In this grade, social harmony among family members and members of Cambodian society, as well as the inculcation of values relevant to the-ruled-and-the-ruler solidarity, become the main foci. These Buddhism-oriented values include, for example, the four precepts in Buddhism: the culture of non-violence, self-dependence, right thinking, and solidarity.

Living together in harmony here connotes social unity which in principle requires more than the current Moral-Civics Education aims to achieve. Kymlicka (1997) argues that social unity (social harmony in this chapter) must be understood and interpreted as common principles that are applicable to every member within a community, and that every individual are socially bound to ensure social cohesion. These are the preconditions of a unified space in which every individual is free to live their life with harmony with other members. For other scholars, such as Miller (1995), social unity is associated with the virtue of considering fellow citizens as a member of our group. As Kymlicka (1997) points out, shared identity serves as a social cohesion device that nurtures the relationships of trust and solidarity. This in turn promotes the practices of democratic decisions as well as the adherence to liberal justice. In addition, the sense of belonging co-exists to bring about a shared language and history, which is a precondition for the active engagement in social and political institutions among citizens

(Kymlicka, 1997). In Cambodia, however, there have always been , among the politicians and the rulers, different understandings and/or interpretations of the same things by different groups, and similarly and especially between the ruled and the ruler. As discussed in Chapter 2, for example, ‘politics’ means different things to the ruled and the ruler. To the ruler, politics means ordinary citizens are involved in unlawful practices to challenge the elected government, while, to the ruled, politics is associated with indiscriminate exercise of power.

Recently, there has been an outcry regarding the language of ‘peace’. To the ruler, peace means the end of civil war or the end of the killing fields. To the wider population, the language of peace emanating from the ruler is inadequate because problems remain that the government has failed to address, all of which adversely affect peace. The dissolution of the opposition party, the elimination of independent media, the polarisation of ‘us’ and ‘them’, the no-debate culture in secondary education are all convincing examples of those unaddressed problems and of the absence of a ‘shared language and shared membership’. Arguably, the concept of harmony in Moral-Civics education can be interpreted as the concept of accepting ‘uncritical differences’ (Norman, 1995; Paris, 1991).

The second chapter, *The Culture of Peace*, is extensively devoted to the notion of ‘Khmerization’ across all three grades. The love of one’s nation and culture, and the notion of internal peace are taught through the tenets of Buddhism and its culture of non-violence through information about the consequences of drug use, alcoholism, and smoking. In *Global Citizenship Education* (GCED) there is an expanded teaching of Buddhism as it relates to the notion of peace, international cooperation, and living together, according to Browes (2017) who challenged the teaching. In order that a curriculum as such to materialise, the such concepts as peace and cooperation must be expanded to cover topics not limited to a particular country. In other words, these important contents are to be related to a global perspectives and capitalise on “global peace and a global community” (Browes, 2017, p.11).

In grade 10, for example, the lessons on Khmer civilization, Khmer architecture, and feminism in Cambodian culture are three of the six lessons for students. In grades 11 and 12, however, almost all the lessons are about Buddhism and other religions, taught in connection with the roles of these religions in Cambodian society. Some of the lessons in grade 11, for example, introduce the birth of different religions, the rebirth of religion after the Khmer Rouge regime,

and the role of pagodas in Cambodian society (Pagodas have traditionally played a crucial role as schools).

The introduction of Buddhism across year levels has great significance in the reinforcement of the doxa of autocracy, not least because it is apparently included in current curriculum simply to maintain system's limitation on citizen's aspiration. As Bourdieu (1977d) points out, individuals' sense of reality and aspirations are undermined when the established cultural field tries to perpetuate its arbitrary rational and milieus, for these cultural imperatives are crucial for individuals' internationalisation. The focus on Buddhism is extended in grade 12 where the practices of Buddhism are linked to morality, happiness, and human rights. There are focuses on human rights in Buddhism, the golden rule of life, principles in different religions, and the like. One thing that is interesting is the link between the teaching of religious practices and human rights. In this sense, there are also focuses on the UN's Declaration on Human Rights to Development, the rights for the minority groups or gender rights.

As the results of my analysis of curriculum content reveal, the notion of peace is strongly associated with the teaching of Buddhism, which is about personal peace of mind at individual level. Understood in another way, this concept of peace is represented by a more inner peace which is less relevant to the one informed by human rights framework whose underpinning values are linked to justice and human equality (Tibbitts, 2016a). Another weakness of the curriculum is the superficial focus on themes linked human rights because not only are these themes introduced in short versions of information but also the coverage itself is very insubstantial. The focus on rights, citizens' responsibilities, and some specific laws are found in the last chapter, *Community Involvement*, in all the upper-secondary levels. While in grade 10 the focus is on the systems of government, citizens' rights, and the rule of law, almost all the lessons in grade 11 are about specific laws previously promulgated such as labour law, family and marriage laws, civil law/civil code, the criminal code, and land law. Information about these laws is introduced alongside civil rights and responsibilities and citizens' roles in community. In grade 12, government institutions both at national and sub-national levels are introduced, followed by a short introduction to the world economy, the world environment, and global citizenship.

Although there are focuses on rights and laws, and these concepts are again geared towards basic information about citizen's rights and responsibilities, and students are taught to merely adhere to social and moral values and norms. That said, respecting their parents, teachers and other people's rights are central to the notion of law and rights. It is true that these focuses are the contributing factors to the respect of laws and rights, yet by simply orienting students to a narrow view of laws and rights as such is not significant. My analysis is also supported by Browes' study (2017) which indicates that in lower secondary level, students are exposed to the introduction of human rights characterized by individual rights and responsibilities. In upper secondary level, the themes on human rights are expanded a bit to apparently link to some elements in "Global Citizenship Education" program. The examples are the inclusion of the rights of minority groups and international law on human rights.

It is also noteworthy that though there is content deemed relevant to Global Citizenship Education introduced, this content falls short of being understood as a global discourse. Three of the four countries studied in *'International Civic and Citizenship Education'* aim to promote national identity or national citizenship in a more traditional civics manner rather than by emphasising citizenship values from a global perspective (Browes 2017; Schulz et al., 2008). Kerr (1999) also notes that citizenship education in South-East Asia is predominantly preoccupied with the moral tradition. The term 'citizenship' is used to mean 'nationality' in the Cambodian context (Sperfeldt, 2017), while the term 'nation', 'nationality', and 'khmer nation' are used to reflect the primary underpinnings of Khmer national identity (Edwards, 2007). Halstead and Pike (2006) link the provision of citizenship education with the transmission of certain social values, arguing that the decision to provide citizenship education in the first place is "based on the assumption that it will be valuable for children (and for society as a whole ... above all, the subject involves the transmission of values" (Halstead & Pike, 2006, p.23). Values are, to Halstead and Pike, the backbone of not only citizenship education but also moral education, thus implicating the roles of schools, teachers at classroom level, and other stakeholders ranging from school principals at operational level and the government at national level. Values, especially those concerning human rights and political or community involvement, are thus believed to be central to society's functions; moreover, they play a crucially important role in the formation of social capital, one of the features of civil societies and democracies (Print, 2000).

The foregoing discussion about Cambodia's version of citizenship education indicates that current citizenship education is characterised by a minimalist interpretation of citizenship. There are focuses on human rights, rule of law, and the introduction of law and citizens' responsibilities; however, the form of these themes is illusory, a view I propound theoretically and empirically in Chapter 6. I assert that the current citizenship curriculum intends to create a form of doxa—the doxa of very particular citizenship values.

THE DOXA OF CITIZENSHIP VALUES

As argued, citizenship education in Cambodia has yet to embrace the values of education that prepare students for active citizenship, the notion of citizenship continuing to be dominated by traditional values even at the national level. The underpinning values of Cambodia's citizenship education aim to inculcate appreciation of Cambodia's culture (that is, its traditional values such as living harmoniously together, peace, and so on) which is conceived as the cultural fabric of Cambodian society—a form of doxa. For Bourdieu (1977b), doxa has several related meanings and offers various understandings of diverse forms of social misrecognition which are prevalent yet invisible due to their internalized idiosyncrasy. Deer (2008) also asserts that the role of doxa is to reinforce the reproduction of social arbitrariness in any viable means. In addition, Bourdieu (1977b, 2000a) affirms that the conceptual framework of doxa can be used to explain a society's phenomenon in both traditional and contemporary societies; as a theoretical lens, it can aid our understanding and arguments about several practices in social fields, which usually go unquestioned. These fields (one among which is, for example, citizenship education in this thesis) play a crucially important role in social agents' "natural" viewpoints and actions (Bourdieu, 2000a, p.16).

As Halstead and Pike (2006) point out, the role of citizenship education is to produce citizens who are well-informed and politically literate in a narrow sense, or to produce active citizens committed to public values and practices in a broader sense. Tan (2007) suggests that Moral-Civics Education in Cambodian schools, however, is framed by a national education system whose underpinning values centre around becoming active citizens, at least in curriculum objectives, being aware of social changes, understanding government systems. This is understood as an arbitrariness of the established social order which both permeates and determines social norms and values shaping citizens' aspirations and dispositions (Deer, 2008).

In this sense, the field of citizenship education coexists with the students' prevalent ideas of no challenge.

The concept of doxa in Bourdieu's work is associated with his study of the natural order of traditional societies in which, he argues, "what is essential goes without saying because it comes without saying, and where the tradition is silent, not least about itself as a tradition" (Bourdieu, 1977b, pp.165-7; Deer, 2008). The teaching about living in harmony through an extensive focus on Buddhism on the one hand presupposes the training of students to have inner peace and a sense of forgiveness and tolerance towards unfair treatment (such as a lack of state support, or injustice in society); on the other hand, the concept of harmony is understood to reinforce the notion of never challenging unfair treatment, while instilling the no-violence mentality that is based on Buddhist teaching. It is argued that the reinforcement of such prevalent view of social harmony is only associated with "what is taken for granted" (Bourdieu, 2000a), for the treatment of harmony still lacks its sophisticated meanings. In this case doxa specifically accounts for actions and practices in traditional social organisations in which the causal interrelationship between social fields and individual's internalised mental state is intense. These near-perfect correspondences make the natural and social worlds unquestionable (Bourdieu, 2000a; Deer, 2008). Doxa, in this respect, exists only to maintain the cultural reproduction of social arbitrariness, thereby merely perpetuating a form of misrecognition, thereby determining social agents' perceptions and practices (that is, their habitus) (Deer, 2008).

Adding to the notion of nation-loving orientations in Cambodia's education system, tensions in delivering the content in Moral-Civics to achieve the set goals are predominant. The introduction of rights and citizens' responsibilities, the rule of law, and the consequences of corruption are all illusion (See Chapter 6), for there is no connection between what students are learning and what they see in their lived experience. What students are taught in school is utopianism, not least because there is a stark contrast between the curriculum content and real-life practices. I argue in Chapter 4, for example, that the forced eviction of hundreds of Cambodian families signifies the ineffectiveness of law enforcement in combating land-grabbing that results from the government's Economic Land Concessions regulation. To Giddens, politics is the realm of ideas which in turn shapes our lives (Giddens, 1989) and are central to the allocation of value (Fenna, 2010). As values and their interpretation have such great implications for society, the aims of citizenship education in particular and of education

in general, and the roles of teachers and schools, must involve values transmission (Halstead and Pike, 2006).

Through doxa as a theoretical lens, the introduction of citizenship education relates to a form of symbolic power, for differential values are allocated and contrasted between learning and doing. Exerting power over those who are subject to it, symbolic power normalises not only its legitimacy but also its implication for social agents' behavior (Bourdieu, 1977b). The only way to ensure that symbolic power works is to embed it in recognised social institutions and through socialization processes (e.g. citizenship curriculum). In this way, the system has the capacity to create societal classifications and to embody the intended values (Bourdieu, 1977b, 2000a; Deer, 2008) with less significant resistance from the ruled. The clear message from symbolic power is that social uprising against the established social order cannot be avoided if there is a failure in the transmission of intended cultural capital. Deer (2008) continues that there must be a congruence between cultural capital promises and desires or conformity by the dominated groups in social fields to serve as a guarantor of the system's legitimate power. Collective mobilisation and subversive action against the existing system can be made possible when the social space does not show homology with the cultural field (Bourdieu, 1988a).

As it is argued, Cambodia's version of citizenship is understood as a tool for reinforcing symbolic power, for the concepts of citizenship are still shaped by the notion of allegiance to the established social order. The notion of inner peace and living in harmony, for example, signify the values of 'no challenge' and, to some extent, ignorance, with people not questioning what is happening. Put simply, this form of citizenship education tends to create a particular form of doxa which conforms to the existing social order rather than challenges it. Through the reinforcement of desired doxa embedded in the citizenship education curriculum, it is apparent that Cambodia's current citizenship curriculum and programs is more instrumental in reconstructing the orthodoxy. Schooling as one of a society's important social institutions is steered towards values aimed for by the system.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing discussion of the history of Cambodian education systems in retrospect, as well as those of current Moral-Civics subjects, reveals how education has been developed and used in the country. Using a Durkhiemian approach, Rizvis and Lingard (2009) point out that educational values express ‘societal needs’ in a particular time and space, the purpose of which is to promote and reconstruct its ideal of how people should live and relate to each other to meet defined societal needs (see also Cuervo, 2016; Cuervo & Wyn, 2011; Helve & Wallace, 2001). Given the historical accounts of regime change, both radical and tragic, it is unsurprising that curriculum in the last 50 years has been focused on values other than active citizenship; rather, regimes have focused their attention on nation-building, leaving behind the social, political, and economic wellbeing of their citizens, ignoring increased unemployment rates and the issues of social mobility. All the regimes since independence have largely neglected the role of citizens in the development processes of the country. Different Cambodian governments have devised the educational system as a means of perpetuating their power and strengthening the image of their nation at the expense of the wellbeing of their citizens (Williams, 2009).

All governments of the immediate post-colonial regimes saw the curriculum as a tool for the re-institution of khmerization; they realised the need to bring back the notion of Khmer after it had disappeared for almost a century. During the Khmer Rouge period, education was geared towards an imagined agricultural utopia. Following the collapse of this genocidal regime, the new government set its education goals to erase imperialism, praise national liberation, and condemn the dark times lived under the Khmer Rouge regime. The leaders in the post-Khmer Rouge regime considered themselves liberators from heaven, a view reflected in their political party’s flag which depicts the picture of an angel saving people’s lives. The concepts of nation-building, upholding communist ideology (as in the Soviet Union and Viet Nam), and collaboration among *Cochinchina nations* (Cambodia, Viet Nam and Laos, or CVL) lasted until Cambodia’s new historical page was turned with the first general election organised by the United Nations. The focus on citizenship in the curriculum was evident in 2001 when there were intensive reforms in education; however, that focus was limited in depth and breadth, for the contents centered on the introduction of the concepts, with only a few pages for the lesson. It is possible to conclusively contend that the curriculum in the past half century has not taken into serious consideration the notion of citizenship. Historically, the curricula under different regimes have done little to empower students or to help them unlock their potential to

contribute to Cambodia's development. In the next chapter I theorise citizenship through Cambodian perspectives, with the chapter focusing on what it means to be a Cambodian, given the historically and structurally violent backdrop of the country and the curriculum's disinclination to embrace the values underpinning an active citizenry.

In this chapter I argue that Moral-Civics Education fails to transmit genuine cultural capital espoused by the Ministry; current Moral-Civics Education in Cambodian schools is therefore 'education *on* citizenship' instead of 'education *for* citizenship', to borrow Kerr's terms, resulting from the shadow capital in Moral-Civics Education. In Chapter 4 that follows I discuss the theory of citizenship through a Cambodian lens. The chapter answers the question, "What does it mean to be a Cambodian citizen".

CHAPTER 4: THEORISING CITIZENSHIP THROUGH A CAMBODIAN LENS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines traditional and contemporary conceptualisations of citizenship. In so doing, it pays attention to how these conceptualisations play out in the Cambodian context. Within traditional notions of this contested concept, I investigate Marshall's theorisation of citizenship that moves the definition beyond its legal status to incorporate social and economic facets of the concept and its practice. I argue that this is a relevant, albeit flawed, approach to citizenship in society because it highlights various forms of potential social exclusion that deny full citizenship participation to its societal members. Nevertheless, I move beyond Marshall's position to embrace contemporary notions of citizenship. In this chapter I therefore argue for a relational approach to citizenship that considers the multidimensionality of the concept and practice to include issues of social inclusion and exclusion.

This contemporary approach to citizenship is underpinned by the work of theorists such as Turner, Lister and Levitas, among others. By drawing on these theorists I can get a better understanding of the interplay between the concepts and relational issues of inclusion as well as of how an abstract concept like citizenship can work on the ground and in the everyday lives of members of a polity such as Cambodia, members who suffer multiple disadvantages and confront multiple barriers to full participation. In other words, I provide ample evidence of the structures and processes of inclusion, exclusion and poverty that affect Cambodian citizens in order to better examine a contested concept like citizenship. This theorisation of citizenship - from Marshall to contemporary notions that include issues of social inclusion and exclusion - provides a framework through which to understand the complex, contemporary, socio-economic and political situation in which the students and teachers in my study find themselves. Without a detailed analysis of the concept of citizenship and its application to the Cambodian context, we risk neglecting the everyday issues that affect individuals and institutions on the ground.

The chapter begins with an examination of Marshall's theory of citizenship. Although his classical citizenship theory has been critiqued by contemporary theorists, it is useful to begin by using his seminal discussions as theoretical lenses. His three dimensions of citizenship,

albeit subject to new developments in modern societies, remain a locus of scholarly work on citizenship. I discuss some of the critiques of his theory, drawing on the works of contemporary thinkers in order to reflect upon them and to offer a justification for an elaboration of his theory. This section is followed by discussions of contemporary citizenship, drawing on the fundamentals found in republican, liberal and communitarian traditions to illustrate how citizenship theories have evolved.

To theorise Cambodian citizenship, the concept of social exclusion is also discussed, drawing on the deep-seated issues that have become chronic social ills in Cambodia. To do this, I illustrate how Cambodians, old and young, are marginalised and excluded. The notion of exclusion in relation to poverty, participatory citizenship, social inequality, and the concept of ‘denizen’ become the main discussions in this section.

MARSHALLIAN PARADIGM OF CITIZENSHIP

The last section in this chapter foreshadows our understanding of young Cambodians’ citizenship aspirations. Finally, the concepts of everyday citizenship and citizenship education is brought into play as a way forward for citizenship practices, given current and ongoing social exclusion. I begin by revisiting Marshall’s three dimensions of citizenship which elaborate a specifically social and economic approach within a British and western context (Turner, 1997). I do so because, although his concept has been widely criticised, it nonetheless provides a starting point for considering the concept of citizenship. In the eighteenth century, Marshall argued, Britain experienced a growing interest in citizen’s civil rights which were associated with social justice through the jurisdiction of Britain legal system and courts. Such legal system was characterised by the language of civil rights underpinned by an individual’s rights to freedom of expressions and those rights to fair judicial proceedings. Later, in the nineteenth century, political rights emerged to be an important agenda; this was because the people from the working-class demanded an equality in political decision-making processes. It is understood that political citizenship (rights) as such was geared towards suffrage rights and citizens’ accessibility to government’s legislature branch (e.g. the parliament). In the British context the concept was linked to the operation of political parties and other electoral procedures. Finally, in twentieth century, there was a great

momentum among citizens to claim social benefits from their government, and because of this latest rights-based development people became entitled to social security (Marshall, 1950; Turner, 1997). There is an acknowledgement that citizenship debate in contemporary society begins with Marshall's classical theory of citizenship in his most cited seminal essay (Marshall & Bottomore, 1996).

Marshall did not necessarily separate civil, political and social rights from one another; he argued that all these three dimensions of rights are intertwined and overlapping alike, meaning that one dimension generated the next (Marshall, 1992). Revi (2014) contends that once citizens are entitled to civil rights (e.g. they are equal by law), they then can proceed to possess political rights, thus giving them a voice for law augmentation. Finally, citizens can demand legislated social rights, given their influence over political power. Marshall's plural conceptualisation of citizenship was imagined for a socio-economic and political context underpinned by democratic institutions and practices and economic development. In post-conflict Cambodia, however, the ongoing poverty that results from the harmonious relationship between the bourgeois group and government institutions (the existence of courts to safeguard the elites' interests, for instance) widens the social divide and further marginalises the poor.

Different forms of violence, including the misery experienced during civil wars and contemporary forced evictions (that is, land illegally taken by the rich), reinforce people's doxic views of the powerlessness of ordinary citizens. Justice for the poor (which is attributed to civil rights) is merely an illusion. Due to chronic and systemic corruption, the poor in Cambodia are not entitled to the enjoyment of civil rights. That is, their lack of financial resources and political connection (*Khngang* or networking) make it almost impossible for them to seek justice. A Cambodian scholar compared Cambodian courts to a fish market, in which judges are trying to make as much profit as they can from court procedures. Simply put, the winning or losing cases in Cambodian courts are decided by the amount of money (bribes) given to the judges (World Bank, 2000; Un, 2009). To poor citizens, caring about daily survival (that is, meeting their basic needs) is more important than thinking about their rights. Ordinary and young Cambodians have little access to parliamentary process with the national assembly being dominated by old members of parliament (see Chapter 2), while the election process lacks robust democratic procedures: elections in Cambodia are characterised by procedural irregularities. Hughes (2009) comments that history repeats itself in relation to Cambodia's elections, underscoring the ongoing unfavourable circumstances ranging from "intimidation

and vote-buying” to “violence and disorderly registration processes” since the first one in 1993. In fact, concepts of social exclusion remain limited, for the dimension of social exclusion is so vast that a more vigorous interdisciplinary approach is required to address youth and social exclusion (Cuervo, 2016).

Marshall’s theory of citizenship is used here not as a yardstick to assess how Cambodian people enjoy their rights; rather, it is used as a theoretical lens to explore the usefulness of this framing to the Cambodian situation, to examine the extent to which these three dimensions are enjoyed by Cambodians. By definition, citizenship encompasses the body of rights and duties entirely removed from the vagaries of the market. It connotes a non-economic concept, defining people’s social status without any connection to the relative value attached to their contribution to the economic process (Marshall, 1981). While it has flaws (see next section), Marshall’s typology of citizenship with its bestowed rights is crucially important, providing a vital, albeit not conclusive, frame to examine citizenship within a particular context. As Marshall (1992) theorizes, civil rights encompass liberties relevant to speech and association, whereas freeness and fairness underpin political rights linked to elections, and individual freedom. For social rights, Marshall puts it:

“the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full a social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in a society” (1992, p.8).

CRITIQUES OF MARSHALL’S CITIZENSHIP THEORY

Marshall claims that citizenship rights cannot be secure until every citizen is afforded the whole gamut of the rights he describes, not least because his three dimensions together produce a dramatically more egalitarian political membership than anything preceding such developments. This means that the historical trajectory of citizenship rights that Marshall proposes concludes with an affirmation of the idea that citizenship is unitary. In this view, we are not citizens if we don’t have *all* citizenship rights (Cohen & Ghosh, 2019). To Marshall, there is no discrimination where equal status is concerned, not least because the guarantee of which would result in a general enhancement of substantial elements of a civilised life. This, too, can reduce risk and insecurity, and finally serves as a guarantor of equality between the more and less advantaged groups of people (Marshall, 1992; Revi, 2014). In modern citizenship

theory, the idea of civil equality matters in at least two important ways: on the one hand, such forms of equality are a precondition for citizenship; on the other hand, such forms of equality are only possible when citizenship rights are enforced (Cohen & Ghosh, 2019).

Marshall's understanding of equality has been criticised by several scholars, however. Lister (2005), for example, argues that "equality of status in the civil sphere promotes different ideas of equality of status in the social and political sphere" (p.485). Albeit subject to critiques, Marshall's theory can be used by other scholars as a starting point for the scholarly debates about the conception of citizenship through the process of expanding and applying his early three dimensions. To this end, Lister (2005) contends that the notion of rights keeps evolving, and so do societal norms and people's needs; therefore, the concept of equality must accordingly be understood as neither static nor a final set of citizenship requirements.

Cohen and Ghosh (2019) also question the concept of equality which, by nature, contradicts the power of the free market and of power at the sovereign level. In fact, the development of social rights in the twentieth century creates and exposes contradictions in the 'bundle' (p.43) that we have come to call citizenship rights. The thorniest question derives from the way that the Marshallian bundle pits the demands of liberty against those made by equality. Civil rights come to people as a means of enforcing a minimum legal equality. These protections stand against power at the sovereign level and eradicate feudal legal class systems. As they do this, they establish private property and facilitate the operating of free markets, but market freedoms also tend to work against the kinds of equality that place people on an equal footing when they enter the market, while the measures that are required to mitigate such effects, as in the case of public education systems or universal health care, require redistribution, usually through the collection of taxes.

Marshall himself admits that there might be no single universal principle that regulates sets of citizen's rights and obligations alike, yet different societies may need to aim for certain progresses towards acceptable standards which in turn can guarantee that their citizens are able to enjoy prevailing quality of life. Lister (2005) also points out this weakness of Marshall's theory by gauging that the three citizenship dimensions remain open to further debates, not least because the same principal may underpin the concept of citizenship; however, there is no denial that this principal is riven with contradictions. Turner (1997) comments on another loophole in Marshall's theory in that Marshall considered the concept of citizenship is no

difference from one society to another irrespective of ethnicity, cultures and in other ways. For Turner, such an evaluation of citizenship fails to address important structural and social considerations of diversified elements of human societies, for human beings use language, practise different religions, and follow different traditions and cultures. Turner (1986, 1997) adds that Marshall merely paid particular attention to the existing of social class divisions in a society, and this forms the whole basis of his theory. In other words, Marshall is criticised because he simply proportioned the diversity in a society to social class divisions, which largely neglects the sophistications of a society.

In relation to the issue of becoming member of a community, Marshall's theory comes under fire just yet again. Yuval-Davis (1997) insists that there is a funnel view of linking citizenship (that is, community membership) with just the notion of a member of community. Practically, citizens as members of communities must be understood as members of various social groups, and these groups are represented by a diversity of biological or ethnic categorisations, be it macro or micro level. Turner (1997) also identifies another weakness in Marshall's theory, linking his critiques to those of the feminist political theorists. He points out that there are no equal rights between men and women, emphasising that men could go out to work to generate incomes for the sake of their household. Women, however, were confined to domestic labour, serving their husbands as well as reproducing society through childbearing. Patman (1988) raises concerns over the continuing practice of patriarchy, emphasising this social norm reinforces inequality common to male-dominated social contract. Put simply, Marshall apparently assumes that every society cannot avoid the dichotomy of private vis-à-vis public worlds; hence, there seems to be different groups of people who are socially divided. However, critical issues underlying this division (e.g. social position or gender) are not critically discussed in his work albeit the facts that they are principal contributions to the construction of citizenship.

Turner (1997) adds that the fact that Marshall considered citizenship rights as cumulative and resistant to erosion is another flaw. For Marshall, if an individual possesses legal and political rights, he or she could have influence over decisions in parliament, which would lead to the provision of social rights. These rights, argues against Marshall, would never erode albeit successive social struggles (Turner, 1997). As Hindess (1993) points out, Marshall's arguments are subject to criticisms and the approach to these critiques requires a more sophisticated tactics. In so doing, we are able to capitalise on significant understanding of citizenship in

present societies. Turner (1993) also points out that we cannot simply depend on Marshall's theory alone to respond to the question of the possible versions of citizenship, not least because we are not sure if citizenship is defined based on sole or different formulations. It is a complex process as different societies have different social and cultural imperatives. For example, Cambodia now is socially and culturally distinguished from Britain in the 1950s. Being a citizen involves more complex processes than we expect because such factors as institutional, cultural and political influences are all playing part in this occurrence (Lindstrom, 2010). In the same vein, Biest and Lawy (2006) also contend that Marshall's theory is also subject to critique in that he seemed to be more optimistic about the role of welfare state in creating socially just societies. In reality, argue Biesta and Lawy, welfare state can be considered as one among other factors that can guarantee that social justice exists, not least because the transformations of the world, globalization coupled with social and cultural transformations are as significant as the welfare system.

Finally, in relation to education and citizenship, Faulks (2006) critiques Marshall's theory for the imbalance between the focus on rights of social agents and the importance of participation dimension of citizenship ; that is, he presented a top-down version of citizenship with limited focus on the grassroots construction of the normative practice of citizenship. In other words, his conception of citizenship fails to acknowledge the significant roles that political education can play to create crucial prerequisites and resources for active citizenry, neither did he recognize the important interplay between individual and the state. All of which requires the redefinition of the fundamental idea of citizenship. Central to that vision, an individual who is responsible for their own actions in lieu of using the government resources is regarded as an active citizen (Biesta & Lawy, 2006). In this view, Turner (1997) calls for a revised model of citizenship, arguing that there are perceived citizens who have not been entitled to state's support, the absence of which is interpreted as marginalisation. For Turner, such a redefinition of citizenship will make certain that the unbreakable relationship between citizens and the state is productively reciprocal and can later guarantee the provisions of the three sets of rights as outlined by Marshall. In the following sections I draw on this critique to explore how concepts of citizenship can usefully be applied to the Cambodian context, moving towards a post-Marshallian framework.

CONTEMPORARY CITIZENSHIP THEORIES

Becoming a member of a community is best understood as a component of citizenship (Marshall, 1950), and Patrick (2015) adds central to the concept of membership of a state are citizens' bestowed rights and responsibilities. For liberal thinkers, a citizen is considered as an individual who is entitled to freedom to pursue their life primarily based on their choices (Dwyer, 2010). In this sense, individual freedom is more important than the state dictating the characteristics of a 'good' life. Freedom is the core principle from which other principles emanate. The conception of citizenship originated from liberal tradition is usually regarded as a social contract through which the state and the individual citizen reach a common ground on certain matters. In this sense, Patrick (2015) contends that citizenship is characterised by the interplay between a status that implicates the provision of rights and responsibilities, the corresponding term to which is the above-mentioned contract initiated by both a citizen and the nation-state.

Both civic republican and communitarian theories of citizenship are conceptualised as social-solidarity citizenship theory (Dean & Melrose, 1999). The two traditions stress the importance of citizenship as a practice; that is, the centrality of the theories lies in a citizen's loyalty to both his state and its values. Contemporary communitarian thinkers acknowledge that their theory is understood as fundamentalist strand of citizenship theory proposed by republican theorists (Sandel, 1998; Taylor, 1990; Walzer, 1983; Patrick, 2015). Communitarian theorists pay special attention to making of citizens who are responsible and dutiful, and they advocate for any policies that aim at the production of good citizens (Etzioni, 1997; Willetts, 2008). Lister (2003) claims that communitarian tradition defines citizenship principally based on two dimensions: behaviour and moral; to communitarian thinkers the criteria for citizenship is individual's responsibilities in lieu of their rights. Dwyer (2010) adds that even in contemporary societies communitarian theory remains dominant in not only academic but also political settings. That said, the focus on citizen's active political participation is more important than his or her rights. As Patrick (2015) points out, communitarian thinkers focus on the dichotomy between good and bad citizens, with the former actively engaging with various activities for the sake of their communities and the so-called bad citizens not doing enough as full members of a political community. Patrick (2015) continues that this distinction, however, tends to exclude the citizens as welfare recipients, arguing that these individuals are involuntarily inactive due to their particular circumstances. For example, they are unable to

work or cannot involve in any employment because of either structural or personal issues; they may, therefore, not be considered as bad citizens.

To contemporary thinkers, exercising citizenship rights and accessing resources are fundamental to the concept of citizenship. There seems to be a consensus among this groups of citizenship theorists that social rights are increasingly becoming central to the conception of citizenship in modern societies. As argued in the preceding section, the interplay between the state and its citizens' rights is very fundamental to our understanding of current debates. Tuner (2006) emphasises the importance of citizenship rights which include any entitlement that citizens are supposed to receive, not least because both state and citizens are working to contribute to the existence of both. Citizens' employment and tax revenues are essential elements to keep state's public services active. While both Tuner and Faulks emphasise the role of the state in providing welfare assistance to its citizens, Roche (1992) underplays the state's burden in social welfare provision. On the one hand, he argues, the welfare role of the state can be defined narrowly or broadly; in practice, a broad range of modern state functions objectively bear on citizens' conventional welfare which comprises education, housing, transport, environment, leisure, food, consumer policies, and perhaps economic and employment policy. On the other hand, Roche pays attention to modern society's non-state sub-systems via privatisation policies. These systems and sectors, he claims, include voluntary organisations, the family, and capitalism (which encompasses labour markets through which incomes can be generated and distributed for consumption).

In contemporary societies, however, citizenship theory has been expanded to focus on the notion of egalitarianism and inclusion, and as such there is a trend towards emphasising values that go beyond rights and resources by paying attention to participation, recognition, respect, and voice (Patrick, 2015). Cohen goes beyond the citizenship and rights nexus, arguing that citizenship is not merely about rights but also about privileges, duties, responsibilities, and obligations, while rights and privileges represent items that citizens can claim entitlement to or simply enjoy, while the other three items—duties, responsibilities, and obligations—represent conduct that is *expected* of citizens in lieu of, or in conjunction with, the rights and privileges they are granted by the state (Cohen & Ghosh, 2019).

Bellamy (2008) supports the idea of linking citizenship more robustly with democratic politics and political participation. For him, the “underlying rationale” of citizenship is “the

establishment of a condition of civic equity” (p.103). He sees citizenship as involving both solidarity and reciprocity. By this he means that “revitalizing” political participation should be the primary aim of contemporary citizenship (p.123). While he recognises that it is impossible to involve all people at all times in debate and decision-making processes in large liberal democracies, he also thinks it is possible to rebuild a commitment to political participation, particularly at the local level, through citizenship education and a devolution of power to local levels of government, which would, in turn, increase civic engagement.

Crick (2010) posits a distinction between “true citizenship” and “good citizenship”. The former is a civic republican position and one that involves “active citizenship”. The latter is a liberal position and one that invokes, among other things, the rule of law. Active citizenship involves devolution of power from the centre to the localities and regions, with “citizens voluntarily acting it together for a common purpose” (pp. 23-4). In the same vein, Fraser (2003) focuses on the notion of inclusiveness, especially among the poor and the marginalised. Fraser emphasises that an individual is entitled to the equal chance of participation through distribution of resources, recognition of cultural identity, and political participation, with the goal being that every social group has the same opportunities to participate. For Fraser, it is imperative that a room for participatory processes be constructively created to encourage full participation from the population, especially from those who may be sidelined by their impoverished conditions and other forms of exclusions. Any avenues made for such participation are necessary for citizens to exercise their rights as well as to allow them to propose any ideas that may significantly better their living conditions. Fraser (2003) notes that a form of meaningful citizenship participation may not necessarily limited to macro level (that is, at national level), a citizen can experience fully participatory processes in even trivial decision making within their families or at local government level. The most important criteria for essential participation may be that an individual is empowered to jointly decide on any matter deemed important to improve their life circumstance. To illustrate how Cambodians, young and old, have been disadvantaged in the exercise of their rights as full members of society in multiple respects, I will discuss these in the sections below.

CAMBODIAN CITIZENSHIP AND EXCLUSION FROM FULL MEMBERSHIP

The theoretical approach outlined in the section above demonstrates that in order that Cambodian people can act as citizens they really need much further support and at the same any structural barriers are to be removed. Lister (1997) posits that the essential contributors to

the development of a sense of agency among citizens are their freedoms and rights, for these are considered as an embryo of agency. Proponents of a citizenship anchored in agency and participation such as Fraser (2009) and Taylor (1994) both argue that this participation process is critical because agentic depositions, especially among the disadvantaged groups, can be made possible when their level of self-esteem is generated and fostered. Gould (2005) and Lister (2003) voice their support for the promotion of rights to participation in any aspects of their lives and they pay particular attention to any decisions made relevant to social and economic facets. Marshall himself distinguished between civil, political, and social rights, pointing out their inseparable connection which attributes to citizenship a multidimensional quality that is relevant to not only rights but also participation.

The concept of participation in Cambodia, however, remains alien to most of the country's people. Social and political problems remain barriers which, in turn, divert people's attention from issues facing them and their country; these problems pose a threat to people's aspirations, especially those of young people who are believed to be the agents of change. The disengagement from politics and low levels of participation in the decision-making process among its youthful population is yet another challenge, with as many as 69% of young people either not interested in or having no idea about politics (BBC, 2012). A citizen voice and the concept of participation are still regarded as 'foreign ideas. Young people themselves have only a limited understanding of democratic concepts, living as they do with a norm of deference to the rulers, according to the same case study. As observed, their limited awareness of democratic rights stems from both their own proclivities and their relatively low levels of empowerment, and from the absence of avenues for safe participation in public life (BBC, 2012). Further, their belief in the structural, hierarchical nature of their society which insists on people behaving appropriately and graciously, and avoiding conflict or giving offense, as well as the culture of 'saving face' and the age and knowledge hierarchies, continues to reinforce the exclusion and marginalisation of these Cambodian young people, alongside other social groups (Yong, 2005; Brown, 2008; WB, 2009).

While political rights are important and influential in bringing about change, political discussion is dangerous and risky. In his study entitled *New Media and Political Participation of Cambodian Youth*, Chan reported that respondents were 'moderately interested' and 'very interested' in politics (57.1% and 29.4 respectively); yet, surprisingly, publicly discussing politics is not motivating to them as the term connotes 'sensitivity, danger or risk' (Chan,

2015). Other reports indicate that a culture of political expression is not widely acclaimed or encouraged, citizens remaining silent when it comes to politics as there is a lack of trust and space for airing of sensitive issues (LICADHO, 2010). This fragmentation of trust is apparent not only among ordinary citizens but also among the political class. As observed by Chandler (1998), the long-standing history of power transfer in Cambodia had been characterised by radical changes and struggles, and the winning party would take control of everything. This may, arguably, be linked to the nation's socio-political structures. The Constitution is considered modern, with all democratic characteristics present, ranging from the respect for citizen's rights, the independent operation of all the three government's branches, and freedom of political expression. In reality, however, while the Constitution has changed, Cambodia's politics has not changed; any opposition both from political actors and civil society actors has been targeted and those players neutered in their capacity to act. Further, Cambodia's current ranking on the Global Rule of Law Index was the lowest among 66 countries only a decade ago (Karbaum, 2011).

Academic freedom has also been restricted. Schools, for example, are regarded as 'neutral places' and therefore barred from engaging in any political discussion or holding any political meetings. Academic debates or discussions, research topics or other pursuits linked to politics are to be avoided on school campuses (Yong, 2005; UNDP, 2010; BBC, 2010). For example, as Leang (2012) comments, the Director of the Research Department at the Royal University of Law and Economic (RULE) issued a 'directive' to senior undergraduate students informing them that 14 of the topics of their final theses were disallowed because, it was said, those topics had already been well researched. In his viewpoint, in fact the ban was linked to politics. In the remainder of this section on full citizen membership exclusion, I will continue to illustrate other forms of exclusion such as social inequality, poverty, the welfare system, and the notion of denizens.

Social exclusion and inequality

When discussing Cambodian citizenship, I argue, the discussion should be about the Cambodian people's contestation for state's support and citizenship rights. Analytical propositions about citizenship show that the race to have legal ownership of society's scarce resources, and the success in this race legitimises who are members of a particular political community and who are not (Tuner, 1994).

Levitas (1993) asserts that social inequalities in today's societies are represented by the differential access of social classes to wealth and other material resources, and she conceptualises social exclusion by coining "an acronym RED" to refer to "a redistributive, egalitarian discourse" (p.173). For Levitas, this conceptualisation is interpreted as "political inclusion is an aspect of social inclusion" (Levitas, 1998, p. 173). In keeping with Levitas, Beresford et al. (1999) and Lister (2003) RED is an important concept that can be used to get a profound understanding of how much enjoyment a citizen has by analysing their level of satisfaction of rights (e.g. political, civil or social). In this respect, they argue, such conceptions as status equality and sense of respect, and poverty are all important issues to be taken into account by decision makers simply because they are parts of the discourse of either exclusion or inclusion. While Levitas was focusing on Britain's New Labour social inclusion agenda, her work is relevant for my argument insofar as it connects material resources to individual capacity to participate in society beyond formal electoral political participation. For Levitas, exclusion from participation in society is not just a legal issue; it is largely a matter of poverty and material deprivation.

Fraser (1996) goes further to consider both social inequality and misrecognition of difference as impediments to democratic participation. Sources of exclusion revolve around social divisions such as gender, sexuality, and race, among others. According to Fraser, for individuals to fully participate in society they need both cultural recognition and material resources. In recent years, a vast canon of scholarship has emerged on feminist and queer citizenship, with many scholars noting that a masculinist bias is pervasive in most traditional conceptions of citizenship (Lister, 2003; Lister & Pia, 2008). Young (1990), for example, views 'differentiated citizenship' as structural, and as a condition that is endemic to liberalism. Young details how marginalisation, powerlessness, exploitation, cultural imperialism, and violence individually and collectively oppress parts of any liberal state's population in ways that disempower and deprive people of the forms of citizenship that full citizen members take for granted. To Young, identity and class are the pivotal features determining who will and will not be affected by oppression. She sees the state as a primary channel for oppression, delineating the injustice of the denial of rights that results from oppression in society. Levitas et al. (2007) define social exclusion capitalising on multi-factors as:

"Social exclusion is a complex and multi-dimensional process. It involves the denial of resources, rights, goods and services, and the inability to participate in the normal

prelationships and activities, available to the majority of people in a society, whether in economic, social, cultural or political arenas. It affects both the quality of life of individuals and the equity and cohesion of society as a whole” (p. 25).

While its definition is encyclopaedic and cannot be fully addressed in any one single thesis, in the section below I shift to the conceptualisation of social exclusion in relation to poverty, the labour market, and the social inequality that are central to my overall argument.

Social exclusion and poverty

There is an increasing debate about dimension of citizenship, with its boundary being expanded to encompass the material and non-material dichotomy (e.g. poverty, rights or respect) (Lister, 2002; Stevens, Bur & Young, 1999; UNDP, 2000). Primarily, the notion of poverty is on the material axis and is frequently attributable to resource sharing and deprivation of such resources; however, the notion of social exclusion is also fundamentally related to more sophisticated issues such as powerlessness, paucity of social homogenisation and a denial of membership (Room, 1995). Notions of powerlessness are addressed by Beresford and Croft (1995) who argue that disempowerment among poor people lies at the heart of their exclusion, positing that if such powerlessness is not addressed the promotion of participatory democracy could be adversely affected.

In Cambodia, people have been excluded from mainstream society both voluntarily and involuntarily. Hayman (2007) and Springer (2011) maintain that Cambodian people still hold a strong belief that nothing is more important than their daily survival (that is, the basic needs), and because of this dominant mindset they are more concerned about feeding the family than being involved in social issues. Understood in another way, economic capital is more important than cultural and social capital or their engagement in civic life which may truly bring about positive changes to their current circumstances. This might be unsurprising given both tragic history and current socio-political imperatives. Human security is an almost absent consideration for them because Cambodian people are more worried about how they will provide for their family than about disparities of wealth - unless that disparity affects their daily lives directly through violent eviction (Springer, 2011). To Springer, ongoing poverty and inequality are in concert with Cambodia’s historical context of war and the absence of state welfare, factors that make people believe every Cambodian has to fend for themselves.

While Cambodia is progressively making progress in reducing poverty rates with significantly positive results (e.g. poverty rates brought down to 46% in 2010) (ADB, 2014), poverty still hit almost half the population. Most importantly, this multidimensional poverty is attributed government's ineffective measures to better provide sustainable public services to the population. Accessibility to fundamental needs such as clean water, power supply remain very limited, and this has adverse implications for the population's wellbeing (ADB, 2014). The ongoing poverty that results from the harmonious relationship between the bourgeois group and government institutions (the existence of courts to safeguard elites' interests, for example) widens the social divide and marginalises the poor. Different forms of violence, including the misery experienced during civil wars and contemporary forced evictions, reinforce people's doxic views of powerlessness among ordinary citizens. To these citizens, caring about daily survival (that is, meeting basic needs) is more important than thinking about their formal rights. Lister (2002) considers poverty one of the barriers to participation, arguing that citizen's daily struggle for just their deserved basic needs further downgrade their motivation and dent confidence to engage in other aspects of social life. Albeit level of participation can be increased by strengthening citizen's agentic dispositions (Lister, 2002), Cambodian population are already kept out of different forms of participation, thereby holding back their agency.

Acting as citizens requires that sense of agency (Lister, 1997). All of Marshall's (1950) three types of rights are not realised in Cambodia given impoverished living conditions. Both Lister (2004) and Vincent (1991) emphasise that when people experience poverty, the notion of egalitarianism is missed out; therefore, there is a growing concern over a worse form of denied citizenship rights. In considering the civil rights element of Marshall's citizenship in relation to poverty, Cambodian people do not enjoy justice through the judicial system, for poverty is a casualty of corruption in court. Un (2009) argues that uninterrupted corrupt practices among Cambodian officials in judiciary branch do not change the unjust civil rights that people supposed to be entitled to; officials in the court system consider cases in relation to the amount of the bribe offered. There seems to be a lack of willingness, or perhaps inability, among Cambodian judges and prosecutors to justly promulgate Cambodian laws, and judiciary system is usually interpreted as an instrument used by dominant groups (e.g. people in leadership or their associates) for personal gains (Amnesty International, 2003; World Bank, 2003; Un, 2009).

Social exclusion and social citizenship

Social citizenship is a relational concept between the included groups in and excluded groups from the enjoyment of bestowed citizenship rights, and on what basis this is determined (Lister, 2003; Dwyer, 2010; Patrick, 2017). Patrick (2017) adds that we can have a better idea of how well protected citizens in a sovereign state are through the analysis of their social rights (e.g. social citizenship); therefore, the level of support provided by the state tells it all as to whether citizens are categorised as those inside or outside of the welfare system. Marshall (1950) precisely defines social citizenship as:

“[T]he whole range of [social rights] from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security, to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to love the civilized life according to the standards prevailing in society” (p. 8).

As Patrick (2017) points out, Marshall’s above definition capitalises on both the dichotomy of minimalist-cum-maximalist; in other words, the privileges that derive from their social rights are not necessarily characterised by the perfection of the welfare provisions. Put it simply, from a minimalist perspective, citizen’s welfare rights can be just aligned with what the mainstream deserve. It is useful to utilise this conception of social citizenship to get a nuanced understanding of how privileged Cambodian people are. Overall, the OECD’s Social Protection System Review of Cambodia (2017) determined that the Social Protection Framework introduced by the government remained fragmented and insufficient, that the protections in place for vulnerable groups were extremely limited. Public care facilities for the most disadvantaged children had reversed rather than progressed, although there was some improvement in health provision. The government failed to provide financial support for those in desperate need of help, including the elderly and the people with disabilities.

Where social welfare is limited, Cambodian families must provide support for other family members in need, a responsibility that underpins the migration phenomenon among young people in rural areas. Migrant remittances are one of the major drives of economy of Cambodian households by improving their housing conditions, increasing the amount and quality of food they consume, making access to education possible, reducing poverty, and acting as a safety net against a family’s income shocks (Maltoni, 2006; CDRI, 2009; Tong, 2012; Roth et al., 2014; OECD/ Development Centre, 2017). Patrick (2017) argues that to

ensure that social inclusion (that is, full citizenship) materialises, serious considerations of improved and expanded welfare benefits must be taken. These are imperative because individuals can exercise their contributory rights (e.g. pay taxes or actively participate in election) effectively, for they are no longer distracted by their daily efforts to just meet their basic needs. Marshall (1950), Lister (1998) and Gaventa (2002) all argue redefining social citizenship and increasing its boundary are one of the other preconditions to enhance social inclusion by making sure that every individual can benefit from a sense of security. In this respect, social security is the prime guarantor for an elimination of and a challenge to the pervasive insecurity that remains significant barrier for many disadvantaged groups, thereby limiting their motivation to fully participate in social processes (Marshall, 1950; Lister, 1998; Gaventa, 2002).

Slocumb (2010) asserts that unemployed and dispossessed Cambodians are not supported by the state. Only a few charitable institutions and other large organisations provide relief to these social groups. The lack of state support and/or the absence of a social welfare apparatus was evident when Cambodia's economy was affected by the global recession in 2008 (Slocumb, 2010).

Encountering economic hardships, for instance, Cambodians are left to their own responsibilities; these groups of people are one of the most disadvantaged proportion of the whole population who make their living depending on low skills. Alternatively, they sought support from their informal economic resources (such as relatives and friends) in the towns to sustain their livelihood. Some of them went back to the village and the family farm. Others turned to paid employment abroad as emigrant workers where it was possible, while more will probably follow them abroad in the future for better prospects of employment, causing rural-urban migration a significant phenomenon in Cambodia (Slocumb, 2010; Peou, 2017).

The chronic socio-economic divide between Cambodia's well-off group and its counterpart has become more alarming. Such a social divide results not only from existing socio-economic inequalities but also from the practices of patronage and arbitrary justice. Such social divide has led to the newly-emerging notion of citizenship in the context of resource distribution (Noren-Nilsson, 2015). According to the Cambodia Socioeconomic Survey, economic inequality in Cambodia remains a concern as the poor or near-poor people outnumber the well-

off; the statistics indicates that as low as 20% of the population are considered wealthy (Ministry of Planning, 2013b; World Bank 2013; ADB, 2014). Land-grabbing, the expropriation of land by the government, has led to forced evictions of the already poor and legally disadvantaged across the country; for example, 4000 families were evicted from the Boeung Kak Lake area in Phnom Penh in 2008. Thousands more have been displaced in rural areas through the government's economic land concessions (ELCs) for industrial and agricultural development purposes. The law, created by elites and abetted by neoliberal economic reforms, serves as the chief mechanism for the legitimisation of “violent accumulation” of land and resources by powerful elites.

The most seriously violent scenarios, political assassinations, have escalated over the past two decades. People's suffering from injustice —or “structural violence” (see Galtung, 1969)— remains acute as laws themselves are created and used by the powerful to dispossess people of their land, livelihoods, and other entitlements (Springer, 2013). The ongoing impoverished living conditions weaken a citizen's capacity and/or motivation to engage in their social and daily life, for insufficient incomes divert their attention from several forms of participation (Dean & Melrose, 1999; Gaventa, 2002). Therefore, individuals are only able to engage with activities to build a better community when resources are accessible to them (Gaventa, 2002; Lister, 2003).

Lack of support from the state, whether through provision of civil rights or social security, as illustrated in this section, underscores a form of citizenship deficiency. To borrow Kenny's (1994) terms, this form of citizenship symbolises the lack of universal material needs and rights and equal (standardised) treatment of citizens. Turner (1997) calls these inadequacies socio-economic injustices which require solutions if such unwanted consequences as exploitation, marginalisation, and deprivation are to be prevented. Many of those directly affected by poverty and an inadequate welfare system are experiencing the minimum level of their social rights through the lens of a “modicum of economic welfare and security” (Patrick, 2017, p. 298).

In sum, Cambodians, especially the young, have been sidelined by poverty and inequality, leading to migration for work, and resulting in deep social exclusion. Chem et al. (2011) indicate in their study that poverty in rural areas is still distressing amidst inept state's welfare. At the same time, Bylander (2015) also emphasises that the increasingly great

disparity between urban and rural areas, and that it is inequality that underpins the desire to migrate. Below, I continue to illustrate the concerns that Cambodian youth are becoming denizens.

The notion of denizens

The basic assumption behind Marshall's concept of citizenship was that adults are engaged in employment, earning wages and paying taxes, whereas a welfare state apparatus will care for those who are out of employment due to their age and other physical disadvantages and other structural and personal conditions (Colin & Palier, 2015; Turner, 2016). Turner (2016) uses the term "denizens" to refer to any individual whose social status and benefits differ greatly from full membership and they are thus unable to access full citizenship rights. His argument is based on the trending erosion of Marshallian social *citizenship* into social *membership* characterised by temporary, limited, and unpredictable denizenship. Cohen and Ghosh (2019) make a similar argument but add another concept, 'marginalizanship'. They argue that both denizenship and 'marginalizanship' are understood as the liminal existence of some individuals. Denizens, to Turner, might be entitled to bestowed rights at the same level of other citizens in their country of birth, yet they are not practically included in the social and political mainstream in foreign countries, with very limited rights or even none. These citizens do not have real identities on a foreign land (e.g. migrant workers), and the set of rights to which they are entitled (Turner, 2016). Added to the denial of their rights in their home country, millions of young Cambodians have become denizens in other countries as immigrants.

In 2015, Cambodia's working age population (15-64) was estimated at 10 million or 64% of the total population, while 40% of the total population was in the age range 15 to 34 (UN DESA, 2015; CDRI/Development Center, 2017). More and more Cambodians are emigrating to find jobs abroad, driven by considerable wage differences and limited employment opportunities in the domestic labour market. More than 80% of current emigrants are young Cambodians between the ages of 15 and 34. One of Cambodia's most important economic drivers, agriculture, is clearly losing more labour to emigration than other sectors such as construction, education, and health (CDRI/Development Center, 2017). There were an estimated 1.19 million Cambodian emigrants in 2015, 7.6% of Cambodia's total population, an increase of 160% from 2000, with Thailand the most common destination receiving 68% of these emigrants (other countries include South Korea, Malaysia or Japan) (MOP, 2012).

In a worse scenario, most Cambodians emigrate through irregular channels (illegal or without authorisation to work). It is estimated that fewer than 10% of Cambodians emigrate through recognised and legal channels (Tunon & Khleang, 2013). They choose irregular routes because it costs them less through these less complicated processes, their choice driven by weak institutions, poor rule of law, and lack of support from the government. It found that legal migration to Thailand costs around USD 700 and that it takes three to six months to complete the whole migration process, compared to USD 100 and a few days for irregular migration (CDRI, 2009).

The skilled workforce and the young professionals of Cambodia have not yet matched the needs of employers (CDRI, 2015). While job seekers cannot find decent employment, an employer finds it difficult to fill job vacancies. This is called a “skill-mismatch”, where skills taught to young people in higher education and TVET are beyond employers’ requirements, and “skill shortage” is defined on the demand side as a situation in which employers cannot find the right candidates to meet job requirements (Thai, Seng & Panha, 2015).

Education quality and enrolment rates are the main challenges. The enrolment rate for upper-secondary school is less than 50% (ADB/ILO, 2014). The Cambodian labour force has a low level of education, reinforcing the ILO’s view that a Cambodian employee is not properly trained or fully prepared for the increased demand of skilled workers in competitive labour market (Thai et al., 2015). International Labour Organisation (ILO) (2013) reports that young Cambodians who should be kept in education system are struggling for education opportunities, the trend that would otherwise lift their living standards by means of skilled employment.

Later in 2014 a joint project by Asian Development Bank (ADB) and ILO report that local job opportunities remain a challenge for Cambodian youth although those who graduate from university would only get employed in two years’ time. The report continues that it is increasingly difficult for a Cambodian with only a secondary school qualification to get a job, for they may stay unemployed up to five years. In a worse scenario, many young people either engage in informal economic sector (e.g. working for family-run business) or take on the jobs that do not match their qualifications (ADB/ILO, 2014). Due to difficulties in finding jobs, post-graduated or under-graduated young people decide to work in less-skilled jobs which are low-paid and less protected. Morris (2007) also raises a concern that some other young Cambodians may be trapped in hazardous employment circumstance including irregular

incomes or poor environments. Youth researchers also warn that current economic situations have drastically transformed life experiences among young people across the world, and these young people are encountering unprecedented challenges than what we can expect (Jeffrey & McDowell, 2004; Cuervo & Wyn, 2011). Young people's bestowed social rights are determined by the connectedness between education and labor market in a way that their education credentials play a significant role in deciding their future incomes, thereby implicating a new form of citizenship (Jones & Wallace, 1992). In this respect, there is a call, they argue, for a redefinition of citizenship in accordance with the change in job prospects. As Jones (2002) argues, the conception of modern citizenship can be possibly defined as a link to young people's commitments to work for common good. In this sense, work is understood as a pathway to social inclusion as Jones puts it "work is clearly still important to young people and we must recognize its continuing significance in their lives" (p. 15). Benedicto and Morán (2007) argue that as long as young people are still subject to the exclusion from participatory processes they have yet to become citizens because their certain proportion of their citizenship rights are denied. Therefore, whether they are independent defines their social status as citizens.

Cambodian citizenship is characterised by the struggle for citizenship rights in multiple dimensions. The rights to participation are restricted by not only the cultural imperatives of age hierarchy but also by weak institutions; for instance, young Cambodians are prevented from engaging in daily political life, while parliament is dominated by an overwhelming number of old men. In education and employment, these young people are also excluded since many have left school early and been trapped in unskilled employment (see Chapter 2). Importantly, education, even in a post-school context, is regarded as a crucial driver of national productivity and economic growth at a macro level. At a micro level, it is a tool through which young people create opportunities to 'become somebody' (Cuervo, 2016, p.13). As a social protection scheme, Cambodia's social welfare policy is both very basic and ineffective. Only in 2017 did the government introduce its Social Protection Policy Framework (SPPF), and this policy is assessed as inadequate for achieving its ambitious aim (OECD, 2017).

CAMBODIAN YOUTH CITIZENSHIP: A WAY FORWARD

In the sections above I have discussed different forms of social exclusion, useful for understanding the three dimensions of citizenship theory and citizenship rights, and the extent to which Cambodian people can enjoy them. As discussed, different dimensions of citizenship

are also related to degrees of marginalisation and integration into society, such as labor market marginalisation, political marginalisation which is viewed as loss of influence, and participation and social marginalization, seen as isolation from and dissolution of social networks (Helve, 2015, p.36).

With regard to participation, the citizenship space for Cambodians is limited due chiefly to exclusion in multiple contexts. To widen the space for participatory citizenship, there are various forms of participation possible. Brodie et al. (2009) classify three spheres of participation which, in turn, result in different activities, structures and processes. To these authors, participation in the public sphere is possible only through structures within existing decision-making structures and processes (such as youth parliaments or youth councils). The social sphere refers to either formal or informal structures that are created outside of formal political organisational structures (such as involvement in civil society or community development). The individual sphere is understood as comprising individual choices, decisions, and interactions with the world (religious beliefs or consumer choices, for instance). Given the limited citizenship space as well as the denial of citizenship rights in the Marshallian paradigm, young people's engagement in formal politics faces more challenges than it attracts support; therefore, their engagement as participatory citizens is only possible through citizenship education and everyday citizenship practices.

Lindstrom (2010) contends that citizenship connotes formal and informal senses, with the former sense relating to legal duties and rights an individual possesses in a sovereign state. Informally, conversely, citizenship implies that an individual need to take their own responsibilities to build a better community a commitment to ameliorating other people's living standards through various contributions (e.g. finance or voluntarism). Nevertheless, young people are still not considered full citizens in spite of their involvement in formal activities, Lindstrom (2010) continues, and to be full members of society they need to go through secondary socialisation (that is, education). Different scholars have addressed informal engagement in formal politics by young people. Harris, Wyn and Younes (2007), for example, attribute the changing forms of participation among young people to the effect of globalization, underscoring the divergence of participation patterns from adult-centric views to informal engagements. Yet, they also caution that young people's interest in such issues as environment, water sanitation, human rights and globalization perhaps exhibit in other forms of engagement that are more subtle.

By using Putnam's popular expression of bowling alone, Harris et al. (2007) term youth's form of engagement in this globalized world as engagement "in informal activities that are not structured through organizations or by adults" (p. 24). "Everyday engagements" and "ordinary politics" are the terms they use to refer to young people's concerns and activities in their communities, their families, and in social cooperation (Harris et al., 2007, p.24). In the same vein, Helve (2001) asserts that sub-cultures have a determinant effect on a particular sort of citizenship young people are practicing, not least because these group cultures may dictate particular values which give them an identity. Research in Sweden and other countries indicated that youth care about society and they are willing to have a control over issues important to them (Lindstrom, 2010; Harris et al, 2007).

Young people also use online platforms to perform their everyday citizenship practices in a context of limited citizenship space. The internet and the media are changing the beliefs and values of young people, offering alternative forms of participation for young people exercising political agency (Helve, 2015). White and Wyn (2007) identify the internet as a new platform potential for young people to not only create their identities but also exercise their rights through their expressions relevant to social and political issues. This technology-driven platform also serves as a pathway for them to reach out to society in multiple aspects (White & Wyn 2007). Their distrust in government institutions and politicians is cited as the factor prompting use of such alternative channels of participation. Public institutions are perceived as less and less effective (Bauman, 2001), and young people feel alienated by the political process which lead them to lost trust in adults who are obliged to make major decisions. In this way, young people feel pessimistic about adults' capacity, or perhaps genuine willingness, to fix the problems perceived important agenda for young people (Harris et al., 2007). The feeling of marginalisation and exclusion from political decision-making is so common among young people that they feel politics is something done to them rather than anything that they can influence (O'Toole et al.,2003). The fact that young people turn away from conventional politics has enormous implications for civic education initiatives (Bennett, 2003, p.1).

There is a strong association between citizenship/civics education and citizenship value. As Print (2007) and Henn, Weinstein and Forrest (2005) point out, there is a correlation between learning citizenship in school and a higher level of civic knowledge and skills, and that knowledge and skills students gain from schooling have a profound impact on students later in life. Education in contemporary societies plays a crucial role in preparing citizens for

participation both in the economy and in the polity as they consider the values relevant to globalisation (Torres, 2002).

Biesta and Lawy (2006) go beyond simply teaching citizenship to doing citizenship in schools, arguing that an effective citizenship education program is the one that link the curriculum and learning with young people's real contexts that reflect their everyday lives. These contexts reflect all aspects of their way of living, including social, economic, cultural and political dimensions. Democratic citizenship is about paying attention to and investing in the actual conditions that are characterized by the interconnectedness between learning in school and being a citizen.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I attempt to answer the question 'What does it mean to be a Cambodian citizen?' This question has been partially attended to, for many other aspects of the answer will be provided in other chapters, particularly in the three data chapters.

I explain the concept of citizenship through the lenses of Cambodia's sociocultural and political contexts. I have drawn on the Marshallian paradigm of citizenship not as a yardstick to evaluate Cambodia's contemporary citizenship but as a theoretical lens to better understand the existing denial of citizenship rights. As the discussion above points out, Cambodian citizens have experienced different forms of exclusion and rights denial.

Although the three dimensions of Marshall's citizenship theory is not applicable in Cambodian context, his theory contributes to our understandings of what is being missed out in Cambodia. Ultimately, there is a big gap between what is proposed by Marshall and what Cambodian people are experiencing, be it civil, political and social rights. There is no guarantee that Cambodian government may adopt and adhere to proposed rights; however, there may be indicative willingness to embrace and enhance these rights. The struggles that Cambodian people, young and old, are experiencing are beyond the expected standards of civilized rights of even contemporary citizenship theories. The concept of respect and participation is beyond imaginary, given the ongoing imposed limitations and oppression both culturally and structurally.

The discussion draws not only on the popular classic theory of citizenship in the 1950s, but also on what is happening in contemporary Cambodia. In essence, Marshall's three dimensions of citizenship that flourished in the post-World War 2 period are brought to the discussion through the lens of Cambodia's unique social, cultural, and political contexts. These contexts are characterised by the effects of prolonged and tragic civil wars and the weak institutions that are supposed to guarantee the indiscriminate claims of the rights of civilized citizens. Rights associated with political freedom and welfare support are arbitrarily granted to different social groups—the bourgeois and the underclass.

The critical discussion about Cambodia's social institutions, intertwined with the literature on citizenship, I believe, can provide us with useful evidence to assist our of citizenship dispositions and aspirations among young Cambodian students. Arguments made in this chapter draw on the concepts of struggle for rights and resources, of inadequate social welfare, and of the limited space in which citizenship can thrive. The discussion in this chapter foreshadows our understanding of students' doxic views of their aspirations as active social agents. The social contexts discussed above are characterised by a lack of genuine support from social institutions to make the notion of citizenship and its practices flourish.

CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

Earlier in the thesis, I have stated that this study examines the teaching and learning of citizenship in schools and explores the avenues available to students to practise citizenship on school campuses. In this way, the overarching aim of this thesis is to provide a thorough understanding of active citizenship spaces in schools for young Cambodians through civics education and other mechanisms, all of which have implications for young people's citizenship practices in the wider social context.

My methodological engagement with the field of study was geared towards generating meaning from the interests, aspirations, and everyday lives of young Cambodian students. In other words, a 'bottom-up' rather than 'top-down' approach to the research process was a central tenet of my inquiry. The resulting research design was constructed deliberately to tap into students' concrete experiences as the foundation of the project, aiming to gain a deeper understanding of the collective educational experiences, and shared aspirations and practices of citizenship among young students. As a result, a key task was to determine the nature of citizenship practices in schools. This involved research with students and teachers, mining the learning and teaching of citizenship in schools and classrooms. In order to gain insights into the daily experiences and practices among students and teachers in relation to active citizenry, this research project is shaped by two main research questions: (1) How do Cambodian schools and current citizenship education prepare students to be both informed and active citizens? and (2) What are students' citizenship aspirations, given the imperatives of both schooling and contemporary socio-structural contexts?

As my social position is important in the design of this study, I begin the chapter with a discussion about my ontological and epistemological stance. My educational and professional experiences played a significant role in this study, and it is useful to link these experiences with my approaches to designing this entire project. The remainder of the chapter capitalises on other important approaches, capturing both a theoretical and practical discourses methodology per se; that is, developing a mixed-method research involving sampling strategies, the selection of case study schools, the recruitment of students and teachers, and data collection tools. The section on data analysis also outlines comprehensive steps describing how data were coded and

analysed in accordance with the University of Melbourne's ethics standards. I conclude the chapter by revisiting the processes that were central to my fieldwork.

MY ONTOLOGICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL STANDPOINT

The worldview of the researcher shapes their research design in the form of a systematic plan that defines the research questions and provides a blueprint for the empirical methods to be employed in the data collection (Henn, Weinstein & Foard, 2006). We, human beings, have interactions with social structures which in turn have implications for our views (Bourdieu, 2000). In this respect, our life experiences shape our view of these structures, and we act accordingly; therefore, a reflection on our social position as researchers assists the reader's understanding of what we try to communicate (Griffiths, 1998). This is of particular importance as I am also interested in exploring the views, practices and experiences of other individuals, in this case of teachers and students, as well as understanding how institutions shape these individuals' actions and beliefs.

Denzin and Lincoln (2003a) and Schram (2003) affirm that the researcher approaches the world through a framework that specifies a set of questions that he or she then examines in specific ways, each of which is understood as an ontological, epistemological, or methodological question. First, there is the ontological question what the nature of the social world is and what new knowledge a research may get. In addition, a researcher needs to have in mind his/her epistemological viewpoint of a particular knowledge classicistic; that is, how is it acquired, and what the interplay between the researcher and the participants, so that desired form of knowledge can be acquired. Finally, the methodological question: how does the researcher plan to undertake the inquiry into the phenomenon to be studied? As Crotty (1998) points out, there is an interrelation between the theoretical stance a researcher takes, the methodology and methods they use, and their view of what is legitimate knowledge.

My reflection on what drives me to undertake this thesis as well as how and what I did to get answers to my research questions is very useful here, not least because the explanation crystallises my ontological and epistemological perspectives. My life and professional experiences as a Cambodian have had a great influence on my academic journey. I have witnessed different forms of exclusion and witnessed suppression of democratic and peaceful

processes, as I indicated in my introduction chapter, experiences that represented a turning point for me. In addition, my observation of how active young Cambodians are in democratic participation, despite an unfavourable environment for such involvement, greatly reinforces my commitment to advocate for citizens' rights. My own educational background and work experience in education have further confirmed for me the importance of education in individuals' lives and in claiming their rights as responsible and informed citizens. Here, I am not claiming to be an activist, but rather to state (as I did in the introduction chapter) from where my interest in this research topic comes, with the aim to provide readers an entrance to my subjectivity, my positionality, as a researcher.

Having a chance to read the "Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young Australians" (MCEEYTYA, 2008), I decided to take this new academic journey, believing strongly in the important role of schools and education in cementing Cambodians' human rights by means of full democratic participation. Of course, schools have many functions and play different roles in society and for individuals, but I believe that constructing a democratic society is a central one. Furthermore, central to that joint ministerial communique is the emphasis placed on the role of education, citizenship education in particular, in promoting informed and active citizenship practices. These life and work experiences have prompted me to conduct research the interrelation between schooling and citizenship values among young Cambodian students.

In this thesis, therefore, I examine how Cambodian students in upper secondary schools learn and practise citizenship. I explore how students and teachers learn and teach citizenship as well as how schools in Cambodia are positioned to support the embedding of citizenship values. As an explanatory and interpretive research project, this thesis explores forms of citizenship practice on school campuses by providing a platform for both students and teachers to express their ideas regarding their school's organisational practices. This is achieved through the development and implementation of different research techniques: a student survey, focus group discussions with students, and one-to-one interviews with teachers currently teaching citizenship in four sampled schools in Phnom Penh city.

Public schools in a Cambodian city are my sites for analysis because of my belief that such places offer potential for understanding the possible platforms through which citizenship practices are promoted; for example, the existence of a school council, or elections for class

captains, if these are apparent in a school, are useful for my analysis in relation to adherence to democratic process. Similarly, how teachers interpret and teach citizenship significantly contributes to our understanding of how Cambodian students are educated to make them informed and active citizens. Ultimately, understanding students' and teachers' conception of citizenship learning and practices in schools contributes to not only youth research in Cambodia but also to how a citizenship curriculum is positioned to promote citizenship rights and practice in a non-democratic setting. As stated in Chapter 1, this thesis is undertaken through both overarching research questions and sub-questions, and in order to address both the research aims and questions, I developed a mixed-method study which I detail in the sections below.

DEVELOPING A MIXED-METHOD RESEARCH APPROACH

In constructing this research design for my project, I have utilised a mixed-method or 'trans-disciplinary' approach to the collection of data, adopting three research tools (that is, survey, focus-group interviews, and one-to-one interviews) to collect datasets necessary for the proposed research questions and entire project alike. The project was trans-disciplinary in the sense that my approach drew on elements of both qualitative and quantitative methods (Schram, 2003; Creswell, 2009; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998/2010). My principal purpose to use a mixed methods design is informed by a thorough understanding of the importance of a multiple data set in explaining subjective human behaviours and experience (Morse, 1991). Using surveys enables the research to map the terrain, to obtain a broad picture of an issue, while focus groups and semi-structured interviews allow for an in-depth examination of assumptions emanating from survey data, as well from the researcher's own ontological standpoint (Cuervo & Cook, 2020; Tyler, Cuervo & Wyn, 2011). Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) affirm that it is difficult, if not impossible, to define a mixed-methods research, for philosophical debates about such a design keeps evolving; however, Creswell et al. (2003) offer a "beginning point" of mixed-methods design as:

"A mixed methods study involves the collection or analysis of both quantitative and/or qualitative data in a single study in which the data are collected concurrently or sequentially, are given a priority, and involve the integration of the data at one or more stages in the process of research" (p. 212).

The use of a mixed-methods approach enables me to gain insight into participants' daily experiences while providing a deeper understanding of participants' subjective experiences (Cuervo & Wyn, 2011), all of which relate to my research design. In addition, as my thesis is guided by Bourdieu's conceptual frameworks, concurrent research strategy became the most useful, not least because the design per se is intended to gather solid and adequate evidence to address the proposed research questions and problems. Creswell (2009) argues for the use of a "concurrent transformative strategy" in that it is an appropriate choice when a researcher also constructs a new knowledge through a theoretical lens. In this sense, the particular theory used is understood as the driving force that may influence other important decisions throughout the research processes ranging from problem statement, data source to data analysis and interpretation. Furthermore, as Creswell (2009) and Creswell et al. (2003) point out, by following this strategy, a researcher's data can be collected through a means of triangulation, which is very useful in my current design. In relation to this method of triangulation, Jeanty and Hibel (2011) assert that quantitative-cum-qualitative data collection in a concurrent study are perhaps done on different occasions yet a researcher may also analyse and make his/her arguments with the two data sets combined. There is a great flexibility that makes all involved processes at ease, and each of the data sets can be used to inform each other when analysis and interpretation are started.

In my project, therefore, both quantitative and qualitative data were collected during my one-time fieldwork in Cambodia between November and December 2017. The two databases were also given equal priority, for the each of the three types of data from three different data collection tools are used separately in all three data Chapters in my thesis; for example, the data from the focus group discussions with students are used alongside Bourdieu's theory of shadow capital in Chapter 6, whereas the data from the semi-structured interviews with teachers are used in the Chapter 7 on institutional habitus.

RESEARCH METHODS

My methodology is shaped by the nature of my research aim, my research questions (both overarching and secondary ones), and the use of the conceptual frameworks of shadow capital, institutional habitus, doxa and illusio, as discussed in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 respectively. It requires the collection of multiple data sources and types. Although a single method can be used, I decided to use multiple methods to collect data; that is, interviews, focus-group

discussions as mentioned above (Kumar, 2011). I have always kept in mind that the case study is still regarded as a single entity when I analyse the data, and I have sought to remember this from the start to the end of my research project, especially during my data analysis and writing-up period.

In order to gain a deeper understanding of young students' daily experiences, and to make sense of citizenship practices on school campuses, collecting multiple datasets from multiple viewpoints (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) is advisable. In addition, this thesis aims to tap into concrete experiences and to acquire an in-depth understanding of citizenship practices rather than simply to generalise its findings. The study of four cases (that is, four schools) enables me to look deeper into the issues. In this way, my main objective - to determine the nature of citizenship practices - can be achieved more effectively than by going to more schools and generating only superficial knowledge about a critical issue such as citizenship; that is, I have privileged a thorough investigation of practice of citizenship rather than a broad but superficial one.

In order for this triangulation method to yield the desired outcomes, I collected empirical data through multiple data collection tools (details are discussed later in this chapter), including focus group discussions, semi-structured interviews with teachers, a student survey, and content analysis of Cambodia's current citizenship curriculum. These data collection tools were not chosen randomly; rather, they were chosen primarily because each of them plays a different but crucial role in collecting useful information to help answer my research questions. The student survey, for example, enables me to construct a broad picture of students' citizenship notions and aspirations. It allows me to search for broad patterns of these practices and to map the general terrain of citizenship activities and learning within these four schools and in Cambodian society at large. This survey is built on the Active Citizenship Composite Indicator (ACCI) which suggests that active citizenship embracing four primary domains: "democratic values, representative democracy, community life, and protest and social change" (Hoskins & Mascherini, 2009, p. 36). Students' responses to the questions in this survey (both open-ended and closed questions) offered me critical information about their daily experiences in relation to citizenship platforms on school campuses and students' aspirations alike.

I also used students' focus group discussions to gain a comprehensive cognizance of these students' everyday experiences and perceptions of what they are taught and what they are

empowered to do. Whereas the knowledge from the citizenship curriculum may allow them to act responsibly and to exercise their rights as active citizenry, it is the empowerment they are offered by their schools and their actual involvement in these citizenly acts that matter. Ultimately, these pieces of evidence can only be captured successfully when the students are given the floor to talk in an informal way as they do in their daily conversations. The students are more open to freely express their opinions without any reluctance (Yin, 2003); that is, they are given a chance to speak in their own language and in their own voices (Andolina et al., 2002; Edwards, 2009), not being expected to talk just to satisfy my research agenda.

As a part of the triangulation method, four separate semi-structured interviews with teachers were very useful in capturing the everyday experiences of those teaching citizenship. These pieces of information allowed me to further understand teachers' views of both the curriculum in current use and their current practices, indispensable information if we want to understand how schools contribute to making students informed and active citizens. Such data also allowed me to understand the opportunities and challenges of teaching citizenship in the contexts where limited democratic participation and social exclusion are significantly prevalent (Chapters 2 and 4). These nuanced examples cannot be captured in a survey; rather, having a chance to talk at semi-structured interviews enabled me to hold daily conversations with teachers in a pressure-free environment. These semi-structured interviews also allowed the teachers to reflect on their recent experiences, and to share fresh-in-their-minds views of the issues and opportunities they face. Finally, the analysis of the content of the citizenship curriculum offered me extrapolated evidence of the aims of that curriculum. Such information enriched my data by providing a more objective evaluation of the educational values implicit in it all, which is necessary to my understanding of students' citizenship dispositions and values.

At the outset of my fieldwork, I also took sociocultural settings into account. By this I mean my data collection processes were informed by an understanding of Cambodia's sociopolitical contexts: the contexts of gatekeeping, of social status hierarchy, and of the prohibition of discussions about politics-related issues on school campuses, all of which are highly relevant. Understanding these contexts would contribute to the success or failure of my project.

Informed by these peculiarities, prior to my entry into data collection I took a pragmatic approach, based on my understanding of these cultural imperatives, by contacting key people, or key gatekeepers, to assist in making my fieldwork legitimate. I initially used the ethics

approval letter from the University of Melbourne to request a letter of permission from the Royal University of Phnom Penh, for example, then a letter of permission from the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport. The next gatekeepers who exercised a direct influence over my target were school principals, who were contacted for permission to enter school campuses. Finally, the school principals were briefed on the details of the research projects, including the purpose of the research, the target grades, and the process of selection for participating students and teachers.

At the interviews with both teachers and students, I adopted the role of moderator, with my role during the entire process being to ensure that the group was guided and supported in a manner that was inclusive of the diversity of opinion brought to the research topic by individual participants (Fern, 2001). I also assumed the role of facilitator with appropriate personal, interpersonal, communication, and management skills, repeatedly reminding myself to appear neutral, opinion-free and non-judgmental as well as maintaining a balance between being in control and remaining flexible and adaptable (Litoselliti, 2003). It is relatively crucial to emphasise here that I adopt the two roles, a moderator and facilitator, depending on actual circumstances. It is highly suggested that a researcher adopts fluid and flexible roles for a set of various activities in search of knowledge and in effort to fruitfully implement my research design.

As moderator, my underlying aim was to build trust and respect between myself and the participants so as to ensure a more open, honest, and interactive collective dialogue. I believe building trust and respect is essential for the construction of knowledge that does not serve the purpose of the researcher but rather enables the opinions and experiences of participants to be known and understood by others. As a result, my focus group discussions with the students were notable for those young people's apparent willingness to participate. This emerged not only through what they said, but through the animated and open way in which they spoke, and through the way in which they offered eye contact, smiled, and actively expressed their views. Most of my questions were met with prompt and often detailed responses that were echoed or endorsed by the group. Of course, in any research the question that remains is the degree to which these young people were telling me what they believed I wanted to hear. However, working, as I did, in gaining students' and teachers' trust and respect, contributes for participants to feel comfortable that they can express the opinion that they feel like without fearing any consequence (which in a space like in Cambodian society is an important issue).

Furthermore, following the ethics guidelines and protocols from the University of Melbourne, I assured students and teachers that they were free to express any opinion and that they could stop taking part of the focus group or interview if they didn't feel comfortable.

Ultimately, all the students, teachers and I myself as a researcher chose our words with care because we were all aware of the consequences of our thoughts and expressions when research was underway; by this I mean, our choice of words was informed by the fact that we were not allowed to freely discuss any issues possibly translated as politics. For instance, instead of asking students and teachers whether there had been any complaints (verbally or in writing) about school-related issues, I raised doubts about any possible avenues for them to suggest their ideas to their school's management team (Pich, 2019).

Because I undertook my research on school campus, supposedly free from politics-related discussions, the participants and I were all hyper-alert to this context; we shared the same cultural background. The students and teachers had expressed limited understanding of the conception of active citizenry; for example, the term perhaps being perceived as having political overtones, yet because of my continued encouragement and clarifications they were able to answer related questions without any concerns. I also beared in mind that I had to abide by the imperatives of social space I was in as well as my position as an outsider who wanted to know about what is prevalent in an important social institution. I, too, was fully aware that I was interrogating people and collecting information from them. When it came to data coding and analysis, I also carefully checked the transcribed data to make sure that I did not unintentionally alter the fundamental meanings expressed by the participants. In the remainder of the chapter, I discuss my approaches to data collection in detail, beginning with my pragmatic approach to entering the fieldwork.

MY ENTRY TO THE FIELDWORK

In this research and in other research, the underpinning issues relevant to ethics and methodology are to be taken seriously, and it is even more important for a graduate researcher to strictly attend to such issues. Baker and Weller (2003) strongly suggest that when a research project is conducted with young people, a more special consideration must be taken into account. They emphasise several main tasks that a researcher must carry out, which include overcoming power relationship (e.g. research identity and authority over students), a guarantee of high level of confidentiality and anonymity and how they are to consent (Barker and Weller,

2003). This suggestion had continuously informed my data collection approach throughout the entire project. Therefore, taking ethics seriously, this study's purposes and procedures were explained in detail to schools' principals, teachers, and students prior to recruitment and data collection. Consent forms were signed by students' parents/guardians, while participation was primarily voluntary, the students being fully informed that any withdrawal from the study would incur no harm or consequence. To this end, I always abided by the required procedures and standards so that participant's privilege is not adversely affected by my research, beginning with participants' recruitment processes, the implementation of the tools, and finally, data analysis and findings (Gubrium & Sankar, 1994).

The first gatekeeper for me, as well as for other graduate researchers, was the ethics committee members at the university that oversees all research projects by both staff and graduate students, and the approved ethics application was a ticket to the other important subsequent steps. For my case, this application processes lasted approximately four months, starting with the preparation of the application until the final outcome (that is, July 2017 to November 2017). It was the complexity of this research that required double approval from both Melbourne Graduate School of Education and the Faculty of Social Sciences. Indicated as a standard research project and driven by the fact that some of student participants were under 18 at the time of recruitment, there was a strict scrutiny of the entire project. Put simply, ethics application was thoroughly evaluated for the confirmation that it satisfactorily addressed ethical concerns.

As mentioned above, my ethics application underwent the Melbourne Graduate School of Education (MGSE)'s ethics advisory committee before being forwarded to the university's ethics sub-committee. After these two important screening procedures, it was endorsed on November 6th, 2017 (Ethics ID number: 1749883.1). In addition, the project was approved by the Cambodian government, represented by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport, and finally by the Phnom Penh Municipal Department of Education, all of which helped to legitimate my entry to the fieldwork in the four selected schools (all of these documents are attached in Appendices).

Back to Cambodia as my fieldwork site, I had to manoeuvre through several other gatekeepers prior to my presence on selected school campuses, because of the country's long-standing so-called bureaucratic procedures. This included my contact with the management at the Royal

University of Phnom Penh for their confirmation that I am a staff at the university. Then, I also had to request a formal permission from Cambodia's ministry of education, for all schools are supposed to follow the direction from the ministry. With the greenlight from such a powerful jurisdiction, I had to inform Phnom Penh's education department and to get their consent to school site entry. Last but not least, school principals were the last gatekeepers that I had to approach. At each of the participating schools the school principal gave permission for the research to be undertaken on the school grounds and for students and teachers to participate (all the documents are attached in the appendices).

Although I managed to gain approval from all the gatekeepers before I embarked on data collection, I had always set ethical and methodological considerations a priority, and this is even more important when my research involved school students. Taking research ethics seriously, I first began my data collection with precise briefings on all the procedures involving my project to school principals, potential teachers and student participants. Prior to data collection, teachers had to sign a consent form (translated into Khmer), and students under the age of 18 had their parents sign consent forms for them. For students, I informed them that their participation was basically voluntary, and they would withdraw from the research at any time without any consequences. Furthermore, I informed them that the questionnaire was not a test neither a classroom assessment and that they would not be identified by the readers with regard to the information they provided in the questionnaire. Finally, school principals, teachers and students were all informed about their rights to request a summary of research findings if they are concerned about the modification of their genuine responses.

All participants signed an official consent form prior to participation in the research process. Given the fact that most of the student participants were unable to provide consent, based on university's ethics standards, I had also sought the consents from their parents. To ensure confidentiality and anonymity, no individual is identified in this or any publication arising from it; pseudonyms are used to refer to students and teachers. The participating schools were not assigned a pseudonym, in conformity with the letter of approval from the Ministry of Education in which the real school names were used.

In order to ensure the informants' rights, I verbally explained my research objectives to them, and the Plain Language Statement was also handed in to the participants for their consent; in this way, all the participants in my project were well-informed about the used data collection

tools and processes. Also, the transcribed interviews and responses to student survey were all stored password-protected folders yet these would be ready for my participants upon their requests. Finally, participants' names and other identities were all assigned codes and pseudonyms with high-level password-protection technology for the safety and confidentiality.

I had also gone further, explaining that the student questionnaire was not part of any test, that it would not affect their in-class results. There is a danger when researching in schools or workplaces that participants might feel that the research, involving methods such as interviews or surveys, could be some sort of evaluation instituted by authorities. To counteract this, the students were informed that completing the questionnaires was in no way part of their classroom assessment, and that their rights were not being violated. Finally, all the students and teachers were assured that confidentiality would be ensured at its highest level, that during the coding, recording, and reporting processes, pseudonyms for individuals and places would be used in lieu of the respondents' real name (Creswell, 2009). Regarding data analysis and reporting, I made certain that findings and conclusions were consistent with the information provided by both students and teachers (Oldendick, 2012). I indicated that a summary of the findings and the details of the research design, based on which stakeholders could judge the credibility of the study (Neuman, 2000), would be provided upon request, though as yet there has been no such request. In the section that follows, I discuss my choice of a mixed-method approach, how data were collected, and which data collection tools were used.

SAMPLING METHODS AND THE RECRUITMENT OF PARTICIPANTS

The process for selection of schools and recruitment of participants evolved with the project. A variety of techniques was ultimately adopted including contact through key people at the sampled schools, identified during the earlier induction and preliminary briefings with school principals. According to Jeanty and Hibel (2011), a researcher can choose a sampling method or a combination of methods of probability sampling and purposive one, and the choice is based fundamentally on the nature of the project. In the same vein, Kemper and Teddlie (2000) add that a quantitative-driven research basically requires "larger samples selected through probability techniques, while qualitative studies typically use smaller samples selected through purposive techniques" (p. 277). Frequently, a combination of these methods is chosen for a mixed-methods research, and this is also my adopted strategy in this study. To Kemper and Teddlie (2000), the choice of sampling methods is informed by the nature of the project. As

argued earlier in this chapter, the sampling strategy is logically shaped both by the use of theory as a theoretical lens and by research questions, which in turn is expected to provide sufficient and useful information to the researcher to address the proposed research questions. In my thesis, a combination of different strategies was utilised, given the nature of the research questions and conceptual frameworks used. In order to select schools and participants (both teachers and students), purposive, cluster, and simple random sampling were all employed. The four sampled schools were purposively chosen based primarily on my logic as discussed in the preceding section in this chapter; they were basically selected because of their characteristics (that is, type of school, geographical location, curriculum offerings, and the existence of a Youth Red Cross group, Youth Scouts, and/or School Council).

I recruited a purposive and critical sample of schools located in the capital city of Phnom Penh instead of schools in other areas of Cambodia. The decision to select these schools was based primarily on their potential to provide a critical rather than a typical case (Flyvberg, 2006). These schools were perceived to offer meaningful and enabling opportunities for students to participate as active citizens, as indicated by the presence of such groups as Youth Red Cross and Youth Scouts. Members of these youth groups are among those selected to be involved in directing traffic in the city and in environmental clean-ups. In addition, these four schools are all government/state schools which are coordinated administratively and financially by the Ministry of Education, the characteristics of which are critical for citizenship curriculum implementation and citizenship practices. (Table 5.1). Such schools are also likely to be able to shed light on both the forces that influence youth participation in schools and the experience of participation for young people in those schools. Students' participation as citizens through local traffic education and direction is one of the examples that explicitly reflects the deliberate practice of youth participation. These community-based citizenship practices are coordinated through both the Cambodian Youth Red Cross and the Youth Scouts, the two groups recruited and led directly by each school's management team. All the schools chosen for this study are located in Cambodia's biggest city, and I used the Ministry of Education's booklet of Statistics and Indicators to inform my selection (I also justified why these schools are my choice in the section that follows) (MoEYS, 2015/2019; Pich, 2019). This booklet is the source of basic information regarding public schools in Cambodia. It provides general information on the characteristics of schools.

Table 5. 1. Case studies' site characteristics

Characteristics	Chumpuvoan High School	Phnom Penh Thmey High School	Preah Sisowath High School	Santhormuk High School
Type of School*	State School	State School	State School	State School
Geographical Location	Urban Area	Urban Area	Urban Area	Urban Area
Curriculum Offerings	Grades 7-12	Grades 7-12	Grades 7-12	Grades 7-12
Youth Red Cross & Youth Scouts	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
School Council	Yes	Yes	Unclear	Unclear

*There are only two types of school in Cambodia: State (or public) School and Private School.

All the schools are theoretically able to offer students platforms through which to realise their potential as active citizens. These schools, for example, offer participatory programs such as the Youth Red Cross and Youth Scouts which provide opportunities for students to engage in citizenship practices. This makes these schools fertile ground for research on youth citizenship knowledge and practice. It is noteworthy that members of these youth groups are always summoned to meetings with school management teams when there are any decisions to be made or when the school plans to organise any activities on campus. The students from these groups are also active at traffic lights close to their schools, reminding the passersby, through loudspeakers, to abide by traffic laws. Understanding how the Youth Red Cross and Youth Scouts operate in schools is therefore very useful for my analysis of citizenship practice. Most importantly, the notions of inclusiveness and participation can be analysed in relation to forms of citizenship practice. And while some of these practices might not seem “political” enough in other democratic societies; it is important to remember that spaces and activities to actively participate in democratic experiences in Cambodian are not so many or frequent.

The four were also selected on the grounds that they are government/state schools directly affected by government regulation, covering matters such as curriculum implementation, whereas private (or non-government) schools have more freedom to devise their own internal regulations. Administratively and financially, these private schools are not influenced by the government; thus, they enjoy greater flexibility in their practices.

I chose a purposive sampling in a case study because it underpins the aims of my research and the research questions. Such a sampling method can reassure the researcher that as much information as possible is available for understanding. Burns (1997) contends that in a case study what determines researcher's decision is the distinctive intricacies within the case rather than individual elements in the whole population. That said, specific case study requires focused attention, suggesting the need for purposive, judgemental, or information-oriented sampling techniques.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, I decided to choose these four schools (purposive or judgmental sampling strategy) because of their characteristics, and for the potential they offer in terms of data that would address my research questions, thus significantly contributing to inferences about typical citizenship practices across schools in Cambodia (that is, the existence of Youth Red Cross and Youth Scouts, and establishment of school council). Like other mixed-methods research, I planned my sampling design and sample size carefully, focusing on step-by-step procedures. For example, I defined the target population (purposive sampling), followed by the selection of accessible population as well as eligibility criteria (that is, grades 10, 11 and 12) (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003a). I then outlined the sampling plan (Table 5.2), and finally recruited the sample using systematic procedures. By this I meant I used the class lists provided by the schools and chose every 5th student in the lists, with each of the class lists listing between 55 to 60 students.

Theoretically, although only one case is being studied, it is argued that, through scientific approaches, it is to be chosen to reflect diversified characteristics attributed to a particular proportion of population. Implicated by this point of view, I have selected four critical cases in order to highlight any useful distinctions among the four. My methodological intention in this sampling process was not one of replication, which tests initial case findings against a subsequent series of cases, but the creation of parallel cases that may provide reinforcing or varying insights (Yin, 2003).

For the selection of class, a cluster sampling frame was defined, with all grades 10, 11 and 12 from each school becoming the three clusters, then from each of the three clusters of grades one class was randomly selected. Finally, 15 of 10th graders, 20 of 11th graders, and 15 of 12th graders were randomly selected to complete the student questionnaire.

Table 5. 2. Sampling strategies in each of the sampled schools

School	Grade 10	1 Class	15 Students	1 Student for focus group discussions
	Grade 11	1 Class	20 Students	3 Students for focus group discussions
	Grade 12	1 Class	15 Students	1 Student for focus group discussions

As for the selection of students, I used school class lists provided by each school's principal as an instrument, out of which students were randomly chosen using a systematic procedure. To begin data collection processes, fifty students from each school were selected to fill in a questionnaire. After they completed the questionnaire, 5 students from this sample were approached to participate in a focus group discussion the next day. The selection of these senior students was primarily based on the logic of importance and their capacity to inform rather than randomness. Initially, only students from grades 10 to 12 are recruited by their schools to be members of Youth Red Cross and Youth Scouts and therefore involved in community services, including local traffic education and environmental clean-up. As seniors in their schools, they have presumably experienced much of the content of the citizenship education curriculum over several years (since year 7), so their exposure to the curriculum and content knowledge are useful to my thesis.

It is useful and significant alike to briefly present students' demographic backgrounds here, for this will help us better understand their family's social positions and those of themselves. I believe both parents' education and economic backgrounds contribute, to some extent, to students' understandings and choice of their citizenship practices both at school and in a wider social context. With students' parents' education backgrounds, it is noted that many of the 206 students who participated in my project were from the family with quite young parents who possess significant level of education, with 50% the male parents possessing such a high level of education (28% with university degrees; 18.9% with grade 12 certificates; and 7.8% with other tertiary qualifications). Students' female parents' level of education, however, is lower, with only 39% of them getting higher level of education than grade 12. With regard to economic status, the students are from high and mid-economic backgrounds, with 55% of their male parents being qualified professionals, managers of own businesses and office workers. These employment statues are considered economically strong. As for their female parent, merely 26% of them are employed as qualified professionals, managers of own businesses, and office workers. There is a consistency between level of education among students' male and female parents and their occupations; in other words, male parents hold higher education

qualifications than their female counterparts, and so do their employment statuses. This demographic landscape, I argue, is significant in providing us an underpinning rationale as to why some students embark on alternative avenues for citizenship practices, as I argued in Chapter 1.

Given the critical nature of the topic to be investigated, the knowledge of citizenship and citizenship practices held by these seniors is significant thanks to their cognitive maturity and lived experience. Similarly, these seniors would be graduating from high school and becoming adult citizens when they turn 18 under the law (some of them had already turned 18 at the time of recruitment), so learning about their experience in school is useful as they will be likely to carry the acquired values with them. Last, but not necessarily least, these students are more independent in their time management. By this I mean they can get back to their study on the same day as their participation in my research, while lower grade students may not. This does not cause any trouble for school management or for the students themselves in relation to study time or administrative matters (Table 5.3).

Table 5. 3. Student participants (by gender, grades, and age groups in percentage)

Characteristics	Descriptions					
Gender	Male (46%)			Female (54%)		
Grade	10 (32.5%)		11 (42.2%)		12 (25.2%)	
Age group	14-Year-old (1.5%)	15-Year-old (22.3%)	16-Year-old (28.6%)	17-Year-old (34.5%)	18-Year-old (12.6%)	20-Year-old (0.5%)

The selection of teachers for semi-structured interviews was based primarily and randomly on each principal's referrals, but this does not mean the principals referred me to any one individual; rather, they gave me three contacts and I called individual teachers to discuss their availability and to seek their verbal consent to meet. Although my decision was not to generalise the findings, the use of simple random sampling can, to some extent, ensure the representativeness of the sample. To this end, each one of the teachers currently teaching Moral-Civics education at each of the four schools was chosen to participate in my research. These teachers taught across grades 10 to 12, while two of them used to teach grade 8 before being promoted to teach the final three grades (Table 5.4). Interestingly, their term of teaching experience ranged from 17 to 26 years, which is particularly useful and critical in my research.

Given their lengthy teaching experience, their comments can offer us deeper understandings of the concept of habitus, both at institutional and personal levels. All of the above lends itself to answering one of my specific questions: “What have schools in Cambodia done to make students an informed and active citizenry?”.

Table 5. 4. Teachers’ characteristics at the time of recruitment

Characteristics	Chumpuvoan High School	Phnom Penh Thmey High School	Preah Sisowath High School	Santhormuk High School
Number of teachers	1	1	1	1
Teaching grades	12	8-10	8-12	10-11
Teaching experience	26 years (since 1991)	17 years (since 2001)	23 years (since 1995)	26 years (since 1991)

Given the cultural imperatives of hierarchy in Cambodia, I have always followed the top-down process to facilitate my field entry. Even at school level, I first approached the school principals because they are the first gatekeepers in that setting, and without their consent neither teachers nor students would be willing to participate. On the part of participants, there is a guarantee of protection from school management, thereby making their participation in my study legitimate. In addition, there is a general understanding that the provision of information by participants during this research process may affect their school’s image. Gaining the approval from each school’s principal would lessen participant concerns about discussing possibly sensitive issues and about the time spent in both completing questionnaires and participating in interviews. Having recognised the possible challenges involved in selecting both students and teachers, I first sought the agreement of school principals to let their students and teachers get involved in the research. To deal with this challenge, I used the letter of research endorsement from the Ministry of Education and the Phnom Penh Municipal Department of Education.

I also used the letter giving ethics approval from the University of Melbourne as a passport to my data collection entry, and carefully briefed school principals, students and teachers regarding the aims and nature of the study. In order to make smooth the participation of both teachers and students, the survey, the interviews, and the focus group discussions were all conducted on school campuses out of study time to avoid any clashes; this engendered a feeling of security and trust among participants. In what follows, I detail my data collection tools and how these have been systematically used.

DATA COLLECTION: TOOLS AND PROCESSES

The data in my research were gathered through 4 focus group discussions, involving 20 participants, 4 semi-structured interviews with teachers, and student questionnaires administered to 206 students in grades 10, 11 and 12. In addition, I conducted a critical analysis of the current Moral-Civics curriculum in use across the country (Table 5.6). In the section that follows, I explain what data collection tools are used, and why. A student questionnaire was used to collect information from a total of 206 (two hundred and six) 10th, 11th, and 12th graders.

Table 5. 5. Research tools

Data collection tools	Number of participants
Survey	206
Focus-Group Discussions (FGDs)	20
Semi-structured interviews with teachers	04

Due to the uniformity of schools' curricular—the same curriculum introduced by the Cambodian Ministry of Education is implemented at all schools across the nation—only upper-secondary schools in the city were chosen. The first data collection tool that I used was a survey, the use of which was useful because it allowed me generate an adequate understanding of students' knowledge of the concept of active citizens. The survey also assisted me to learn about some issues that students may not have been able to discuss if they were asked in focus groups, allowing me to gain insights into their perspectives. The answers to the questions in the survey also allowed me to construct a more coherent interview protocol to explore deeper understandings of what students wrote in the questionnaire. In other words, my survey was useful both for gaining a primary understanding of students' backgrounds and as a guide for informed preparation for focus-group discussions in the survey's follow-up. This is one of the benefits of a mixed-methods study; the possibility to feed the methods with each other, as well as the availability of triangulation of the data (Tyler, Cuervo & Wyn, 2011).

All of the questions in the questionnaires were translated into Khmer (the language of Cambodia) because of students limited English proficiency (see the appendices). Although there are different ways to conduct a survey, I chose 'group-administered' since my data collection took place on school campuses. I could save plenty of time and resources in this way, with fifty or more questionnaires distributed to and collected from students in a short

period with a high response rate assured. My presence in the classrooms allowed students to ask questions when in any doubt, ensuring that the questions were answered.

Following the methodological approach that I describe earlier, the following types of interviews were held at each school: (1) focus group discussions with five students (chosen from the 50 who consented to fill in the student questionnaire), and (2) individual interviews with one of the teachers teaching Moral-Civics education in each school, regardless of their teaching grade. A total of 4 teachers who were currently teaching the Moral-Civics subject and 20 students in the sampled grades at the time of the project were interviewed. All interviews took place during school hours and on school campuses which was convenient for both teachers and students in returning to their classes after interview. All the interviews were held in a quiet, formal meeting room that had been booked for this purpose by school principals.

In the second phase, five students from each selected school (20 students) were approached and recruited to join four focus group interviews, following their verbal consent and signed consent from their parent/guardian. To assist me in conducting the discussions, as well as to make the procedures uniform across the four schools, I also developed a protocol with guiding questions (see the appendices). These focus group interviews were conducted the next day, separately from their teachers, enabling the students to use them as an opportunity to raise issues or concerns with a researcher (Reay, 2006a). Focus groups enable a formally-structured group interaction (Morgan, 1997), while making good use of the focus group presupposes a safe environment so that young students in my study are able to freely convey their views and relate their experiences, all within an authorising environment in which perspectives can be discussed (Wilkinson & Birmingham, 2003). To Neuman (2003), focus group discussions can offer critical insights in fields such as youth participation in which varying perspectives are anticipated. To this end, the focus group I conducted aimed to get insights into what these young students understand as a meaningful citizenship practice. That said, the questions in my interview protocol are a two-fold design as they are used to probe into enabling school environment and the readiness of the current curriculum in promoting important values traceable among active citizenry.

Also known as discussion groups or group interviews, focus groups were my choice thanks to their overwhelming strengths, including that they promise to be a source of rich data. Through these group discussions, I gained a deeper understanding of issues from different perspectives; students' comments during these discussions added to my understanding of their knowledge of

citizenship rights. Moreover, this method is a well-organised means of encouraging people, young people included, to share the views which are informed by their actual daily encounters (Yin, 2003). The strengths and importance of focus group interviews have been discussed quite extensively, given students are able to use their own vocabulary for their personal expressions (Andolina et al., 2002; Edwards, 2009). Conducting these focus group interviews, I could capitalise on the untold, everyday stories which reflected these students' perspectives and aspirations; it is these young students themselves who became the central focus of my research. The data from both the student questionnaire and the focus group discussions form the backbone of my discussion about shadow capital and their *illusio* and *doxa* as they relate to citizenship practices in Chapters 6 and 8.

To complement student experience as a form of embedded information, I also conducted semi-structured interviews with four different teachers of Moral-Civics education in the four schools. I sought teachers' voices to gain multiple perspectives (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) in my research, and also to capitalise on their critical position as deliverers of citizenship content to students in classrooms. To guide my interviews, I prepared a list of generic guiding questions (interview protocol) to guarantee consistency across the four interviews, with the questions kept very brief (Huberman & Miles, 1983). These interview protocols were basically written to combine a focus on what was happening inside classrooms with what was happening on school campuses. This approach reflected and accommodated the critical themes that are perceived as informing the discourse and practice of active citizenship, themes that are critical to my research.

By engaging these teachers, I was better informed regarding schools' policies and/or regulations relating to the practice of active citizenship as well as their teaching practices. The teachers' views of both the content of the subject and of schools' citizenship initiatives combined to enable me to work out the relationship between the expressive order in the curriculum and/or school and in actual practice. To get adequate information from these education practitioners, I used an interview schedule which included questions probing the focus and intended outcomes of the subject according to teachers and according to schools' leadership. Both focus group interviews and interviews with teachers were tape-recorded with participants' consent for the purpose of analysis. In addition, to ease both focus-group interviews with students and individual interviews with teachers due to participants limited English proficiency, I also conducted these interviews in Cambodian language, as I did with the student questionnaire.

Finally, the recent Moral-Civics curriculum introduced in 2016 and 2017 was analysed as secondary data, with a focus on the detailed content and proposed teaching methods (which can be traced in the curriculum Foreword written by the curriculum group). The analysis (see detailed discussions in Chapter 3 in this thesis) was done to assess the effectiveness of the curriculum in promoting a sense of citizenship among students. The study of these materials, though not considered as this thesis' major approach, will serve as a triangulating data source to be added to other data from the survey, focus group interviews, and interviews with educators.

DATA ANALYSIS

Several authors argue that there is strong association between selected research strategy and the approaches to data analysis, and this is even more important when the project is informed by a mixed-methods design. Data analysis can be done separately one after another starting with descriptive statistics then with verbal elaboration from qualitative data or in a convergent procedure. Caracelli and Greene (1993) and Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) propose that one of the common strategies in data transformation is the use of concurrent strategy, through which a researcher quantifies qualitative data, and this quantification processes enable the researcher to make comparison between the two data sets effectively. Conversely, the researcher may take an opposite approach in data analysis by first focusing on quantitative information, followed by a process of qualifying that set data. This second approach, argue the authors, is particularly useful in factor analysis.

In my analysis, however, I analysed qualitative and quantitative data separately as my three data chapters are written or guided by different conceptual frameworks. This has implications for the use of themes and text, and number in different means. The two databases were given equal weight in a mean of supporting one another, albeit the design is qualitatively driven. In Chapters 6 and 7, for example, the arguments are built primarily from students' focus groups and teacher interviews, whereas in Chapter 8 both qualitative and quantitative data are interwoven to gain a deeper understanding of students' citizenship doxa and illusio.

For quantitative data, the data from the survey were coded and analysed using SPSS software, despite the goal in conducting the survey being neither to generalise the findings nor to explain any relationships but to describe what was happening within a specific stratum of the whole

population; therefore, the data represented mostly simple descriptive analysis, with frequencies and means being reported.

For qualitative data, after all the data were transcribed, I used NVivo 11 to conduct content analysis, and this was an exploratory-cum-explanatory approach. This allowed me to gain a sound understanding of students' and teachers' experiences of their everyday citizenship practices. The contents were coded based on the priorities used in the questionnaire which referenced the components or attributes making up the practices of active citizenship. For example, students' responses to the focus-group discussions were coded as "I have a say in how school should be run", "I have a chance to represent my school in charity or fund-raising events", "I participated in boycotting a product", or "I signed a petition". In order to critically analyse the data from the focus groups and the one-to-one interviews, I paid full attention to whole statements or exchanges rather than analysing them through a line-by-line approach. Charmaz and Mitchell (2001) recommend this strategy and specifically warn that numerous possible interpretations of the data may be prevalent if serious considerations are not taken by the researcher. Because I also use theories as a conceptual lens, this strategy creates an organic data-cum-theory relationship (Smyth et al., 2006) in that it not only allows me to intertwine my analysis with the theories but also makes it possible for the data to enhance my theorising. In so doing, I can deal with the imposition of a conceptual apparatus upon the data or the generation of concepts and typologies solely from the data itself (Brannen and Nilsen, 2005).

In analysing the data, I have undertaken a cross-case analysis which involves two processes: (1) a cross-analysis of all 'like' interviews which grouped and then compared all students' interviews, and all teacher interviews; and (2) a cross-analysis of the broad themes and responses emerging from each case study school. This was facilitated by the earlier analysis of all interviews within each school based on the four aspects of active citizenship practices, conceptual frameworks, and emerging themes. After I finished individual analysis of the cases, I continued to conduct a cross-case analysis. To this end, I constantly compared the responses through the utility of descriptive matrices (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In addition, I kept this process so that I could identify certain categories that emerged from the initial procedures (that is, coding and classifying) (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In so doing, I could create themes and patterns useful for analysing not only personal but also social aspects of participants' experiences (Gubrium & Sankar, 1994).

By using an open coding approach, I could generate an initial or provisional set of codes from my review of the research literature, the priorities, and conceptual frameworks. As my analysis continued, I was able to group these initial codes into conceptual clusters (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). These clusters were developed in line with Bourdieu's three theoretical frameworks: shadow capital, institutional habitus, and doxa and illusio (employed respectively in Chapters 6, 7 and 8). My intention was that these clusters would yield further sets of codes, and, practically, they proved resilient throughout my data analysis processes. This can be arguably explained by my critical literature reviews that provided a strong basis for the early identification of key themes and discourses in relation to young people's conception of citizenship and schooling.

As for content analysis of current citizenship education, I conducted a rigorous analysis of the current citizenship textbooks in the three target grades (10, 11 and 12) published by the Ministry of Education in 2016 and 2017. To do this, I first identify the existing contents and the length of each lesson for the critical work of each lesson. The themes and critical focus of each lesson in each grade are presented in the three tables in Chapter 3, which later were critically discussed against prominent literatures on citizenship education. Such rigorous analyses are significant in our understanding of Cambodian students' position and their aspirations which are the results of both classroom teaching and school environment.

CONCLUSION

As one of the important chapters in any research project, this chapter has provided detailed information and explanation of processes regarding the design of the entire project as well as outlining how datasets were collected. The first section of the chapter offered comprehensive information regarding my ontological and epistemological standpoints that shaped the whole research design. I have explained how my understanding of the cultural backdrop matters in a research project, and how it shaped my perspectives and the choice of appropriate design.

Further explanation of my pragmatic approach to this research project has been offered in the section entitled "My entry to fieldwork" which detailed the processes prior to my physical presence at each of the case study schools. In this section, I illustrated step-by-step how I dealt with the extant cultural imperatives so that I was permitted to execute the project. These discussions included not only the protocol I adhered to in order to get approval from the University of Melbourne, but also the permissions from different gatekeepers in Cambodia

(that is, the Ministry of Education, the Municipal Department of Education, and the school principals of the four schools). This offered the readers not only an explanation of my pragmatic approach as a researcher, but a precursory understanding of Cambodia's sociocultural context that is dominated by hierarchy.

A mixed-method approach became my choice thanks to the nature of the research project and its research questions. The interplay between the primary data collected and the use of Bourdieu's conceptual frameworks predisposed to this mixed-method design which enabled me to tap into students' and teachers' experiences of citizenship practices both objectively and subjectively.

Finally, discussion of my research techniques gave detailed descriptions of my sampling strategies, the selection of case study sites, the recruitment of research participants, data collections tools and processes, and data analysis. As illustrated, a combination of different sampling logics was employed in such a way that the desired datasets were collected; hence, a purposive sampling method was adopted to select the four schools, whereas clustering and random sampling strategies were used to select classes, grades, students, and teachers. Data collection tools and step-by-step processes to collect data were also discussed and justified in accordance with the research design. The student questionnaire, focus-group discussions with students, interviews with teachers, and content analysis of current citizenship education were explained, drawing on related research methodology literature.

In the three consecutive chapters (6, 7 and 8) that follow, I discuss the findings that result from this research design, with the analysis and arguments drawing on primarily empirical data, except the content analysis of current citizenship curriculum which is a secondary data. As stated in Chapters 1 and 2, these data are analysed through Bourdieu's conceptual frameworks to get a nuanced understanding of youth-cum-citizenship education and practices.

CHAPTER 6: MORAL-CIVICS EDUCATION THROUGH THE LENS OF SHADOW CAPITAL

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the role of Moral-Civics Education (Citizenship Education) in young Cambodians' understanding of citizenship. The arguments in this chapter relate particularly to the overarching research question, "How do schools in Cambodia prepare students to be informed and to be active citizens?" To address this issue, the chapter explores the current form and content of Moral-Civics education in Cambodian schools.

It also aims to answer one of the four subsidiary questions: "What are the current form and content of Citizenship Education?" To address both the overarching and subsidiary questions, I first briefly discuss the development of Cambodia's education system alongside regime shifts. Specifically, I discuss citizenship education in post-colonial Cambodia, focusing on the values underpinning Cambodia's education system. In the remainder of the chapter, I analyse the empirical data through the lens of shadow capital by first discussing the components of cultural capital in its objectified form. Next, I explore more elements of shadow capital, focusing on the curriculum offerings in relation to the contradiction between cultural capital and students' lived experience, the cultural imperatives of conformity and passivity, the practices of well-behaved citizens, and the practices of bribery and corruption.

Next, I discuss schools' organisational practices, including the role of teachers in implementing the curriculum, as well as schools' arrangements in relation to the delivery of the content. Finally, the chapter ends with discussion of the complexities of students' citizenship dispositions. Through the synthesis of the very elements of Moral-Civics Education and the responses in students' narratives, this chapter captures both sides of the civics education program, exploring concepts of both reproduction and transformation.

The discussion in this chapter draws exclusively on my interviews with students through focus group discussions, with all student names used in this chapter being pseudonyms to ensure data authenticity. I conclude the chapter by emphasising the concept of cultural transformation. Students' citizenship aspirations can be subject to the imperatives of Moral-Civics education, but these aspirations are also understood to be shaped and reshaped by their lived experience and by social change.

EDUCATION IN POST-COLONIAL CAMBODIA

My research is contextually situated within the field of Cambodia's Moral-Civics Education curriculum. It is therefore useful to provide first a thumbnail sketch of the historical development of this curriculum, while Chapter 3 will examine the current state of this curriculum in detail. Bourdieu's concept of the education field offers a powerful relational framework through which I am able to examine the social positions of the four sampled schools in my case study. I begin this section with a brief narrative of Cambodia's post-colonial education vision—the education system as a field underpinned by nationalism. Both Bourdieu (2005) and Thomson (2008) comment that albeit a society is informed and shaped by various social fields (e.g. economic or political among others), education can exert its great influence on social order due to its power of human-created beliefs and ideology. In this way, this socialization institution rationalizes the rules of the field of behaviour (Bourdieu, 2005; Thomson, 2008). These beliefs make visible the unwritten rules and logic that shape everyday practice both on school campuses and in wider social contexts.

As pointed out by Turner (2017), the post-war and post-colonial eras was associated with the increasing focus on citizens' social rights elsewhere; in Asia, however, national citizenship already had great momentum before that and the trend continued. Turner (2017) notes that the debate on 'social citizenship' and the welfare state, namely the social rights associated with the (British) welfare state—the rights to health care, education, social security, and so forth—has not, unfortunately, paid sufficient attention to what we might call 'national citizenship, that is, citizenship as a political identity associated with state-building and the forging of a nation. National citizenship has often thrived on the back of ethno-nationalism as the ideological cement holding modern societies together.

As Turner (2017) points out, to create national citizenship modern states employed a variety of reforms such as the modernisation of the military, the development of a universal education system, the construction of a national religion, legislation on gender equality, and the imposition of general taxation to create a common national identity. Turner's views on Asian citizenship are characterised primarily by the concept of state building and the importance of nation and nationalism as cultural projects. Like its central European counterparts in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, national citizenship was handed down by states that were involved in modernisation and state building projects (Turner, 2017). For Bourdieu, education

is crucially important, as one of the socialization institutions, channel that a system can use to promote values and norms that underpin social order. In this respect, Bourdieu (1973) argues, the transmission of intended cultural capital can be possible through the undeniably critical role that education system can play. In Bourdieu's views, social space is divided into two fields, education and politics but he also notes that political field seems to have a more spilt over effect on other important fields, and there is no exception to education. I also argued earlier in this thesis that Cambodian political contexts (that is, different regimes in Cambodian history) have had immense impacts on education vision as well as the ideologies in curriculum. Bourdieu (1973) continues however that although politics has shaped education system in relation to the education vision, it does not seem that it is the only guiding field.

Historically, civics and moral education in Cambodia, as subjects in school curricula, has regarded as a political instrument used by Cambodian leaders to make people realise their political point of views (Tan, 2007). Clayton (2005) argues that during the last 40 years of regime changes, between 1953 and 1993, governments used education to promote specific clusters of ideas associated with the inculcation of a vision, attitude or consciousness, which became the hallmark of moral-civics education.

In Cambodia, the education system in the post-colonial era has been shaped by values pertinent to each regime's vision. The education system under the Khmer Rouge regime, for example, had two goals: (1) to build a socialist state in all fields in four years; and (2) to make the country economically independent. Education, therefore, was devised to equip students with a strong political consciousness and appreciation of the glories of Kampuchean socialism, recognition of the danger represented by neighbouring Viet Nam, and, finally, a commitment to self-reliance and hard work (Clayton, 2005; Dy and Ninomiya, 2003).

Later, the post-Khmer Rouge government, with support from the socialist bloc, devised their education system to transmit their political ideology. Schools during this regime, therefore, served as the leaders' channel to reinforce the ideology of hatred towards their enemy (Dy and Ninomiya, 2003). Hagai et al. (2017) report that the post-Khmer Rouge education goals were to enhance Marxist-Leninist ideology and the reintroduction of 'neo-Khmerisation-cum-Vietnamisation' while the country was under the influence of communist ideology. Researchers argued that education in the early 1980s served as a political tool to engender support for the new government from the public following the collapse of the Khmer Rouge,

as well as to unify the survivors of the genocidal regime (Okada, 1998). Education in Cambodia in the 1980s was viewed as the technology of power and propaganda to legitimise the government amidst the denial of its legitimacy by the United Nations who interpreted the presence of Vietnamese soldiers on Cambodian soil as invasion rather than invitation (Hagai et al. 2017).

Although Cambodia has maintained a form of liberal governance since 1993, the government still exercises a great deal of power in deciding how the education system functions; it closely monitors and censors the content of the curriculum. One example of this is the absence of any teaching of the history of Democratic Kampuchea in Cambodian high schools. Williams (2009) once argued that the in-depth content related to Khmer Rouge regime was not allowed to be included in history curriculum in Cambodian schools in 2007. Arguably, the rejection was politically motivated, reflecting the government's desire to reinforce Buddhist doctrines of social harmony, or, possibly, to bury the (tragic) past to safeguard the government's vested interests.

In Cambodia, the government of each regime had its own vision of building a nation state founded on the concept of Khmerisation, a state of Khmer nationalism free of outside interference, a legitimate government. What is discussed in this section signifies what Bourdieu calls the 'field of power' ascribed to Cambodian governments in different regimes. To put it simply, an education system is historically understood as a defined social space occupied by collectives of people (including the leaders of each regime) (Bourdieu, 2005). What successive Cambodian governments had in common was the use of the education system to legitimise their institutionalised authority in the name of nation-building and unity, capitalising on the concept of national citizenship. Civics education and the education system in general were used as an instrument to legitimise government authority and to shape citizens' behaviour.

My discussion in the sections that follow further advances the application of the concept of field to analyse Moral-Civics education in Cambodia, drawing on the concepts of capital, habitus, and shadow capital.

AN OBJECTIFIED FORM OF CULTURAL CAPITAL IN MORAL-CIVICS EDUCATION

I have indicated in the introductory chapter that I would use Bourdieu's theoretical frameworks in data chapters to make nuanced understandings of the data and young Cambodian students' experiences of citizenship practices in schools. In this first data chapter, I am using shadow capital to do the analysis. Replicating cultural capital, shadow capital can be superficially perceived to comprise the same elements as its dominant form. As Cipollone and Stich (2017) point out, the word 'shadow' signifies the illusory nature of this form of capital; it appears as the dominant form, but its composition differs greatly. In addition, shadow capital is produced via social processes that reproduce efforts to stratify rather than democratise, thwarting or capping active citizenship values.

Bourdieu conceived of cultural capital as existing in three, interrelated states: embodied (dispositions and tastes, for example), objectified (material or cultural goods, for instance) and institutionalized (such as educational credentials), with the embodied form requiring prolonged exposure, inculcation and internalisation (Bourdieu 1986). As my work (curriculum analysis and interviews with students) illustrates, there is evidence of how Moral-Civics education offers a form of objectified cultural capital without appropriating the same cultural capital (that is, what is stated in ministries of education visions) in an embodied form.

My analysis of the current Moral-Civics Education curriculum suggests that the cultural capital to be transmitted is superficially packed in themes, yet shallow in insights. Its objectified form (vision and objectives) is falsely constructed, because in grades 10, 11 and 12 the same three chapters and the same themes appear (Human Values, the Culture of Peace, and Community involvement), all of which offer only facts. Among the three grades, similarities exist in the organisation of the chapters and lessons. Moral-Civics Education in grade 10 comprises half of the content of the grades 11 and 12 curriculum, with only 17 lessons divided into 3 chapters and 5 or 6 lessons in each chapter. This can be understood as the grade 10 curriculum being part of an integrated curriculum under the title 'Social Studies', with Moral-Civics Education in grade 10 serving as an introduction before students encounter more detailed content in grades 11 and 12. In grades 11 and 12 the curriculum is double in terms of length: 35 and 36 lessons respectively.

Interestingly, all the lessons across these three grades introduce each main theme in their first few pages—between 5 and 7 pages. There is a total of 28 pages covering six lessons in chapter 1 for 10th graders, for example, with each of the lessons occupying approximately 5 pages (4.66 pages per lesson), whereas in chapter 2 each of the lessons takes up to 7 pages (6.88 pages per lesson). The same is found in grade 12 where all the 11 lessons in the first chapter cover only 62 pages (5.6 pages per lesson), in the second chapter 72 pages for 13 lessons (5.53 pages per lesson), and in the last chapter 64 pages for 12 lessons (5.33 pages per lesson). Although the quality of each lesson is not dependent on its length, complex topics that would justify having a chapter spent on them are dismissed within a few pages. This is perceived in an objectified form. Bourdieu (1986) points out that though the appropriation of particular forms of cultural capital (such as objectified, material forms) may only require economic capital, further appropriation (to use that object in its intended way, for example) requires access to embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986).

Shadow capital is made visible through the focus group interviews I undertook with students who reflected on the quantity of the themes and their lack of quality. Based on their comments regarding curriculum content, it is argued that the curriculum offerings are not rigorous. In addition, the lessons lack a critical focus although there is considerable coverage of different topics. There is a lesson on law and government institutions, for instance, but students are given only an introduction to the law, with nothing beyond the facts. The curriculum encourages ‘rehearsal’ (rote learning) with a shallow focus on meaning, thus failing to produce the intended results (that is, possessing a sound knowledge about rights, the roles of active citizens or elements of rule of law). Two students, Darith and Chhum, referred to a lack of the depth and breadth in the lessons, as well as the paucity of information from the lessons:

Lessons have a strong focus on laws but no critical focus. The objectives are to make us realise that laws and constitution exist, know what election is, and how to vote. Moreover, the age at which a person can vote is also a focus, and the roles of members of the parliament in the development of community (Darith, Chumpu Voan High School).

For a 10th grader like me, it is never enough even though I continue to study this subject in the next two years; there are more other contents (Chhum, Phnom Penh Thmey High School).

The expressions from Darith and Chhum clearly indicate the simplistic contents in the lessons they are learning. As expressed, they seem to understand that each of the lesson aims to merely raise their awareness, for example, of the existence of national elections and of the country's constitution. They are not provided with sophisticated details of the topics nor are they taught to critically discuss the issues pertaining to the procedures of these democratic processes. Darith has a critical assessment of this oversimplified contents as he used the word 'realise' in his comments, underscoring this loophole. To Chhum, as a 10th grader, his assessment is related to the insufficient contents in this grade. On the positive side, he seems to understand that there is too much to cover. On the minus side, his assessment is likely related to the modification of the contents because there is much more information that is not covered in his grade.

Given the very few pages of compelling facts in each lesson, there is scepticism that students can be adequately informed about the application of democratic values in a transitional liberal democratic nation. What students are intended to learn from this curriculum is in 'objectified forms'—that is, it exists only in the vision and objectives of the curriculum. The lack of rigour means that the curriculum is unlikely to embody the notion of political literacy (in my thesis, the embodiment of citizenship), to borrow Crick's term. Crick (2000) argues that politically literate students can capitalise on both skills and knowledge they cultivated in school to enable them to act as a social agent who can exert influence on the government. Such students are able to apply knowledge to solve conflicts and make sound decisions pertinent to the main economic and social problems of the day, informing each individual's expectation of and preparation for the world of employment, and enabling discussion about the allocation of public resources and the rationale for taxation (Crick, 2000). Student's critical assessment of the curriculum, I argue, is underpinned by shadow capital. By this I mean that the students have 'unofficial' knowledge of civics and citizenship in Cambodia, which they draw from their lived experience, from their peers, or from voluntary activities in which they are involved. Any lack of rigour on their part is simply about not understanding the basics of government. One of the students, Chhorvy, said:

We also study about the three branches of government, but I am not sure of the relation among the three branches (Chhorvy, Santhormuk High School).

My interviews with students also reveal that the form of capital to be transmitted is modified, making it more illusory. This is confirmed by my discussion of the absence of some content in history subjects earlier in this chapter. In focus group discussions, the shortcomings of the content are acknowledged by both Reaksa and Oudom who expressed their doubts about the veracity of the Cambodian history they were being taught:

I think the content included so far are enough, but I wish that more lessons relating to history be included because some of the lessons lack information relating to kings in the past. I wish every lesson would be more detailed. Sometimes, I think the lessons lack truth (Reaksa, Santhormuk High School).

There are a lot of issues in Cambodia... poverty, deforestation, and Cambodian history—maybe the modification of history (Oudom, Chumpu Voan High School).

The comments from Reaksa and Oudom here also confirm what I have argued in the preceding quotes, in which Chhum questions the modification of the contents. As commented by Reaksa and Oudom, there is a general acknowledgment that the information in their lessons result from the cut-and-paste process. This signifies the underlying intention to teach a particular thing in a particular way, to borrow Bourdieu's term, which had happened in Cambodia's education system since the post-colonial period as I argued in the beginning of this chapter.

While the Moral-Civics curriculum is introduced to inculcate some more tangible elements of citizenship through the teaching of history, it is unable to bridge the gap between what is being taught to students and what individuals are experiencing in their daily lives. In other words, the lessons the students are learning lack authenticity for them; for example, there are stark contrasts between what the Ministry of Education wishes to instil in students and the structural barriers that have long existed in Cambodia's illusory 'liberal democracy'. While students experience racism, discrimination and inequality in everyday life, the curriculum in all the three grades attempts to minimise, if not deny, social or class discrimination, such discrimination and class polarisation remaining pervasive as inequality widens. Two students, Vicheth and Simorn, affirm this:

I have learnt about discrimination in our society because people today discriminate against different races, and they do not give value to individuals (Vicheth, Preah Sisowath High School).

I have learnt about Morals in people's daily lives such as the communications between us and other people, among our family members in order to become good children in the family (Simorn, Preah Sisowath High School).

The unease felt by the above students illustrates the distance between young people's 'shadow' knowledge of their world and the content of the curriculum as an embodiment of certain desired values. Importantly, the students' ability to possess and accumulate various amounts and forms of capital is associated with their habitus and their positioning relative to opportunity structures (Bourdieu, 1990). Following Bourdieu, an individual's habitus is formed and internalised early in life through socialisation in family and group membership; it can be either reinforced or transformed through further socialisation within different social institutions, like education (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

In this section, I have conceptualised how shadow capital is presented in the Moral-Civics Education curriculum. I illustrate what is understood as shadow capital through the concept of cultural capital in an objectified form—that is, a lengthy curriculum with various themes, all lacking rigour. The section below captures other elements of shadow capital, pointing out the contradictions between what is taught and what is being practised.

THE CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM AND LIVED EXPERIENCE

Components of shadow cultural capital mimic those of cultural capital as it is defined by the Ministry of Education, yet my research reveals how the intended outcomes of the institutionalised curriculum are unlikely to reflect reality. In this section, I illustrate how the cultural capital the students acquire from school contradicts their everyday experience.

Normative citizenship values

Cambodian Moral-Civics education is designed, to some extent, to reinforce both a sense of loyalty to the state and citizens' obligations and responsibilities. The content tends to emphasise citizens' responsibilities and obligations instead of that of the state. This is reflected through a student's comments. Citizens are subject to law enforcement for their wrongdoings, yet they are expected to fulfil significant social obligations, despite these 'obligations' being government's responsibility. Some students commented on this issue:

The subject focuses on men's and women's rights, respects towards the old and those with higher social status. Some of the lessons are concerned over politics; we study about the relation between citizens and state; for example, if one does something wrong, he will be imprisoned based on the law, I think, this relates to politics. We also study about constitution, gender, parliamentary elections, the selection of community representatives and family issues (Chhorda, Chumpu Voan High School).

I think obeying the traffic law means a citizen contributes to the development of the society and that also means he respects the others (Poch, Santhormuk High School).

The comments from both Chhorda and Poch are associated with the fact that there is a traditional view of citizenship; that is, citizens are obliged to be under state's control. It is noteworthy that there is an evolving concept of citizenship values geared towards an individual's rights-cum-responsibility, the values that post-modern society tries to balance the two in leu of the emphasis on each. However, the comments from these students clearly indicate that individual's responsibilities, and students are educated to embody this value.

As a cultural imperative, Cambodian citizens are presupposed to be good citizens who obey the law, respect parents and older people, do not engage in discrimination and racism, live peacefully together, and offer a helping hand to those in need. Despite this, double standards are apparent in everyday practices of Cambodians and state institutions. As illustrated in students' responses above, while students are taught to always obey traffic laws, luxury cars dominate the roads, disregarding traffic laws, with luxurious cars having priority. In daily life, the use of plate numbers (registration numbers) clearly reflects the social divide, as the expensive cars and those of the elite are identified by unique or special registration numbers

that costs thousands of dollars (for instance, 2AA-7777 or 2AA-9999), a fact that seems to normalise wealthy road users' dubious behaviours. There is a general acceptance of such practice in Cambodia as evidenced by the availability of different formats of registration number (e.g. the registration for state, senate, national assembly, police, and expensive private registrations). The use of these various types of vehicle registration is associated with ascribed statuses and authorities on Cambodian roads. In this way, students are concerned with double standards in society, standards that lead to the erosion of a democratic and fair society. Further, as Chakrya and Reaksa explain, students are aware of discrimination, and they feel this should not happen.

I have learnt about social class discrimination; our society experiences social class divide, the lack of mutual understanding (Chakrya, Preah Sisowath High School).

For me, I can remember the study about human rights and different forms of discrimination in our society, including poverty and races. I myself experienced being discriminated against because of poverty and my skin complexion (Reaksa, Santhormuk High School).

At the core of students' comments in this section is an acknowledgment of social and racial divisions in society. While the curriculum content points to some of these divisions, as well as teaching how politics and society should work, students' comments point to entrenched inequalities, including some that impact on their daily lives. Chakrya's and Reaksa's expressions not only emphasise the perceived contradiction of what they are learning and what they observed but also exemplify their personal experience of a form of discrimination of being poor. Their comments both serve as solid evidence of existing social divide and confirm the effects of ascribed social status as I argued above.

The practices of passivity and compliance

An analysis of the impact of Moral-Civics education in Cambodia requires recognition of the way in which the Buddhist religion permeates Cambodian culture. Cambodian society is characterised by concepts of forgiveness and living in harmony, with a cultural preference for passivity and conformity. These mixed cultural and social imperatives have been historically and socially rooted in Cambodia, arguably through the practices of Buddhism. The long history

of the influence of Buddhism is evidenced in the nation's national anthem, '*Nokoreach*' (Royal Kingdom), written by a Khmer intellectual and venerable monk *Choun Nath*.

Songs rise up from the pagodas. To the glory of the holy Buddhist faith. Let us be faithful to our ancestors' belief. Thus heaven will lavish its bounty; Towards the ancient Khmer country, the Moha Nokor [Khmer Empire, translation added by the author].

Implied by this mix of characteristics is that attempts to embody democratic values—participation in decision making, questioning the rulers, expressing dissent, or even providing constructive feedback—are deemed significantly challenging because this means challenging long-standing traditional views. Buddhism reinforces the state's lack of responsibility, with all society's problems ascribed to individual behaviours—for example, they are poor because they did not do many good things in their past lives. In other words, the Buddhist philosophy can individualise problems that have a structural root. On the one hand, while such beliefs cause Cambodians to share what they can afford with those in need—the practice of a culture of 'Khmer helps Khmer'—on the other hand they disguise the absence of social welfare. Cambodians are taught not to challenge the system, allowing the current challenging conditions to persist for decades.

In terms of social welfare, the notion of resource distribution is conceived as happening at an individual instead of institutional level. Its application is thus short-lived as well as less effective. In another instance, if a person achieves only a low level of education, they need to do more good things or buy bigger candles to light in the pagodas, as the candlelight represents knowledge. This is a concern as such beliefs come from something inexplicable or abstract. Not linking their poor education to the poor quality of the education on offer, to lack of government support, or to the inaccessibility of the education system, parents and young adults consider the failures to be the result of their own mistakes and of 'karma' [bad outcomes from previous lives in Buddhism]. As reinforced social norms dominate, Cambodians do not see that the absence of social welfare results from social structures, instead attributing it to their own fate or destiny. Taking advantage of this belief, the state tries to embody Buddhist practices not only to legitimise its power but also to avoid responsibility as a welfare state.

In the grade 11 curriculum approximately two-thirds (Chapters 1 and 2 of the three chapters) of the textbooks are dominated by the teachings of Buddhism, the first chapter all Buddhism and the practices of other religions in the second chapter. The precepts of Buddhism, the concepts of self-dependence, forgiveness and right thinking, are grouped together as Human Values in chapter one, whereas in chapter two the discussion about the origins of different religions, pagodas and monks in Cambodian society, about different religions in the world, and about religious practices in today's society are introduced to reinforce a Culture of Peace. Chhorda's comment highlights this practice, explaining that helping people to live harmoniously together is one of the curriculum's aims.

Most of the lessons in this subject focus mainly on social relationship, how to live with others, especially the way of living in harmony among the majority and the minority groups. The contents aim at helping people to live happily together regardless of races, living without discrimination, loving one another, sharing, and as brother and sisterhood (Chhorda, Chumpu Voan High School).

As Chhorda expressed, living happily together with other fellow citizens is what it means as culture of peace by the curriculum, which is a traditional view of this notion. The teaching of culture of peace is by no means linked to the concept of global citizenship, which is one of the weaknesses. Furthermore, such a teaching is intentionally aimed to reinforce the prevalent views of getting along with the ruler and those in authority, as it is geared towards keeping good relationship at personal level.

The exclusive discussion of Buddhism and other religious practices in grades 11 and 12 aims to educate students about the culture of peace in more positive terms, while at the same time conveying the notion of conformity, passivity and good character. The responses from all the focus-group discussions across the four sampled schools illustrate that the curriculum explicitly embraces objectives of character education; yet in their everyday lives, students experience a different reality. Law enforcement is arbitrary, and the law is generally biased towards the executive branch, security forces, and both leading politicians and entrepreneurs (Bertelsmann Stiftung's Transformation Index, 2018; World Bank, 2003). Two students, Dara and Lany, recall how the curriculum emphasises well-rounded citizens without connection to the state's responsibilities in achieving such citizens, for citizens need to become civilised not only

through education, that is, character education, but also through the work of state institutions guided by law enforcement.

Most of the lessons are concerned with the daily Morals (how to greet people or show respect). We study about the values of our behaviours. People themselves are all racists towards each other and that's what made the whole nation worse; Only those who are rich have the most rights to do anything, I mean everything is all possible for those who have money even the law can't break them; and there are so many homeless people on the street, so hopefully, someday I will no longer see them on streets but somewhere else because it really breaks my heart as I am also a human being (Dara, Santhormuk High School).

All the lessons just want to make us become good citizens (the lessons I have learnt). But I never realise how difficult to be real active and good citizens (Lany, Phnom Penh Thmey High School).

Dara's and Lany's comments signify the social foreground of injustice in law courts that I argued in Chapter 4, in which the notion of justice is associated with the amount of money given to the court by winning party. To these two students, embracing morally good values is what they must do although they realise the unfairness between those who are rich and those who are advantaged.

What is illustrated here is the disconnectedness between the elements of normative citizenship (that is, showing respect and abiding by the law) in their lessons and their daily life experiences. The teaching of the value of respect and the practices of good citizens is far from their reality; *formal* socialisation (that is, schooling) is not reflected in *informal* socialisation processes (that is, lived experiences).

Bribery and corruption

Although bribery and corruption are common social ills in Cambodian society, the questions in my focus group protocol did not seek to probe for information relating to these practices; however, these forms of social ill were identified in my literature review (Chapters 2 and 4) and through students' reflections on their lessons. My brief discussion here reflects the content

of the curriculum and the literature review in order to illustrate that what is included in the curriculum (such as lessons on anti-corruption) and what is taught are illusory, and students are aware of this. To obtain a certificate of birth or marriage to enable the issue of an ID card, for example, it is customary to pay the relevant officials, in addition to the prescribed fees set by the government. Failure to pay officials results in a long waiting time and unnecessary additional requests to correct mistakes in their application forms. Since the parliamentary elections in 2013, many people have experienced a worsening of petty corruption in the form of informal fees for most public services (Bertelsmann Stiftung's Transformation Index, 2018).

On school campuses, corruption takes the form of collection of money by teachers from students. This can take different forms, ranging from in-class private tutoring (during regular teaching hours) to teachers selling lessons and exam papers. If students do not pay, they risk repeating the grade (Tan, 2004; World Bank, 2005; MoEYS, 2004a; MoEYS & UNICEF, 2005). According to Transparency International (2018), Cambodia is ranked 161st (of 180 countries) with a score of 20 out of 100, with the anti-corruption institution's capacity, governance and role performance scores for Cambodia being 31, 29 and 42 out of 100 respectively—the scores for weak and moderate institutions. The comments from Nyta, Ramin and Virya indicate that they are aware of corrupt practices:

There is a lesson on discrimination against social classes, aiming at eliminating discrimination of the powerful towards the powerless. Thus, the lesson teaches students to realise the concept of equal rights (Nyta, Chumpu Voan High School).

For me, lesson on anti-corruption or anti-bribery is the one I like the most. The lesson aims at rooting out corruption (Ramin, Santhormuk High School).

There is widespread corruption in Cambodia; bad environment (for example, rubbish in public places); drug trafficking and deforestation (Virya, Chumpu Voan High School)

Based on their comments, the students have a critical assessment of what is causing distress to them and other Cambodians. They seem to acknowledge that social polarization (the powerful and the powerless; the rich and the poor) and wide-spread corruption exist. In addition, Virya's expression of the current issues (e.g. drug trafficking, corruption, deforestation) is attributed to

the poor system to contain these issues. Their choice of the words ‘eliminate or root out’ is very straightforward, thereby reflecting their extreme anxiety and their wish to get rid of the issues mentioned.

As illustrated, the concept of shadow capital is reflected in the contradictions between students’ lived experiences and the lessons learnt in school. The lessons in the curriculum aim to directly educate students to become responsible citizens, focusing on acceptable behaviours and good practices. In the next section, I apply the concept of habitus to add to our understanding of the prevalence of shadow capital in schools.

THE FAÇADE OF CONTENT DELIVERY

Given the introduction of shadow capital into schooling, it is useful to look at how teachers negotiate their teaching practice. The interplay among field, habitus and capital offers space for further explanation in that all positions in a field keep evolving thanks to the competition between autonomous and heteronomous forces (Bourdieu, 1973). In this sense, a teacher’s teaching practice is shaped by these two forces and subject to their habitus, resulting in different outcomes. My arguments in this section reaffirm the existence of shadow capital through organisational practices, for cultural capital in its embodied form is the most productive form compared with others. Bourdieu (1986) indicates that though the appropriation of certain forms of cultural capital (such as objectified, material forms) may only require economic capital, further appropriation (that is, using that object in its intended way) requires its embodied form. Reay, David and Ball (2005) expand Bourdieu’s notion of habitus by arguing that social institutions also embody identifiable habituses, while McDonough (1997) refers to these forms of habitus as ‘institutional habitus’ or ‘organisational habitus’ (p.107). Burke, Emmerich and Ingram (2013) also argue that social institutions (e.g. schools) can have direct footprints on the formation of habitus among any individuals who have interactions with them, and this can occur through these institutions’ shared norms and values. In relation to the very elements of Moral-Civics curriculum, institutional habitus encompasses not only curricular and extracurricular offerings and practices but also components of school culture (Tarabini and Curran, 2018). As the discussion of institutional habitus based on the perspectives of teachers is expanded in Chapter 7, my arguments here primarily focus on the role of teaching methods in content delivery.

The issue of the quality of teacher education and teacher qualifications in Cambodia arises here, with inadequate teacher education frequently identified as a major hurdle in content delivery (Asian Development Bank, 2015; UNICEF & MoEYS, 2005). Those who wish to become primary school teachers should complete compulsory basic education (that is, lower secondary school qualification) and another 2 years of pedagogical training at either Provincial Teacher Training Centres (PTTCs) or Regional Teacher Training Centres (RTTCs) (World Bank, 2015). Teachers of Moral-Civics education are usually those who formerly taught either history or geography. This is firstly because of a shortage of teachers in Moral-Civics Education, and secondly because Moral-Civics Education is viewed as part of a bigger umbrella, 'social studies', which includes geography, history, moral-civics education and home economics. A social studies teacher is therefore assumed to be capable of teaching one or more of the other subjects (UNICEF & MoEYS, 2005).

As Dy and Ninomiya (2003) illustrate, mostly teachers were not ready to teach the subjects they are required to teach, because they are not prepared to do so, which may be recognized both as an ad hoc appointment and as the shortage of human resources. These authors further indicate that as few as one-fourth of the teaching staff are pedagogically trained to teach the subject for which they are responsible. These institutionalised practices have serious implications for the delivery of content to achieve significant outcomes. As argued earlier in this chapter, education as a social influence can be understood by tracing its historical legacy which may have immense impact on its operation (Bourdieu, 2005). Cambodia's education system has historically been shaped by other sub-fields, mainly by political fields, and, because political shifts have been characterised by tragic changes and destruction, education has faced multiple challenges in both financial and human resources.

These constraints have significantly affected teachers' ability to implement the existing curriculum for a desired outcome. Classroom methodology has yet to promote critical inquiry through mechanisms such as peaceful debate; nor are there classroom discussions to encourage critical thinking. Secondary education in Cambodia has been customarily associated with large class sizes, lack of materials, and adherence to traditional teaching methods. Tan (2008) notes that the teaching of moral-civics' values in Cambodian schools largely depends on designated materials, not beyond, and there seems to be little, if not at all, connection between provisional information and reality. Veacha and Rany both comment on how they have been taught:

In my class, my teacher reviews the previous lesson; then, he lets us answer the questions in the lesson, which we have done in the previous class; we do this in a whole class. We then copy all the questions and answers he has given to us. We have never had any group discussions (Veacha, Preah Sisowath High School).

Honestly, my teacher gives us questions to answer but later he simply answers the questions. It is not like what I want. Even though he asks us to work in groups, there is nothing new. I want to do it differently. He asks us to copy the lesson from the whiteboard, making us bored. I want discussions (Rany, Santhormuk High School).

As Veacha and Rany mentioned, teachers in their classrooms still practice traditional teaching method by asking students to copy answers to the end-of-the lesson questions. The students are also required to copy the provided answers, and they are not given any chance to discuss the answers or to go beyond the answers that can be easily found in the texts. Although there are some discussions, as commented by Rany, these are not productive, not least because they are simply working in groups to find the answers straightaway in the texts. In a worse scenario, the students are even required to copy the lessons from the whiteboard. This is probably the case because not every student has a book; a teacher who participated in my study also commented on this issue. Some students cannot afford the textbooks for their study, and neither can they borrow the books from the under-resourced school library.

The tight framing of the field of moral-civics education in Cambodia stifles debate and critical thinking in classrooms, in end-of-lesson checks, and in exams. In classrooms, students almost never have a chance to engage in discussion or debate, or to ask questions extensively, or to link their society's issues with the themes in lessons with their teachers,—the culture of peaceful dialogue—so when it comes to real life, people tend to use violence for problem-solving purposes—the culture of non-negotiation. The curriculum emphasises reciting or copying the lessons. Chhorda and Oudom explain how this works:

For me from other schools, students are asked to read the new lesson first; then, the teacher starts to explain key terms both in the title and in the whole text. He then lets students copy the meanings of those words to prevent us from forgetting. In the next class, he will ask questions relating to these meanings (Chhorda, Chumpu Voan High School).

In my class, my teacher gives us between 5 to 15 minutes to ask questions relating to the new lesson before he starts. He does not attempt to answer questions immediately. If we cannot answer the questions now, he asks us to do that later with more details provided (Oudom, Chumpu Voan High School).

As these quotes illustrate, the dominant teaching method is ‘rote learning’, as students are asked to read the lesson and memorise the meanings of new words, and the teacher would ask them about the meanings of these words in the next class. Oudom elaborates that his teacher would ask the students to ask questions before starting a new lesson, yet most of the students interviewed comment that such interactions are rare in their classrooms. Most of the time teacher-centred approach is employed, undermining the critical importance of inquiry-based learning as well as limiting on students’ critical thinking skills.

In Bourdieu’s understanding of fields of power, there are important homologies (comparability) among different social fields; that is, there are patterned and predictable practices within each field which are similar (Bourdieu, 2005). In Cambodia, because the political field is the dominant field in history, it shapes how citizenship content is taught. In classrooms, there is also a lack of discussion about the relationship between the issues in lessons and those in real life as teachers perceive real life issues to be ‘sensitive,’ or discussion of them to be ‘politically motivated’. Students are learning about citizenship in a context where debate never materialises either in school or among ordinary citizens; nor does it among politicians or other leaders. There have never been any political debates among political leaders prior to elections, especially prior to the national elections. Election campaigns are characterised by parties’ propaganda, announcements of their manifestos, and the rhetoric of promises which are customarily unmet by the end of each mandate.

A teacher-centred approach remains unchallenged, despite the claim of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport that it fosters a student-centred approach in its schools. In the forewords in students’ books, the suggested teaching methods are described by the Ministry as ‘innovative’ and defined as teaching and learning by observation, idea sharing, inquiry, use of thinking skills, and real-life practice. In principle, the proposed methods, totally left to the teacher’s sole discretion, aim to help students acquire the knowledge, skills and positive attitudes nominated by the Ministry (MoEYS, 2016, 2017).

The Ministry is aware of the ineffectiveness of the traditional method—rote learning—which may not lead to understanding and, ultimately, application of the knowledge. In classrooms and tests, students are only required to look for the information included in the lessons they have learnt. Not only are the answers to those questions found in the texts (on-the-line questions), but the nature of those questions is the same as that in monthly tests, semester and national exams. It is inevitable that the students who remember the most will get the highest scores in the exams. In table 6.1 below, some of the questions in lesson and chapter revisions are translated to illustrate the nature of test and exam questions. Although there is a gradual increase in level of difficulty among the sample test/exam questions across the three grades, the answers to these test items are found in the lessons.

Table 6. 1. Sample end-of-chapter questions

Grade	Sample Questions in end-of-chapter Comprehension Check in MCE 2017
Grade 10	a. What is constitution? b. Since 1947, how many different constitutions has Cambodia adopted? c. The constitution in which regime is the most obscure? d. What are the social classes represented by the Members of Parliament in Democratic Kampuchea? e. What are the benefits of constitution?
Grade 11	a. Why was Buddhism eliminated between 1975 and 1979? b. What are the government policies in Buddhism and other religions in Cambodia? c. Which government institution is responsible for religious affairs?
Grade 12	a. What is responsibility? What are the types of responsibility? Describe with examples. b. Compare and contrast ‘social responsibility’ and ‘moral responsibility’. Explain with examples. c. What are the theories of ‘responsibility’? Please describe. d. What is ‘judgment’? What are the types of judgment? Please explain with examples. What are the theories of judgment? Describe with examples.

Source: (MoEYS, 2016, 2017)

Students are not, therefore, given a chance to pose arguments or to go beyond fact-finding, although group work is sometimes organised by teachers. Some students report having experienced some group discussions (merely group work rather than group discussion) in which students from different tables (4 or 5 students share one long immovable table) work

together to answer one or two questions in the textbook. Chenda and Dara, who are from different schools, mention similar learning experiences.

In some lessons, we are asked to work in groups. After the teachers have explained the lessons, they ask us to work together, with each group consisting of between two or three tables (Chenda, Preash Sisowath High School).

My teacher usually asks questions. He starts a new lesson by asking questions relating to the previous lesson. Sometimes he lets students work in groups and divide the questions for us to answer. After that, the representative from each group, reports to the whole class as well as explain. He always does this in his class in order to help students understand and remember the lesson and to make us feel like studying (Dara, Santhormuk High School).

Groupworks are also reported by students as the most popular interaction-oriented teaching method. However, if we look closely at how teachers utilize this method, we can understand that students are just split up and given different and specific questions (the answers to which are all in the texts) to work on. The groupworks are simply organized as a matter of doing the work in group because students are not directed to go beyond what is stated in their textbooks. As I argued above, this practice does not enable students to use their critical thinking skills, nor can it help students to sharpen their critical judgment of the issues at hand. In theory, Bourdieu (1973) proposes that social positions in a field is evolving rather than constant due to the twist and turns among different forces. Applying this theory in the teaching practices by Cambodian teachers, we can expect that these teachers may be able to juggle between their school's habitus and that of their own. Still, how flexible they are in terms of their pedagogies can be limited by their experience and expectations—a teacher's habitus (Bourdieu, 1973). In Bourdieu's view, education is an important field because of its capacity to confer capital, especially cultural capital, upon its participants. For this reason, a principal form of symbolic violence is pedagogic action, or teaching the ways of the world. Webb, Schirato and Danaher (2002) underscore the articulation of autonomous values within schooling, considering schools to be a special and particular place and with a special and particular role within the social field.

In this section, I have moved a step further to explore the organisational practices in schools in order to suggest that the cultural capital offered to students does not signify the essential

components of the dominant Cambodian cultural capital. The means of content delivery is insufficient to assist students to cultivate the cultural capital in its embedded form, for they are simply leaning by memorising key information, not being extended beyond it. The teachers and school organisation (features such as the long table, absence of critical discussion, and teacher quality) have yet to deliver the type of knowledge compatible with that of the dominant cultural capital.

In the last section that follows, I shift to discuss the enlightened aspect of education (that is, the bright side of Moral-Civics curriculum), focusing on the effects of the learning content on students' citizenship habitus.

COMPLEXITIES IN THE PRODUCTION OF STUDENTS' CITIZENSHIP HABITUS

Although my analysis makes the case for significant limitations and challenges in the implementation of Moral-Civics Education in Cambodia, there are also opportunities for young people beyond the school: students' citizenship habitus is not totally dominated by school learning. In Bourdieu's terms, there is also a competition for 'citizenship capital' within other fields, resulting in either cultural reproduction or cultural transformation. Understood in another way, students may be able to negotiate their desires based on the knowledge, skills and values they gain from learning as well as from their personal experiences in the social space they occupy. For Bourdieu (2000), this negotiation processes are understood as "the subjective hope of profit tends to be adjusted to the objective probability of profit" (p.216).

This is the case for the students in my study because young Cambodians make up a large proportion of the current population. The younger generation has benefitted from new technologies and better education in comparison with previous generations. As reflected in interviewee responses, students' citizenship dispositions are shaped and reshaped by their contact with different other fields. The injunction in Buddhism to do good things, for instance, has implications for the disposition to help those in need, which runs counter to passivity, as argued earlier in this chapter. This is suggested by Ramin and Nyta:

I often volunteer to help the disabled and the poor as well as join clean-up events. These activities are important for me; they make me know more about what is happening in

the society. The reason why I volunteer is simply I have a pity on those people and wish to help contribute to my country's development (Ramin, Santhormuk High School).

I have volunteered in my community to help children who are affected by Domestic Violence and violation of their rights. I have raised concerns over the left-behind children who are then involved in gangs and use drugs (Nyta, Chumpu Voan High School).

The introduction of non-discrimination and human rights concepts also bear fruit to some extent, for students tend to embody the values of living in harmony, respecting human rights, and upholding human dignity. Rany's comments support this view:

I have always volunteered to help the poor as well as contributed in-kind. These acts are important as I believe that everyone deserves their own dignity with enough food, shelter, and have the same rights as other people with no discrimination. As such, I have always helped raise money at school, along the roads or at different events (Rany, Santhormuk High School).

As Rany mentioned, the lessons on human rights and on Buddhist precept of good heart make her devote her time to involve in charity through her voluntarism. Other students emphasise the role of individual citizens who take their responsibilities and obligations as citizens seriously; they are social agents. To these students, contributing to their fellow citizens and to their country is what signifies their being citizens.

Volunteerism is important as it is the obligation for each citizen and this can help develop my country. As I am busy, I do not often do this but I always take the opportunity to do this whenever I am free from my study (Poch, Phnom Penh Thmey High School).

I have participated in a charity trip organised by my school to share some stationery to those poor kids in Cambodia's remote areas. Children are Cambodia's human resources; therefore, giving them these stationeries will help encourage them to study harder (Dara, Santhormuk High School).

The comments from both Poch and Dara send a clear message of the bright side of learning in classrooms. The students commonly express their commitment to volunteering; this, I argued, results not only from how they are taught in classrooms but also from the fact that voluntarism is not conceived as politics. Enshrined by the Ministry of Education in curriculum policy (MoEYS, 2004b), the aims of Cambodia's civics education are to help students accrue moral judgment and responsibility, to instil a respect for rights, to encourage being active (or good) citizens, and to engender a positive attitude towards one's own nation (Tan, 2007). Some of these outcomes are achieved, as is apparent in students' comments, despite the elements of capital in the curriculum only resembling those of the capital presupposed by the ministry. Here are the reflections from Chakrya and Darith:

Joining social events gives me good experiences which make me a role model citizen; it is important as it gives us the opportunities to give back to my nation as Cambodian youth. And I do this 3 times per month (Chakrya, Preash Sisowath High School).

I am concerned over environment and social orders and corruption among government officials (Darith, Chumpu Voan High School).

In addition to their commitments to upholding voluntary acts, students develop a disposition of becoming role models to other students. Contributing to their nation by raising concerns over citizens' contributions, and over environmental and social issues are expressed by Chakrya and Darith. Optimistically, it is to acknowledge the important roles of education and citizenship education, as I argued in the introduction, in promoting students' sense of responsible citizens. As Chakrya and Darith comments, they want to give back to their nation and to become citizens that other young Cambodians might wish to be to make Cambodia a better nation. Although the current curriculum is presented in its illusory form, the values of full democratic participation may take longer time to materialise. Other values, however, are taking shape, and this can be inspirational as we recognise that the change may not happen overnight.

Taken altogether, Cambodia's civics education is showing early signs of change, however, change towards a program that bolsters active citizenship values. This is characterised by the mix of cultural reproduction and cultural transformation: the introduction of different themes (Chapter 3) coupled with social transformation, though in a shadowy form, offers room for

liberation and transformation. The possibilities, opportunities and contradictions that students experience in the Moral-Civics Education curriculum are made visible by Bourdieu's concept of shadow capital (Bourdieu, 1973, 1986; Stitch & Cipollone, 2018). This accords with many of the above statements from the students in which they struggle to reconcile what they have learned at school about citizenship and what they have learned from everyday experience. Given the prevalence of shadow capital (such as lack of rigour in the curriculum, the contradictions between lesson content and lived experience), students have expressed their lack of understanding of the lessons, finding themselves lost between the knowledge gained at school and that acquired in real life. Their comments on their personal experience of discrimination, as well as their emphasis on the lessons about anti-corruption, also signify the mismatch between good practice in concepts and good practice in the realities of their society.

CONCLUSION

This chapter discusses how shadow capital is a tool that makes visible the contradictions in Moral-Civics Education for Cambodian students. It highlights the nature of institutionalised Moral-Civics Education, how it serves as a tool to reinforce particular social dispositions among young Cambodians (dispositions such as social harmony, loyalty towards the ruler, and self-dependency). Through this theoretical lens, there is an indication of the curriculum offerings in an objectified form rather than an embodied one. The elements of shadow capital are explored with reference to the quality of the curriculum and teacher quality, as well as curriculum content that contradicts the world young people witness every day. To illustrate the concept of shadow capital, I also discuss the relational nature of schools' organisational practices, including the delivery of the content and schools' arrangements.

At a glance, civics education in Cambodian schools is understood as a struggle between the control exercised by the government to silence the public and its determination to earn trust and loyalty from the public. Despite the fact that the curriculum offers rich content, the capital promised in all forms—that is, objectified, embodied, and institutionalised—is all in shadow. In the Cambodian context, there is contestation between what the government aims to gain from the education system and the aspirations of the public.

Many of the optimised features of cultural capital exist in a shadowy form—capital objectified form but not embodied—that is, the aims and objectives together with rich content are present.

Students are exposed to only two 50-minute lessons per week; hence the quality of exposure per se is not conducive to student inculcation of the values of active citizens. Given that teaching methods restrict classroom activity that accords with students' dispositions (debates, participation, empowerment, and sense of autonomy), they do not adopt the values that reflect active agency in social change. Rather, the dispositions inculcated in the students are those of good citizens who would help clean a school campus, donate to help the poor, or help direct traffic in areas around their school. The strictures of rule of law, of not drinking alcohol, and of not smoking are not easily transmitted, not least because there are such stark contrasts between what they learn in school and what they experience in society at large.

There is however room for a degree of optimism about the role of education, especially specific elements of education such as citizenship education. As demonstrated, whereas significant shortcomings are evident in the very elements of the curriculum, and the effectiveness of content delivery is dubious, students express a sense of citizenship that is informed by their daily observations and the information they extract from the curriculum. The values of helping those most in need and volunteerism are just two examples of educational liberation or enlightenment.

The presence of cultural capital in its objectified form in the curriculum is a clear reflection of the intention to construct youth citizenship in a certain way. Citizenship behaviors are shaped toward a narrow understanding of citizenship as 'obedience' and 'conformity' as I have argued. Other constituents of active citizenship missed out due to the lack of meticulousness of the content because the information provided is insufficient and students are not taught to critically approach the lessons.

In the next chapter, I explore the role of institutions, paying particular attention to the forms of citizenship practice created by schools, if any, considering the perspectives of both teachers and students. Stich and Cipollone (2017) call this approach the institutional habitus which aims to dictate the type of knowledge to be made legitimate, the most valued types of capital, the preferred group of students to attend, the aspiring careers, and the goal upon graduation.

CHAPTER 7: CITIZENSHIP SPACE THROUGH THE LENS OF INSTITUTIONAL HABITUS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the role of institutional habitus in the construction of students' citizenship dispositions. The components of institutional habitus, such as the practices related to the imposition of conformity, the perceived limitations on how content in citizenship education is to be interpreted and taught, school cultures, and citizenship ethos, form the backbone of this chapter.

Drawing on Bourdieu's institutional habitus' thinking tools to analyse the teaching, learning and practice of active citizenship in Cambodian schools, I use primary data to illustrate how schools' institutional habitus shapes Cambodian young people's agentic dispositions. Bourdieu's theory of habitus is useful in facilitating a nuanced understanding of Cambodian schools' collective practices that have considerable implications for student embodiment of citizenship dispositions. The work that schools do to foster citizenship ideas, dispositions, and practices in young people is at the centre of this chapter. To illustrate this, I draw on data from surveys and interviews with teachers and students in the researched schools. Ultimately the chapter aims to address my main research question: "How do Cambodian schools and Citizenship Education prepare students to be both informed and active citizens?"

I begin the chapter by revisiting the concept of habitus, then briefly explain the conceptual framework to be used—institutional habitus. I analyse the data from the four sampled schools by examining teachers' views of how they teach the content of the citizenship curriculum, the barriers they face, including the lack of resources, and the perceived limitations on how content is to be taught, limitations arising from the lack of "neutral" citizenship content.

Next, I explore other schools' organisational or collective practices by focusing on the role of schools' citizenship ethos in shaping students' embodied dispositions. In this section, I particularly examine the space allowed for citizenship practices in association with a form of participation, decision-making processes, and inclusiveness, as well as considering whether students are encouraged and empowered to exercise their rights. Before concluding the chapter,

I also examine another form of primary socialisation—familial habitus—which also plays a significant role in shaping and reshaping family members’ citizenship values.

CONCEPTUALISING INSTITUTIONAL HABITUS

In this chapter, I use the concept of institutional habitus to explore different dimensions of schools’ organisational practices and/or institutional order in the inculcation of active citizenship values among students. The concept of habitus underpins the idea of institutional habitus. Before analysing teachers’ and students’ views and experiences, therefore, it is useful to recap on the concepts of habitus and institutional habitus as outlined in Chapter 2. To Bourdieu, individuals are actively interacting with socially objective milieus, and such interactive relationship has indispensable implications for their accrued dispositions—that is, habitus. Dispositions, or a set of which, are therefore suggestive of their understanding of social order and guide them to act accordingly (Bourdieu, 1990; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

School, one of the social institutions and a secondary source of socialisation, plays a crucially important role in affecting individual dispositions through its organisational practices—institutional habitus. It is in the interaction between schools and teachers, in the interaction with the institutional habitus, that students’ habitus is shaped and reshaped (Ingram, 2009). Stich and Cipollone (2018) expand on the effects of school on individuals, arguing that this social institution (and its institutional habitus) has enormous implications not only for students’ habitus but also on their capital. By this they mean the expressive order of the school—the imposition of conformity, school culture, practices, regulations, and structures. Institutional habitus (in this case, school) can shape and reshape students’ behaviors in an important way (McDonough, 1996), and these represent a form of expressive order attributed to their guiding principles and values as well as other cultural ethos (Stich & Cipollone, 2018). The remainder of this chapter illustrates several forms of schools’ institutional habitus effective in shaping students’ citizenship dispositions.

INSTITUTIONAL HABITUS AND TEACHERS’ VIEWS OF TEACHING

Institutional habitus, particularly in this chapter, is a useful conceptual framework for analysing whether Cambodian schools offer an environment conducive to students learning to embody active citizenship values. It is therefore important to operationalise the term to identify the

characteristics of institutional habitus responsible for the dispositions adopted by students. It is also noted that while the discussion that follows does not aim to provide a definitive list of forms of institutional habitus, it does illustrate important issues such as institutional practices and relationships that are perceived as crucial in forming students' citizenship dispositions. To do this, I examine teachers' views of how they teach the content of the citizenship curriculum, the barriers they face, including lack of resources, and the perceived limitations on how content is to be taught, limitations associated with the lack of "neutral" citizenship content.

As one of the key aspects of institutional habitus, successful delivery of the content of the citizenship education curriculum depends partly on how the teachers creatively present the issues in questions to students in a way that reflects both the reality of their world and encourages critical thinking. Simply following the prescribed content in the curriculum will not only limit the opportunities to reflect upon the issues at hand but also adversely affect students' critical expression. In fact, by merely requiring students to read and answer the included questions, the teachers are not moving beyond memorisation in teaching and learning. In addition, students are not trained to question the root causes of issues discussed, nor to query what can be done to deal with such issues, thereby limiting their thinking skills.

From teachers' perspectives, while they are aware of what teaching methods work and which do not, the environment of schools is also shaped by the current sociopolitical order which is not conducive to good teaching practice. In other words, teachers have a good understanding of the student-centered approach, but their teaching is hampered by several barriers, the cultural imperative of hierarchy being the first of such structural barriers, among others. The practice of the teacher being the dominant person in the classroom remains pervasive, thereby limiting the practice of agentic contributions on the part of students' habitus. Mr. Leng from Chumpu Voan High School elaborates on his method:

If a lesson is long or related to philosophy, I dictate the lesson to students but if the lesson is short, I let them read. Then, I ask them about some key terms in the lesson. Finally, I let them work on the questions in groups and present their thoughts and/or answers (Mr. Leng, a teacher from Chumpu Voan High School).

As this quote suggests, the teacher is the main player in the classroom; he decides what is to happen in the classroom, including dictating lessons and asking students to read texts.

Noticeably, students are only required to answer the questions whose answers are already embedded in the texts, signifying the lack of space to go beyond the text. As the theoretical approach to citizenship outlined in Chapter 4 indicates, becoming an active citizen requires that an individual have a sense of agency, the belief that one can act. That sense of agency can be fostered through a reciprocal process when one acts as a citizen (Lister, 1997).

On a positive note, however, there is some indication of a shift from a teacher-centred approach to a more student-centred approach. In one instance, Mr. Sarith from Santhormok High School commented that he had a chance to add extra information if there was a perceived lack of information, despite the tendency to simply follow what is in the textbook remaining pervasive. He explicitly identifies the source of the decision regarding a teacher's approach to each lesson.

Now, the Ministry of Education encourages teachers not to speak much but to give more time to students to work (student-centred). To me, when I start each lesson, I explain the key ideas in the lesson; then, let students read the lesson. Finally, I divide students into groups in accordance with the number of questions to discuss. Following the discussions, a student from each group goes and writes their answers on the board. I just check the answers and add more information if need be. Most of the time, I do like this and follow the questions included in the textbook. Sometimes, I add extra information from real life to make the lesson complete (Mr. Sarith, a teacher from Santhormuk High School).

As Thomas (2002) contends, school's structures that comprises teacher's pedagogies and approaches to the evaluation of student achievements play a central role in social and cultural reproduction or transformation. In the quote above, the teacher follows prescriptive guidelines, albeit sometimes introducing what he labels 'real life' situations to enrich the content.

Emphasising the ineffectiveness of the teaching method, Mr. Leng, a teacher from Chumpu Voan High School, acknowledges that current practices are not conducive to enabling students to become active citizens, not least because students are not empowered to harness their potential. He expresses scepticism about current practices, arguably because school habitus is perceived to be congruent with existing sociopolitical cultures in Cambodia. He commented:

I have attended various workshops on teaching students to become active citizens. I think the lessons they teach differ from our lessons now. From the workshops, I learnt that students are taught to devise their own public policies to solve the problems in their own communities. Students learn government's policies and how to do presentations; then, the students practise devising their policies to solve the real problems in society. In our textbooks, we can find some contents similar to those in US's textbooks, but they are different in that in our textbooks, the contents are more theoretical and indirect. Just teaching what is included in the textbooks, I think, is never enough and can't produce active citizens as in the US. Students do not have chances to speak in public and do as what American students do. But this happens at a private school, Belti school. Seeing this, I sometimes let my students discuss their thoughts, following student-centred approach (Mr. Leng, a teacher from Chumpu Voan High School).

Although Mr. Leng acknowledges that the content of Moral-Civics Education is sufficient for students to learn to become active citizens, he also points out that his current school's organisational practices are inadequately enabling. To Mr. Leng, simply following the content in the textbook is never enough for the embodiment of active citizenship dispositions, not least because students are not empowered to practice them. As he emphasises, Cambodian students are not given opportunities to think of solutions to an issue they think is important to them. The information in the textbook presents the issues and what can be done to solve those issues; however, students (teachers and school) are not doing that themselves. This reflects the concept of shadow capital as discussed in Chapter 6.

Although teachers have a better grasp of how to successfully deliver the content in a way that enables students to get the best results, they are, unfortunately, encountering other challenges. Mr. Pitou of Phnom Penh Thmey High School identifies the challenge as a record crowd of students in each class and the lack of mobile chairs and tables causing difficulties in managing group work, a lack attributed to schools' limited material resources.

In principle, teachers are encouraged to do this [good teaching practice], but I have yet to do that. However, I think what I have done (question-answer) is also known as student-centred approach. I believe direct explanations and providing students the lesson sheets are wrong, but we face some challenges as there are many students in a

class, so the question-answer-discussion approach is quite impossible. Besides the number of students, the long tables in class make it difficult for teachers to organise group work as a group may consist of 10 people. (Mr. Pitou, a teacher from Phnom Penh Thmey High School)

The lack of resources for both students and teachers poses more challenges to fruitful content delivery. This reflects not only institutional poverty but also the poverty of students. Poverty, whether institutional or individual, has adverse effects on students' dispositions, for it undermines students' energy and health and their personal confidence, all of which are preconditions for agency (Lister, 2002). This structural barrier underpins the paucity of civil debate and critical thinking among students, common to many schools in Cambodia, thereby reinforcing the normative concept of 'no debate' among teachers and students. Such a form of negligence undermines already severely undercut teachers' and students' agentic dispositions through the institutional habitus of misrecognition. Contemporary citizenship theorists in the post-Marshallian paradigm associate citizenship rights not only with rights and resources but also with participation, recognition, respect, and voice (Lister, 2003; Patrick, 2015; Fraser 2009); that is, this move in citizenship studies reflects a broader move in political philosophy from materiality to culture as important anchors of what is just (Cuervo, 2016). Given this method of teaching, and of course a form of institutional habitus, it is quite impossible to instill the values of debate and negotiation, which in turn limits student voice and participation. The practice of not going beyond the content provided in textbooks remains an unsolved problem, one perceived by both students and their teachers.

The normative concept of schools being a neutral place (that is, where there is a denial of political rights, be it through expression or activities) is strictly practised (as discussed across Chapters 2, 3 and 4). As directed by the Ministry of Education (and of course by schools themselves), school campuses are free of any activities perceived as political by school management; they are forbidden. Discussion of politics, related either to teaching or to daily activity, is not welcome. Mr. Sarith, a teacher from Santhormuk High School, expressed his concern about not engaging with everyday life situations when teaching because it could be perceived as politically motivated. In other words, there is generally no link to real examples in students' lives; explanations of issues do not extend beyond what is written in the textbook.

Honestly, I talk about the lesson only, but never mention any particular government or any country. If the lesson is about democracy, I just talk about the meaning of democracy, people's rights to vote and choose their representatives as in the textbook by not mentioning this or that country (Mr. Sarith, a teacher from Santhormuk High School).

As this quote indicates, it has been accepted that schools are 'neutral places' and therefore barred from engaging in any political discussion or encouraging any political meetings, academic debates, or discussions. Research topics or other matters linked to politics are to be avoided on school campuses (Yong, 2005; UNDP, 2010; BBC, 2010). The Marshallian paradigm of citizenship proposed that citizenship connotes the inseparable connection between civil, political, and social rights. A denial of any of those rights, Marshall argues, significantly contributes to the denial of citizenship rights, not least because each one of his three dimensions generates another – they feed each other. He contends that if a citizen possesses civil rights and is equally treated as others by law, political rights can then be acquired so as to have a voice in law promulgation. On the foundation of these rights (civil and political), a citizen will have the political power to claim their social rights (Marshall, 1992; Revi, 2014).

In the quotes from teachers we can clearly observe the political dimension of citizenship in curricula – mostly based on electoral participatory rights – but also see the scarce content relating to citizenship's social dimension that Marshall outlined in his post-World War II framework. In this sense, one suspects that neither schools, nor the classroom, are "neutral" places of learning, as mentioned above, but rather sites where constructions of citizenship to be taught and learned respond to an institutional habitus that shapes citizenship content toward the more formal political elements of this complex concept and practice. Below, I discuss other forms of school organisational practices which further reinforce students' embedded dispositions.

EXPRESSIVE ORDER AND OTHER FORMS OF INSTITUTIONAL HABITUS

In their discussion of institutional habitus, Reay et al. (2001) use the term 'expressive order' to refer to the educational status of institutions. They use this term to argue that the provision of a broad curriculum is an integral part of this expressive order. Drawing on Bernstein (1975), Reay et al. (2001) explore the importance of the provision of a curriculum, just as other

relational elements of the institution such as organisational practices and expressive characteristics (that is, expectations, conduct, character, and manners) are important. I have argued the role of curriculum as shadow capital in the preceding chapter, so will not repeat the discussion.

In their study of the effects of institutional habitus on students' post-secondary aspirations, Burke et al. (2013) emphasise the importance of institutional structures and practices which mediate students' perceptions. In the same vein, Tarabini and Curran (2018) posit that the expressive order of school norms reflects embodied cultural capital, that is, it is embodied in the collectivity of students, school staff, buildings, rituals, and performances (Reay, David and Ball, 2005). In the sections that follow, I explore schools' organisational or collective practices by focusing on school councils, inclusiveness and empowerment, and the promotion of democratic values.

The ambiguous meaning of school council and its roles

In the case of the four sampled schools, citizenship practices varied despite an assumed socio-economic homogeneity among them. Such variation in practices and the lack of official guidelines for citizenship practices in schools create contradictory practices. Schools can limit civic participation, but at the same time they can foster grassroots civic engagement. On the one hand, not every school has a school council; social events on school campuses are not uniformly common; and schools never involve students in decision-making; yet, on the other hand, students are regularly involved in fund-raising to help people in need. One thing that is common to all is the level and area of the practice. In other words, while different schools organise charity events differently, these charity events are prompted by real situations (for example, charity given to a poor student or a teacher, or charity associated with other ritual ceremonies in Buddhism).

The concept of a school council with school-wide decision-making is quite alien to both teachers and students, not least because only those from Youth Red Cross and The Scouts are active in a school's daily organisational practices (these are the two groups of students found in every Cambodian school, recruited by and reporting to the school principal). The nature of youth or school councils, an aspect of institutional expressive order, is another piece of evidence demonstrating that citizenship space and practice is not promoted. During my

fieldwork, I found that school councils exist only in some schools, usually with the school principal as chair, and usually meeting monthly to discuss issues reported by class captains. The implications of the presence or absence of school councils is twofold: on the one hand there is no clear or coherent policy as to how schools should run councils, and on the other hand they represent a missing platform on which students might make their voices heard.

Arguably, there is a scepticism regarding the institutions' embodiment of citizenship both at school and individual level in the four Cambodian schools cited. Responses of both teachers and students send different messages regarding their disposition toward democracy, for school councils do not exist in every school and there are different understandings and interpretations of the meanings of this school body. When asked if a school council exists in their institution, teachers and students responded differently. Mr. Sarith, the teacher from Santhormuk High School commented:

I have no ideas about this. As far as I am concerned, there are only Cambodian Red Cross and Youth Scouts groups.

Mr. Sarith expressed his skepticism about the teacher and student empowerment in his school because he himself did not have any involvement in how school is organized, neither did he realize school-wide decision-making processes among students. His expressions about the existence of the two youth groups sent clear messages about school management and structure as he was not sure about other school management arrangement. It is useful to briefly mention again here that both the Cambodian Youth Red Cross and Youth Scouts are selected by school management team (or school principal) to assist the school principal to organize any school-based activities, mostly formal ones. The young members from these two groups are usually seen at traffic intersections near their schools, providing information regarding traffic laws and regulations to passers-by. Mr. Pitou, the teacher from Phnom Penh High School adds to the structures and tasks done by these two youth groups:

Our principal is the chair; then, later, there is vice-chair and youth president of Cambodian Red Cross Youth and Youth Scouts. The council usually have a monthly meeting as the school leadership team (discipline stream, education and management).

It is clearer that the two youth groups are perceived as ‘school council’ led by a school principal, and their tasks were related mostly to be role models for other fellow students in terms of good and responsible behaviours as students and citizens in lieu of representing other students to voice their concerns. As the members of these two groups are students from different classes, they are also regarded as the school principal’s messengers, who will report any issues their classmates are encountering. Such practices seem to reinforce the objectives of current citizenship education, which are set to simply make students morally good citizens (that is, respect others and obey laws). For example, if any students cannot catch up with the lessons or if they usually come to class late, the members from these two group will report to the management team. This task is also raised by Mr. Pitou who mentioned below that fund-raising event in his school may be aptly organized if the school principal knows that student cannot afford to come to school due to poverty or if any student or teacher falls sick.

Students from different schools also express different understandings and aspirations. Reaksa, a student from Santhormuk High School, wishes that a school council did exist: “Yes, *we do [want to have a school council]. I want it existed as we can share our thoughts*”; however, Lany, a student from Phnom Penh Thmey High School, mistakes the school youth group for school council: “Yes, *there is. They are Youth Scouts*”.

Chenda, a student from Preah Sisowath High School, understands that the school council in her school exists and that any problems related to her school are solved at the meeting among school council members “Yes. *But there is no regular schedule for the meeting. When there is any problem, we raise it to the school council and there is solution; there is also discussions via school council*”.

These expressions and understandings from both teachers and students clearly indicate the inconsistencies across the four sampled schools. As argued previously, there is no uniform practice or regulation for establishing or running school councils that represents not only the embodiment of democratic values but also school-wide inclusiveness. As a set of dispositions, habitus is represented by the norms and practices which are attributable to the cultural field an individual is in and his/ her own accounts (Thomas, 2002; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). That said, citizenship norms and practices in Cambodian schools are not effectively promoted due to the lack of commitments and platforms to enhance embodied values of active citizenry. In addition to the illusionary form of capital embedded in current curriculum, there is an

illusionary platform to allow students to get their voices heard, or at least to enhance space for students to participate in how their school is run. Involvement does not necessarily relate to big decisions to be made or to other formal engagements. Students can be simply involved in how fund-raising event is organized and they can contribute by doing various activities to generate financial contributions from the people in their neighborhoods.

The absence of school-wide inclusiveness and empowerment

Although there is some room for citizenship practices on school campus, such as volunteerism and raising money to help those most in need, the concept of inclusiveness in decision-making is not apparent. In other words, the four sampled schools embody particular dispositions of ‘helping hands’ yet fail to encourage students’ agency and proactive citizenship practice; there is a lack of sense of inclusiveness and agency in these events on school campuses because they are all planned and decided by the school’s management. The students are mere participants, encouraged to attend and to contribute material resources. The teachers elaborated on how event organisation is more ad hoc rather than regularly planned:

The event can be started only when there are problems. For example, if a teacher falls ill or student dies, the school will start fund-raising event. This can help those students who are poor or contribute to the students who have any accidents. One event that the school organises regularly every year is Buddhist-related fund-raising (Bon Phka). Or else, the fund-raising is only started when problems arise (Mr. Pitou, a teacher from Phnom Penh Thmey High School).

Fund-raising event is the only annual event on school campus, and this event is intricately linked to Cambodian people’s belief in helping the disadvantaged groups of people. The money raised is to be donated to either pagoda for its infrastructures or to poor people in the communities. Arguably, there is a strong association between the teaching of citizenship education and Buddhist values, confirming to what I have argued in the previous section. Positively, the embodiment of the values relevant to helping others is plausible, yet other values related to empowerment and full citizenship participation are equally significant. Another teacher emphasised the ineffectiveness of a school’s organisational practices in shaping students’ dispositions when volunteerism and recognition are not embodied in the school.

School should: (1) should recognise students' outstanding awards; (2) recognise students' involvement in their contributions to the society, say, volunteerism. There should be a distinction between those who have volunteered and those who have not. However, this should not be done too much, which may lead students to be arrogant (Mr. Naro, a teacher from Preah Sisowath High School).

Mr. Naro further adds that there should be joint efforts by various institutions and individuals to ensure student inculcation of active citizenship values. To him, citizenship values cannot be successfully accrued unless there is recognition from the ministry of education, wider society, and from students themselves. Overlooking any of these will mean challenges to the apparatus of active citizenship dispositions. Mr. Naro's comments are underpinned by civic republican and communitarian theories which stress the importance of citizenship as a practice where individual citizens *want* to become good citizens. Individual responsibility and duty, with focuses on good behaviour and morality, are more important than individual rights (Lister, 2003; Patrick, 2015; Etzioni, 1997). Mr. Naro adds:

Active citizens derive from the value given by others; for example, how can we make students like learning moral-civics subject? The value comes from three different sources: the government (the subject must be included in the national exam); the society (people value those studying science); and the self or individuals. Only a few students are active in my moral-civic classes. To me, active citizens are part of good citizens. As I said earlier, good citizens should have some characteristics; then, they have another quality which is being active (in doing things). The youth in Cambodian Red Cross, for example, are active citizens unless they are obedient to teachers and not arrogant. They need to be with good morale first before they become active citizens. Not given value by the government (not including the subject in national exam), may not lead this subject to produce active citizens. This has led to the fact that students do not usually listen to the teachers teaching the subject. I think only when law (the ministry) gives value to this subject first (Mr. Naro, a teacher from Preah Sisowath High School).

As this quote indicates, there seems to be an insufficient recognition of the significance of teaching citizenship in school, as well as the importance of putting what is learnt into practice. National exams do not include citizenship education, making learning this subject less important and its content shadowy. Indeed, the lessons learned about how to be good and active

citizens are contradicted by reality: students who are members of the Cambodian Red Cross Youth are not subject to classroom rules (Chapter 6). Their contribution to the youth group is apparently more important than their lived citizenship values.

Conditioned by Cambodia's sociopolitical context, citizenship on the school campus is a field which involves a struggle for position. Students are expected to be in an inclusive learning environment as well as to embody social norms and values required to be citizens. If they are not exposed to different opportunities, such as a platform to volunteer, they are less likely to develop a sense of responsibility, missing out on what they can contribute to different social groups. Students believe that they do not need to do anything as the work can be left to their peers who join the Cambodian Red Cross Youth and the Scouts.

Bellamy (2008) associates citizenship with the culture of debates and joint decision-making processes. He argues that civic engagement (thus, citizenship) is related to fostering a commitment to political participation, particularly at the local level, and this can be made possible through citizenship education. Although schools organise social or charity events, there is always involvement by Cambodian Red Cross Youth and the Youth Scouts, or the schools' former students. Students who are not members of these two groups are not usually involved in these events, arguably reflecting the lack of a mechanism for fostering school-wide inclusion. This form of exclusion and marginalisation is experienced by students simply by the events on school campuses not being the result of their direct contribution. In this way, the school's notion of citizenship is characterised as symbolic rather than practical.

Former students from our school used to organise charity events to raise money to buy tables and books. For the environment, this is only once in a while as the school management is afraid that this might interrupt the students' study time. Oftentimes, those from the Cambodian Red Cross Youth or Youth Scouts are involved in this environment clean-up following their meeting. Sometimes, after we pay respect to our national anthem, the principal tells us to pick up rubbish on our way back to class. Rarely is there such an event as usually most of the events involve only former students and youth from the Cambodian Red Cross and the Youth Scouts (Oudom, Chumpu Voan High School).

Oudom's comments illustrate various fundamental flaws in school's role to promote citizenship practice. In the first place, his school does not have any regulations or policies relevant to the promotion of citizenship enactment (e.g. school event is not planned nor organized regularly). In addition, most students are excluded from contributions, be they voices or time, not least because only members of Cambodian Youth Red Cross and Youth Scouts are active. The paucity of recognition of the contributions from the majority signifies the concept of Cambodia's historical nepotism and bureaucracy.

Furthermore, limited space for citizenship practice is acknowledged by both teachers and students. Their comments underscore the lack of a culture of debate or civil dialogue among both ordinary citizens and politicians. Picking up rubbish can hardly be considered a robust citizenship practice. On the one hand, this institutional habitus of exclusion—whether intended or not—greatly impacts on an individual's habitus, not least because students' school lives are social trajectories informing their subsequent life courses. It also seems that students believe there are permitted social spaces to practice citizenship, such as those offered by the Red Cross and the Youth Scouts. On the other hand, their comments can either represent how little they know about citizenship practice or how little space they are allowed to attend to such practice.

Burk et al. (2013) argue that certain accounts of collective habitus result from coordinated practices that constitute accrued values from both primary and secondary social institutions, all of which inform individual actions. They go on to argue that individually focused use of habitus is mediated through the operation of social fields, and the interplay among other different common practices within a particular social field. Ultimately, there is a strong interconnection between habitus (individual or collective) and existing social fields, and such mutual relationship significantly determines an individual's habitus (Burk et al. 2013). There is also, however, an acknowledgement of other forms of passive influence stemming from an individual's position and trajectory on habitus (Reay, 1998; Reay et al., 2001; Ingram, 2009).

As the above quote indicates, collective citizenship practices in schools are rare and not uniform. In addition to concerns about the lack of inclusiveness, students are not involved in decision-making in their school or engaged in how their schools are run. As Marshallian citizenship theory is expanded, citizenship values go beyond merely rights and welfare to encompass participation, recognition, respect, and voice (Lister, 2003, 2004; Fraser, 2009;

Patrick, 2015). Even at school level, the notions of participation and voice have been severely neglected, with students not given opportunities to make their voices heard.

Bourdieu (1990) acknowledges that although one's habitus is shaped by the objectivity of a given field, s/he can still adjust their own habitus to practically appropriate those of institutions; he refers to this social process as an accommodation approach understood as a normative point of view (Bourdieu, 1996). The absence of public debate among Cambodian students signifies, I argue, the lack of a platform for students to make their voices heard or to make them aware of their agentic disposition. Undoubtedly spaces for citizenship practice and development are restricted in Cambodian schools and society; nevertheless, as shown in chapter 6, this does not mean that students, and for that matter teachers, do not endeavor to develop citizenship praxis. The below remarks from a teacher, however, emphasise the overall paucity of citizenship norms and ethos for citizenship practice in schools. The teacher expressed his understanding of an active citizenship disposition by raising an example of students who were given a chance to devise their own policy for developing their school.

There are few [events] or almost none. For example, the event in which students are encouraged to speak in public is absent. There are some events such as the whole-school clean-up on school campus or just outside the school. There are some visits to other universities, which, I think, is social event. In private schools where I have been teaching, students are required to speak in public for approximately 180 times between grades 10-12. The way we teach at private and public schools are far much different. The approach at private schools is to make students do more activities (Mr. Leng, a teacher from Chumpu Voan High School).

The quote from Mr. Leng underscores the limited, or non-existent, citizenship space for students, with not even a platform for them to sharpen their critical thinking skills. It is possible to promote citizenship practice through the widening social sphere which includes both formal and informal structures outside of formal political organisational structures (Brodie et al., 2009). Without an enabling social sphere (that is, a youth parliament or youth council), the doxa of powerlessness among young people remains unchallenged.

To make youth citizenship flourish, it is argued that the conception of citizenship is to be linked with young people's daily lives relevant to democratic ways of acting and being and democratic

learning (Biesta, 2011). In this respect, it is necessary to encourage students to involve not only in formal activities but also through an informal platform (e.g. extracurricular activities). Several youth research scholars contend that daily engagements with school councils, student's community and other voluntary activities are useful to for their learning and practice as such involvement contributes to student engagement, civilly and politically (Print, 2007; HMIE, 2006a). Similarly, Patrick (1999) emphasises the importance of student participation in student organisations or a similar form of student government, adding that the democratic ways of running such organisations can serve as a platform for students to embody democratic values. By involving in the informal or extracurricular activities, students will be highly likely engage in both civic and political later in life (Finkel, 2003). Students can profit from these ordinary engagements through the enhancement of their self-esteem and wellbeing, which is a fine predictor of political participation in their adult life (Beck & Jennings, 1982; Niemi & Chapman, 1999). In the case of Cambodian students, providing them with these opportunities are necessary and useful alike, for they can capitalise on a broader conception of citizenship. In addition, they may be able to avoid being framed as being involved in politics because extracurricular activities are not necessarily perceived as conventional and direct. This is particularly important in Cambodia where space and platforms for citizenship practices are not only limited but also subjugated.

The lack of promotion of democratic values

In addition to the absence of a school council and of real inclusiveness, the practices attributed to the embodiment of democratic values are also vague and impractical, given the uncertain mechanisms or variations in practice per se. The sampled students, for example, discuss student representatives (class monitor/class captain) who represent students in their class raising only concerns that are quite irrelevant to those of classmates. In other instances, there are different practices. In some schools and classes, the choice of class captain depends on teachers' recommendations and preferences, a practice informed by age-hierarchy in Cambodian society. The comments from two students below illustrate the institutional habitus of democratic processes in choosing a class captain.

Prior to the polls, our teachers ask us about 5 outstanding students in the previous academic year so that these students can represent us to be voted later (Chakrya, Preah Sisowath High School).

In my class, my teachers consider class monitor as the trusted one who is responsible or active before s/he is elected. Teachers assist us in selecting class monitor. The teachers let students recommend the student who is active and responsible. Then, the teachers will decide based on the consensus in class. [...] Names of potential class monitors are written on a piece of paper; the names that receive the most mention will be nominated as class monitor (Reaksa, Santhormuk).

Both Chakrya and Reaksa detail how their class captains are selected, and their comments reflect a hybridity of appointment and an election. Added to the absence of school guidelines of how student representatives are selected, a teacher's 'preference' and 'agreement' seem to play a role in this selection process. Students can just suggest the names of those they think might well represent them, and teacher has a final say. A teacher also expressed his understanding of the class captain selection processes:

There is no democratic way in choosing the class monitors. Each class-based teacher will consider students' superiority, activeness (between 3 and 6 students will be selected). The choice by teachers is based on their teaching experience. Another way to choose class monitors is to choose the outstanding students from previous academic year, based on recommendations from other teachers (Mr. Sarith, a teacher from Santhormuk High School).

As Mr. Sarith commented, he does not seem to support the current practices. His comments are a good reflection of a general disagreement of the non-democratic environment on school campus. It also sends a clear message to school management team that when people keep quiet, it does not mean that they do not have any dissents, nor do they have no ideas of a democratic process. Such practices of choosing class representatives do little to reflect a school's embodiment of freedom of choice. Students' choices and voices are undercut by a form of expressive order. Reay et al. (2001) study the effects of institutional habitus on students' choices of higher education institutions, arguing, as these quotes demonstrate, that an individual's rights and preferences associated with individual freedom are not promoted (Kymlicka, 1995; Marshall, 1950; White, 2003; Dwyer, 2010); rather, these rights are overshadowed by the cultural imperatives of age and status hierarchy, while in this case decisions on who to represent students are shaped by teachers. To liberal thinkers, personal freedom is deemed more important than the characteristics of a life of their choice offered by

the state, for freedom is the core principle that shapes other principles (Patrick, 2015). It is therefore understood that when an individual's freedom is not promoted other significant principles are also neglected, indicating a great paucity of democratic values.

In other schools, student representatives are chosen by students themselves, a practice attributable to the embodiment of democratic values. The responses below illustrate the vagueness of these collective practices, not least because there is no uniform regulation; varying practices exist from class to class. In some classrooms, class captains are chosen by election, but in others, class-based teachers choose, or at least suggest, who should be class captains. The comments by students below illustrate these varying practices.

They are selected through election. For example, if everyone in the class is new to one another, the selection is based on the achievements a person had in his/her last academic year (outstanding and time availability). However, if no one in the class approves, there will be election (Nyta, Chumpu Voan High School).

There might be election or teachers may choose by themselves with regards to one's last year academic achievements. But if not supported by everyone, election will be arranged (Virya, Chumpu Voan High School).

They are chosen by election or chosen by our teachers. Most of the time, the top five students will be chosen to be voted for. For some teachers, 3 students who are willing to be class monitors or are former class monitors will be chosen to be voted (Poch, Phnom Penh Thmey High School).

The comments above illustrate the variations in how class captains are chosen. There is an amalgam of democratic practices and specific preferences in the decisions, but there seems to be a more fundamentally democratic practice which sheds light on the embodiment of certain dispositions among students. Students are aware of the notion of freedom of expression and the right to participation:

This [freedom of expression] refers to the rights to vote and the rights to choose our representatives. This also includes the choice of my class monitor as well as other leaders as commune chiefs (Leakhena, Phnom Penh Thmey).

Leakhena, among other students, has a true understanding of what democratic participation is, for she refers to this concept as student rights to vote, which corresponds to rights to freedom of expression. Her comments may be attributed to student's understanding of the importance of empowerment and recognition through which the choice of those to represent them is to be made in accordance with their rights and consent. Chhorda, another student from Chumpu Voan High School, emphasises the importance of democratic participation by relating it to her personal experience as a class captain:

As a class monitor, I have regularly attended the monthly meeting with school leadership, in which I have a chance to raise the concerns over issues in classrooms and school, students and teachers (esp. regulations, environment, orders, and management). These make me understand the issues even more as well as make me a leader with ethics and professionalism (Chhorda, Chumpu Voan High School).

From this quote, one can see that students are still able to embody the disposition of democratic values despite vague institutional practices and the shadow cultural capital embedded in Moral-Civics Education. There is an acknowledgement of a 'basic' element of democratic values, reflecting through the participation of class captains at monthly meeting with school management team. However, there is a lack of 'essential' elements of these democratic values because these student representatives are only involved in a 'customary' task of reporting issues in their individual class rather than in more decision-making oriented processes. Without a genuine willingness from school (and/or from the government) to empower students through everyday engagements, schools are not doing enough to promote full democratic participation. Students are merely paved the way for by schools through its institutional habitus to experience just a funnel view of democracy, whereas many other crucial components of democracy are missed out.

Some scholars still consider education as a more important socialization agency than any other institutions in instilling particular values in individuals. They argue that actors in education system play a crucial role in promoting societal values and norms; interactions among these actors (e.g. social groups or school peers) create a channel through which various forms of dispositions are accrued (Ball et al 2002; Holloway and Pimlott-Wilson, 2011). In keeping with Bourdieu and Reay, Thomas (2002) argues that there seems to an endless cycle of how an individual's habitus is formed, enhanced and reshaped. By this he means family is the first and

foremost socialization agent that initiates the formation, and this contributes to that member's experiences in education processes. Ultimately, adds Thomas (2002), all of these life events continue taking shape to impact upon a person's internalised world. In the section that follows, I explore how family plays a role in shaping students' citizenship, and the dispositions resulting from that influence.

THE ROLES OF FAMILIAL HABITUS

In this section, I illustrate the factors that constitute students' familial habitus, and I particularly draw on students' accounts of their daily lives at home. Students' habitus is dynamically constructed by the different social institutions and fields in which they interact and develop – such as schools, family, and community. Tarabini and Curran (2018) argued that students have their own internalised social position that conflicts with the schools' expectations and ways of organising, the student's habitus being the archive of their own personal experience which includes their striving for different forms of capital to help them position themselves in the social structure (Murphy and Costa, 2016). One key aspect of these early life experiences is associated with what Bourdieu calls 'primary socialization' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) or 'familial habitus' (Burke et al. 2013; Atkinson, 2011; Reay, 1998; Reay et al. 2001; Thomas, 2002).

Proponents of familial habitus have noted that family remains a significant social agent in how its members develop norms characterised those existing in social contexts (Bondi and Matthews, 1998; Pimlott-Wilson, 2011). Crompton (2006) also indicates that there is a real connection between familial influences on an individual's current social position. Finally, Dumais (2002) asserts that there seems to be solid evidence confirming that values found in family are prevalent among members in the same family.

Drawing on the data from my focus group discussions and the student questionnaire, I argue that family socialisation among the students interviewed indicates a mixture of dispositions accrued within their families. Ultimately, there is a general view of not only a fundamental divergence of dispositions from students' parents but also a variation of family-oriented values. Put it simply, different families orient their children to different views of citizenship, and students themselves also cherish citizenship values which are different from those of their

parents. When asked what they would talk about with their parents over mealtimes, students revealed that their families were open to discussion of current political and social issues, ranging from environmental matters to poverty. One student explains the topics her family would discuss and how her parents influenced her:

In my free time, especially when I meet my dad and mum, we like to talk about such issues as politics, social and environmental problems, people's living conditions, discrimination and racism. As my dad is a police officer, he likes to talk about politics and tells me politics as well as what is good or bad. For me, I like reading books both in Cambodian and English languages. Or chat with my dad about Cambodia's and world's politics, say, the election in the US. My dad likes reading books relating to psychology and he always teaches me about lives (Simorn, Preah Sisowath High School).

For Simorn and her family, a variety of topics is discussed when she has a chance to meet her family, especially her dad. One topic that interests me is 'politics'. This is special to me, not least because it is rare that Cambodian parents talk about politics with their children, for 'politics' in Cambodian context sound negative and risky (Chapters 2 and 4). Simorn's comment signifies a gradual change in parents' attitudes towards 'politics', albeit the politics-related issues that Simorn and her dad discuss are in America. Chakrya, another student from the same school, also follows her parent's initiatives.

I have volunteered to be a freelance teacher of English language in my community; I help educate those kids who do not have chance to go to school. It is important to me and I am more than happy to do this albeit I have to shoulder all the expenses. My dad is the one who starts this idea, so I decide to teach kids on my free days and all the kids who come to learn are those with financial constraints (Chakrya, Preah Sisowath High School).

For Chakrya, her family focus on the provision of assistance to other people, especially young kids, who cannot afford to go to language class. Therefore, her family values are by shaped the notion of voluntarism and donation, given the failure of state's support. In addition, her comment emphasises the role of family, in particular the role of elder family members, in shaping and reshaping younger generation behaviour—familial habitus. It is clear from this response that—from cultural perspectives—age hierarchy and family roles in shaping student habitus remain significant. It is also argued that students' citizenship dispositions can be shaped

by multiple actors, one of which is family, parents in particular. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) discuss both primary and secondary socialisation although they seem to prioritise secondary socialisation (that is, through the education system). Students' dispositions therefore result from both institutional habitus as well as from their accumulated cultural capital (Reay et al., 2001). As indicated by Simorn and Chakrya, their parents have shaped their thoughts and behaviours; if parents have an interest in politics, the student will be highly likely to have an interest in talking politics. The same applies to parents' inclination towards helping those in need of support.

From a contemporary citizenship theory perspective, citizenship as a concept and practice keeps evolving, not merely to encompass formal political rights; rather, citizenship is currently about social inclusion, especially among the poor and the marginalised (Fraser, 2003). Unfortunately, young people in Cambodia are among these disadvantaged groups due chiefly to the country's sociocultural context. In family, they are subordinate to an age hierarchy, that is, to their elder family members who shape their habitus through a form of primary socialisation (Bourdieu, 1990). As Fraser (1996) argued, individuals can fully participate in society only when cultural recognition and material resources are provided equally to different social groups so that they all enjoy the same level of opportunity that society has to offer. It is therefore important to also address the cultural barriers, in this case familial habitus, if young people's citizenship dispositions are to be fully understood. Particular attention should be paid to participation, recognition, respect, and voice among young people (Patrick, 2015), that is, who gets to participate or whose opinions, needs, and interests are taken seriously by decision-makers, the bureaucratic state, and other agents with power.

In addition, family environment and material resources play a part in inculcation of students' citizenship values. Chenda, for example, says that she can learn about politics and other current social problems through TV and the internet, both available in her home.

For me, I like reading books or watch TV shows on politics, current social problems, and Cambodians' living conditions. I like studying about new discoveries in science through TV shows and internet as I also have access to the internet at home (Wi-Fi) (Chenda, Preah Sisowath High School).

This is part of my significant findings relevant to an emerging platform for citizenship learning. Although Chenda's comment does not refer to how she uses online platform to practice citizenship, it is a good sign that she uses this platform to learn citizenship besides what she learns in school. Optimistically, it is the genesis of citizenship values and practice, with Cambodian youth being able to expose themselves to an alternative source of knowledge in lieu of shadowy content in citizenship curriculum. To youth researchers such as Helve (2015) and White and Wyn (2007), online platforms are becoming increasingly useful for young people in practising their everyday citizenship, especially where citizenship space is otherwise limited. The internet and the media offer space to young people not only to express their identities but also to exercise their political agency. Chenda's experience reflects an incredibly positive trend; she has exposed herself to current issues, learning about politics and other issues important to her.

It is also noteworthy, however, that specific social groups and families have their own expectations and regulations. Some students reveal how their families particularly help them to develop certain forms of dispositions pertinent to social issues, opening discussions which are in discord with their institutional habitus. Other students discuss their familial habitus as being congruent with that of their school. Some parents take mealtimes as an opportunity to reinforce institutional values, whereas others try to make sure that their children are not severely affected by issues currently confronting young people (such as problematic drug use or violence in public). The students' remarks below signify the importance of family roles in reinforcing the value of schools in which social morals and 'good citizen' values are the cornerstones of the curriculum.

My family always tells me to conform to morality so that we can live harmoniously together as well as to uphold rights (Chenda, Preash Sisowath High School).

No, we do not [talk about social issues]. Only when there is report on TV about social issues during our dinner time, then we start talking about that (Dara, Santhormuk High School).

In my family, we sometimes talk about making friends with others who might lead to drug abuse, alcohol consumption (Rany, Santhormuk High School).

These students' comments underscore the traditional views of citizenship among Cambodian families, which are still dominating. A prevailing view of youth as a problem remains a centrality of both familial and institutional habituses, and this view is associated with current and worrisome issues impacting young Cambodians. It is no doubt, however, that both primary and secondary socialization agents (that is, family and school) are putting their efforts to prevent the young people from these issues. Yet, whereas family may not have any hidden agenda, school as a secondary socialization institution may have that hidden agenda—conformity and obedience—as the discussions about shadow capital unfold (Chapter 6). What is also significant about my findings is the fact that students accrue divergent citizenship dispositions, albeit the imposed limitations from both family and school.

It is important to recognise that habitus is not deterministic. As Reay (2004) points out, an individual's current behaviors are closely linked to their embodied internalization; that is, a person tends to take actions in accordance with his/her habitus. Threadgold (2018) agrees with Reay, arguing that young people generate their own everyday reality, what he calls 'practical sense', although, at the same time, their realities are not independent of their accumulated history and position in social space. Resulting from early experiences of family socialisation, habitus is a reflection of parental practices, yet it continues to evolve through young people's encounters with the outside world (Reay, 2004; Pimlott-Wilson, 2011).

Habitus is a "structured-structuring structure" (Bourdieu, 1994d, p. 170). In this sense, an individual's current internalised views of the world is not indispensable from their past and present circumstances. Also, it is highly likely that there is an endless cycle process of shaping and reshaping their views through various socialization processes, starting within the family, through education and by life experiences (Maton, 2008; Bourdieu, 1990c, p.53; Bourdieu, 1994d, p. 170). While still framed by both institutional habitus and familial habitus, students' accrued dispositions reflect the notion of 'structured structuring structure' in that these students have developed quite a different form of habitus. These dispositions are demonstrated through the above responses to the questions which give them opportunities to suggest what their schools should do. Such a new form of habitus is explicitly expressed by students' responses in the focus group discussions. These students are very concerned about environmental issues both on school campus and in Cambodia generally.

[I want] School should organise ‘tree planting’ events to cope with climate change. People cut down a lot of trees without planting them back to make our world green (Vicheth, Preah Sisowath High School).

I want my school to care about hygiene, especially the toilets. We need to be a role model in term of clean environment. First, we need to care about our knowledge. Then, think about clean environment on school campus. We should pick up the rubbish when we see it on school campus (Reaksa, Santhormuk High School).

Although a clean and green environment is not a topic these students discuss with their families, they embody this value from their learning and observation. Their understanding of the consequences of climate change certainly results from the information they glean from the school curriculum (the enlightened education discussed in Chapter 6). Bourdieu (1977) argues that habitus is formed through different institutions, including family, school, peers, and the environment, yet Burke et al. (2018) asserts that there are boundaries to an individual’s sense of what is appropriate or suitable, to their understanding of how various environments and institutions operate, and to how such spaces are successfully navigated. Both Bourdieu and Burke agree that the particular nature of variables which engender habitus means that habitus is unique to each individual.

Students’ concern for a clean school campus is the result of their daily observation of what is happening on that campus. In addition, their daily observations are generalised from their school to wider society, as the following quotes illustrate. Students are also concerned about impoverished living conditions among disadvantaged fellow citizens and the need for greater equality in society. These are powerful understandings of social citizenship – almost replicating a T.H. Marshall view of different ways of viewing citizenship beyond political issues. Students’ expressions are not understood as conventional politics but rather as what Crick (2010) calls active citizenship whose values underpin collective voluntary actions for a common good. Veacha, for example, embraces volunteerism values and asserts:

For me, I have a different idea. I would like my school to recruit students as volunteers to teach in remote areas in Cambodia. There is a shortage of teachers because of the low salary (Veacha, Preah Sisowath High School).

Simorn expresses the need to help hospitals for the poor:

To me, I would like my school to raise money, based on students' wills, for Kantha Bopha Hospital and for the old. I would like school to organise running for charity (Simorn, Preah Sisowath High School).

Veacha and Simorn expressed concerns indicate not only their understanding of the failure of the welfare state in delivering efficient education and health services to Cambodian people (at least to the disadvantaged groups) but also their divergent citizenship values (that is, the concept of good and obedient behaviours). It is noteworthy that their conception of citizenship is not conventional politics-oriented; however, this is a sign of hope for Cambodia's next generations. Others wish to help the homeless and the orphans:

For me, I want my school to start a foundation to help the poor and orphans who want to continue their study but can't afford to get clothes and stationery. We can do this as a school-wide campaign or raise the money in individual class (Darith, Chumpu Voan High School).

I want my school to organise charity or environment events. School to organise debate in both Khmer and English in our school (Chhum, Phnom Penh Thmey High School).

Given the evolving concept of citizenship, it is useful to understand young people's conceptions of citizenship and civic engagement as well as their defined citizenship values (Lindstrom, 2010). Listening to the comments that reveal their intrinsic dispositions, one can see that they 'truly understand the challenges of their time' and they do have their own 'imagined futures'. Their individual dispositions relate to poverty, helping those in need, concerns over a deteriorating environment, and volunteerism. These are significant accounts of a traditional social citizenship view. Using Marshall's social citizenship theory as a lens, we would understand that there is a worrying denial of social rights in Cambodia, in addition to the denial of civil and political rights. To Marshall, the most contemporary set of rights is social rights, for these can protect citizens from the worst effects of inequality. That said, social rights aim to achieve a minimum standard of wellbeing, or, at the most minimalist level, the means to wellbeing, a level below which a citizen should not descend (Marshall, 19950; Cohen & Ghosh, 2019). In keeping with this concept, Lister (2015) theorises that meaningful access to resources is an important precondition of social citizenship; such access is necessary for ensuring that all citizens are treated with respect and dignity. As the above quotes illustrate,

however, social rights, and therefore full citizenship membership, are limited among the Cambodian poor. Such denial of full membership is also prevalent among Cambodian young people, as the arguments regarding social exclusion in Chapter 4 demonstrate. Social citizenship seems to be understood as individual contributions through charity to those most in need. Unfortunately, such contributions are random and ineffective in addressing the needs of the larger marginalised population.

In sum, in this section I have demonstrated that Cambodian families still have significant influence on their young members; however, such an influence does not produce a form of habitus characterised by that of the family alone. Young people's habitus changes as does the concept of citizenship. The students engaged in this research have developed individualised citizenship dispositions understood as 'everyday engagements' and "ordinary politics" (Harris, Wyn & Younes, 2007). As for their comments, these young people are concerned about issues that are important for them and the other marginalised social groups (Helve, 2001; Harris et al., 2007). I will continue exploring students' ordinary politics as their internalized dispositions in the next chapter.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have described various components of institutional habitus, including learning experiences based on the perspectives of both teachers and students, organisational practices, and the expressive institutional order in relation to the active citizenship dispositions accrued by students. The foregoing discussion elucidates the collective practices of institutions in relation to the embodiment of citizenship dispositions among young Cambodian students. I have also extended the concept of institutional habitus from schools to familial habitus, illuminating the roles of family habitus in shaping students' dispositions, with both family and school understood to be important institutions for socialisation.

Briefly, it is doubtful of the role of institutional habitus to shape students' citizenship dispositions in the four sampled schools, not least because the platforms for students to accrue the values of democratic participation are apparently non-existent. The spaces for citizenship practices are characterised by the lack of 'essential' elements of full democratic participation. The sense of empowerment among students are overshadowed by ongoing limitation of both physical and social space as well as the long-standing practice of 'us' and 'them'. This is

evidenced in the exclusion of non-members of Cambodian Youth Red Cross and Youth Scouts from decision-making processes or from merely making their voices heard.

This chapter expands on the ideas presented in chapter 6 where the concept of shadow capital was employed to make sense of students' experience of the Moral-Citizenship Education curriculum. Specifically, this chapter adds nuance to this approach, using the concept of institutional habitus and exposing the contradictions and messiness of school.

As this chapter illustrates, the structural dimensions of institutional habitus and students' early socialisation in their families tend to engender a lack of explicit engagement in civic life; however, my analysis of the data shows that Cambodian young people are not passive citizens; they simply have no platform through which to embody certain citizenship values on school campuses, nor are they given opportunities to be involved in planning or decision-making. School councils are seen as the only channel through which students can make their voices heard, but they exist in some schools only and there are varied understandings and interpretations of such bodies.

In addition, any active citizenship ethos in schools is vague, not least because there seem to be a range of views on how citizenship is practised. The imperative expressive order (that is, school organisational practices) of a citizenship ethos seemingly exists, but is overshadowed at the same time by restrictions imposed by the lack of systemic guidelines. The learning experience, like shadow capital in the school curriculum, reinforces cultural backdrops of 'no crossing the line'; in other words, teaching should follow exactly what is included in the prescribed textbooks. The teachers are expected to teach what is included in the textbooks, and they need to be cautious when delivering the content. While schools can appropriate some of the more tangible elements of active citizenship, they are not doing enough to fundamentally alter the institutional habitus in ways that would support the development of an active citizenry.

In the case of familial habitus, I have argued that students' accrued dispositions are not a carbon copy of their families' dispositions. Students have developed their 'personalised habitus', adding another layer to the institutional-cum-familial habitus. Put simply, the students interviewed were aware of the 'true challenges' of their time—poverty, environmental deterioration, people in need, and avoiding becoming the victims of current social issues, among other challenges. All of their conversations reflect their understanding of 'imagined

futures' and their social trajectories (that is, they clearly wish to see a better future for their country and their fellow citizens). As their remarks suggest, students cannot be rigidly represented as the final products of all the socialisation processes; their perceptions of the social spaces they are currently occupying may not be unvarying (Edwards, 2004; Holdsworth & Morgan, 2007; Reay, 2004; Pimlott-Wilson, 2011). Their active agency is significantly constrained by the assumed failure of content delivery, extremely limited citizenship space on school campuses, and the lack of material resources.

This chapter has discursively attended to the roles of institutional habitus in relation to students' active citizenship habitus, and it serves to frame the next theoretical and empirical discussions. In the next chapter I will continue to explore and unpack the citizenship practices among the sampled students in order to understand their citizenship dispositions and aspirations. I will be using Bourdieu's less known theoretical lenses—*illusio* and *doxa*— and link these lenses to the empirical data.

CHAPTER 8: THE UNFOLDING OF STUDENTS' CITIZENSHIP ASPIRATIONS THROUGH THE LENSES OF DOXA AND ILLUSIO

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines students' citizenship aspirations, drawing on Bourdieu's concepts of *illusio* and *doxa*. It analyses how *illusio* and *doxa* contribute to the formation of citizenship aspirations among Cambodian high school students. It examines students' citizenship aspirations through these two concepts in order to enable a deeper and nuanced understanding of the inculcation of active citizenship in Cambodian schools, using the data from a student survey.

I argue that the circulating *doxa* among students inclines them to see the contemporary state as a corrupt one such that changes to the system would be being particularly challenging for any who sought change. The system traps them because their only recourse is the *illusio* of volunteerism and charitable acts that they hope can ameliorate the lives of their disadvantaged citizens. This engagement may enable them to feel good as they can do the work of 'good and responsible citizens', thereby conforming to the ultimate objectives of the citizenship curriculum as well as making the system work. Ultimately, these young students are taught to be both obedient and law-abiding, and this means not involving themselves in conventional politics or other democratic participation processes like protesting, signing petitions, or boycotting a certain product.

I begin the chapter by conceptualising these two frameworks of Bourdieu, unpacking students' current circulating *doxa*, before going on to discuss the first form of *doxa*, powerlessness, focusing on students' recognition of macro and micro social problems which are significant for students' imagined futures. Students' sense of powerlessness arises because they are denied the right to challenge the system. This section is followed by discussion of the generational views of unsupportive welfare in which I demonstrate that students do not directly challenge the system, yet they take on the *illusio* of charitable acts. Students' *doxa* of 'individuality' is then discussed. By this I mean that rather than pressuring the government to devise an adequate welfare system, students sacrifice their time and resources helping those in need of support. The chapter continues, focusing on the *doxa* of becoming 'good citizens'. Students devote their time to, and embody, the values of nationalism and of natural resources-cum-environmental

protection. Finally, yet most importantly, I end the chapter with a discussion about the doxa of ‘no collective bargaining’ nor democratic participation. In this section, I argue that, while the concept of direct involvement in conventional politics is present, it is unrealised because students try to distance themselves from direct involvement in conventional politics.

CONCEPTUALISING DOXA AND ILLUSIO: CURRENT CIRCULATING DOXA

In Chapter 2, I introduced the concepts of doxa and illusio as two key concepts in this thesis to understand the development, or lack thereof, of citizenship practices among students. It is useful therefore to summarise the key aspects of illusio and doxa that I draw on in this chapter. Throughout Cambodia’s modern history (1953 to the present), the dominant political agenda has been characterised by ‘no-involvement in conventional politics’ because any such involvement connotes risk. This form of doxa is significantly linked to historical radical changes (the changes of regime) that have taken place in Cambodia over half a century. The history of Generation X (those born between the 1960s and the early 1980s) is one of war and internal conflict. History for millennials (Generations Y and Z born at the beginning of the millennium) is characterised by the denial of their citizenship rights—civil, political, and social (Chapter 4).

As millennials are the focus in my thesis, it is even more important to highlight the environments that have critical implications for their doxa. These young Cambodians have been denied their rights in their lived experience, including through their education. In their everyday lives their rights are undermined; any democratic participation (for example, protesting for pay rises or for economic and political reforms) encounters a brutal crackdown in return. Through education, the introduction of shadow capital in citizenship education, the reinforcement of allegiance to the ruler, and the discouraging of citizenship practices in school (Chapter 7) the doxa of passivity and conformity is driven.

In this chapter, I explain how these forms of doxa and illusio play out among young students. That said, I focus on Bourdieu’s notion of doxa which he first used to analyse what he called a normative concept and norms in a particular society to understand the practical reasoning, vision, and experience of the world among groups of people (Deer, 2008; Bourdieu, 1977b, 1999c). Deer (2008), reviewing Bourdieu’s term, argues that in modern societies doxa is

understood as instinctive conceptions of a phenomenon and has a determining influence on agents' practices and attitudes. These influences, she argues, are mediated through the internalised dispositions of conformity to a given field or across other social fields. Bourdieu's earliest thought (1990) suggests that doxa is dictated and geared towards specific course of actions that inform a person's predisposed system of thoughts.

Drawing on these concepts, I next explore the circulating forms of doxa and illusio before I link them to students' comments. Generally, given their everyday reality and their current citizenship education, students' doxa is understood as being removed from direct expression of their dissent towards the current system and their concerns about the future. Understandably, there have been concerns expressed by student participants over the failed system that lets social issues, that pose great challenges for young people, persist. Students are aware of the reality that they are powerless to challenge the system in seeking a better society; rather, they indirectly challenge the system by investing their time and materials to help ameliorate the difficulties of the disadvantaged. In addition, these forms of doxa and illusio are characterised by the notion of 'individuality'. By this I mean that the problems citizens are facing are structural, while the solutions to these problems are individualised (Cuervo & Wyn, 2011; Furlong & Cartmel, 2007). This can be understood through the reality of unsupportive social welfare against poverty and students' illusio of 'helping hands', voluntary and charitable. In addition, dominant ideas of nationalism and becoming 'good citizens' are very explicit, students expressing these through both their thinking and their actions. The last reflection of students' doxic attitudes is the absence of collective bargaining, the existence of which would be perceived as a challenge to the system. Instead of protesting, therefore, or boycotting a certain product, or signing a petition to express dissent or make demands, students resort to individualised means of helping their fellow citizens.

Put simply, students see the current system as corrupt, unchangeable, causing them to resort to volunteering and charitable endeavours to help disadvantaged citizens. This makes them feel good; they are doing the work of 'good citizens'; they can thus reconcile themselves to the system (that is, they are living the values embedded in the citizenship curriculum). As discussed in Chapter 6, the ultimate objective of this curriculum is to teach young people to be obedient and to distance themselves from radical democratic participation. In this sense, the system is setting them a trap. Becoming good citizens, being involved in volunteering and charitable activities (either through the school or through individual effort) and conforming to the system

are the desired outcomes of citizenship education. In the sections that follow, I illustrate these forms of circulating doxa among young Cambodians through their comments.

AN IDEAL SOCIETY FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF YOUNG CAMBODIANS

In this section, I demonstrate one form of doxa that is apparent among my student participants. Their commonsense attitude is an understandable response to the system failures which let social problems that pose great challenges to young people continue unchecked. Students' recognition of macro and micro social problems is significant for students' imagined futures, as I discussed in Chapter 7. This is also associated with the denial of their right to influence, if not to change, the system, reflecting the sense of powerlessness of those who are ruled. In relation to Bourdieu's conception of *illusio*, Cambodian students express a desire for an ideal society—a better one—which is, obviously, not the one they are living in now, for they wish to see a society free of current problems; for instance, they want better state welfare to take care of the poor and the marginalised, and a guarantee of social justice). Some of them express their concern over general social problems that have adverse and far-reaching consequences for both young people and the general public. Bun and Ny comment:

I fear that our young generations are bad as there are more and more criminals and bad people; some people are arguing over political parties they like; I think that 40% of the population are not critical thinkers (Bun, Preah Sisowath High School).

There are a lot of issues in Cambodia today; the education is limited in quality and accessibility, especially for the poor. Drug trafficking is so common and widespread. The nation is facing challenges regarding economic crisis due to instability, insecurity and social disorders (Ny, Chumpu Voan High School).

As Bun and Ny indicate, issues such as insecurity and social disorder, the limited quality of education, and drug trafficking have significant adverse effects on young people, preventing them from attaining full membership in society. Other students make their expectations explicit by spelling out what they want to change. These students explain what they want Cambodia to be. For some of them, a fairer justice system is paramount in their conceptualisation of what Cambodian society should aspire to:

I want Cambodia to be more developed; I want Cambodia to uphold social justice; I want more jobs for Cambodians (Sarim, Phnom Penh Thmey High School).

There is no justice for the poor as they have no power to argue against the rich; low vocational training compared to other countries; traffic congestion and the use of violence to solve problems are so common (Komsan, Phnom Penh Thmey High School).

As these quotes illustrate, social wellbeing and social justice are what young Cambodians aspire to. The notion of justice is one of Marshall's dimensions of citizenship rights, significantly developed in the eighteenth century and attributed to the acquisition of civil rights and to the actions of formal law courts (Marshall, 1950). Putting aside the flaws of Marshall's framework, a citizenship that is anchored in social and economic rights, and not just formal political ones, seems paramount for these students. This is a citizenship approach that aims to address societal problems holistically, one that can take young people from a citizenship position as *denizens* (as Turner would have it) to full-citizen membership (encompassing social, economic, and political rights). Recognition of macro and micro societal problems is important in making it possible for students to imagine a future.

As discussed in Chapter 4, corruption in the legal system has led to injustice among the Cambodian poor. This is particularly true when cases in court involve the rich and the poor, the judicial system being clearly biased towards the former (Un, 2007; World Bank, 2003; Amnesty International, 2003). The absence of strong judicial institutions is one of the main concerns of Cambodian people; without them, entitlements that should be enjoyed by citizens are missing (Turner, 2006).

Others identify the challenges as those related to problematic drug use and alcohol consumption. Their concerns are confirmed a report by Cambodian authority to combat drugs cited by (OECD, 2017), in which there is an evidence indicating there are more and more young people affected by drug abuse. This report's warning is based primarily on the increasing numbers of those seeking treatment. As many as 60% of them are aged between 18 and 25 (OECD, 2017). The OECD (2017) also reveals increasing smoking rates among adolescent boys aged 15 to 17, while those between 18 and 24 are the group with the highest prevalence. Alcohol consumption among young people is also on the increase, often linked to road accidents (the number one cause of death in Cambodia) (OECD, 2017; Mom & Khoun, 2009).

Drug abuse; unlawful citizens (speeding and not obeying traffic laws); extorting the money from citizens, using violence on citizens and cursing the poor (Mara, Santhormuk High School).

I have volunteered in my community to help children who are affected by domestic violence and violation of their rights. I have raised concerns over the left-behind children who then involved in gangs and use drugs (Thavy, Chumpu Voan High School).

The students' comments above point to new and difficult challenges faced by Cambodian young people. These challenges range from the role and quality of education, to impoverished living conditions, social injustice, and problematic drug use. These concerns reflect how these young people understand life's meaning for their generation, and their expectations of social change. Poverty has significant implications for the realities of citizenship as it is the major obstacle to citizens' engagement and participation; it demands daily struggles for survival, struggles that undercut people's self-esteem and self-confidence (Lister, 2002; Dean & Melrose, 1999; Gaventa, 2002). People living in impoverished conditions find that security and equality are inaccessible to them (Lister, 2004; Vincent, 1991). Further, young Cambodians are socially excluded by their inability to get decent employment thanks to the poor quality of their education and skill mismatches, causing them to work in less-skilled jobs with poor conditions and with little income security (ADB/ILO, 2014; Morris, 2004; Thai et al., 2015; CDRI, 2015).

Arguably, these challenges are the result of current structural contexts as well as the tragic history of Cambodia since its independence in the mid-1950s. The resulting social fragmentation is yet another challenge. Below, students comment on their desire to solve rampant social inequality and broken trust issues in Cambodian society:

People themselves are all racists towards each other and that's what made the whole nation worst; Only those who are rich have the most rights to do anything, I mean everything is all possible for those who have money even the law can't break them; and there are so many homeless people on the street, so hopefully, someday I will no longer see them on streets but somewhere else because it really breaks my heart as I am also a human being (Tevy, Santhormuk High School).

Volunteerism is important as it helps me understand the lives of Cambodians. Some families have everything while others do not have almost anything. Besides, I also learn that we still have the idea of solidarity. All Cambodians always wish they can do something for their country's development. They also wish to choose good leaders (representatives) who care about clean environment and hygiene (Chhunny, Santhormuk High School).

Students' responses show the ongoing distrust in government and broken solidarity that has plagued Cambodian society for decades. They reflect a shattered social contract between the state and its citizens, a social contract that should be the bedrock of citizenship. This eroded trust and solidarity has a long history. Kamm (1998) observes that Cambodia is still affected by decades of war and conflict, with poverty, corruption, and violence remaining pervasive. There is a marked decline in social capital among Cambodian population which is reflected in society-wide deep distrust of the state at all levels. One Cambodian teacher of the Moral-Civics subject in Tan's study estimated that as many as 70% of the population were self-centred (Tan, 2007). Morris (2000) links Cambodia's culturally-driven individual practices to the influence of Buddhism and its focus on the followers' actions in their past lives; that is, what a person is experiencing now merely results from what he/she did in last cycle. Further, Lee (2004) argues that individuality is associated with a prevalent conception of self-oriented way of life, and that it is different from individualism which is more about collective goods. These cultural and social drivers of self-dependence are shaped by the longstanding inadequacy of state support, everything being left to individual and familial decisions. These factors are reflected in students' remarks about individuals' impoverished living conditions, including poor social welfare support. Some students worry about family poverty and ignorance, leading parents to prioritise feeding their children over giving them an education which could benefit the whole family in the long run.

Many families do not care about small kids as they are not sent to schools but help generate incomes (scavengers or beggars); family issues as parents let children earn incomes, not investing in their education; schools should help students to get jobs via the competition (Samith, Phnom Penh Thmey High School).

The student's comments above illustrate the issues young people are facing. They illustrate the arguments about symbolic violence in Chapter 2 and marginalised citizens in Chapter 4 where

I explain how structural conditions add pressure to their everyday lives. Unemployment, migration for work, problematic drug use, alcoholism, and violence among young people are some of the chronic social ills which require government response. Their comments and experiences of daily life resonate with Turner's (2016) 'denizens' concept. Turner uses the concept of 'denizens' to refer to those who may only enjoy different sets of rights on their land of birth but are lost on a foreign land. Implicated in this is the call for a rethinking of social citizenship in Cambodia, for a welfare system can determine citizenship inclusion or exclusion given the level of protection afforded by social rights (Patrick, 2017; Lister, 2003). As the above quote indicates, school-aged children are sent to work instead of to school. Prioritising work over school also occurs among adults who opt out of education for income-making activities (Chapter 3). While young children are supposed to be taken care of by the government, they are left to the mercy of their families, only to be kept out of education. All the interviewed students' comments illustrate their understanding of societal problems as obstacles to their desired futures. At the same time, their remarks serve to reflect their doxa of powerlessness and uncertainty in relation to their imagined futures, not least because the system allows the issues facing young people to go unaddressed, with young people having no opportunity to challenge that system. In the next section, I deepen my examination of their concerns over the state's inability to tackle chronic social issues.

THE GENERATIONAL VIEWS OF UNSUPPORTIVE WELFARE

It is not uncommon for young Cambodians to recognise existing social problems as well as acknowledging the poverty of the social welfare system. This only reinforces their belief that they are not empowered to alter the system except by investing their own time and materials to try to remedy it. Although students do not directly challenge the inadequacy of welfare, helping their disadvantaged fellow citizens signifies their generation's view that they are in no position to alter the system. Some students, for example, have expressed a desire to challenge the doxic views of the lack of state support in relation to the elderly and orphans.

The decades-long absence of a welfare policy sits alongside the Cambodian people's traditional views of obligatory familial support (Chapter 4); it legitimises the absence of social protection schemes. Although the Social Protection Policy Framework (SPPF) came into existence in 2017, its benefits are limited and ineffective alike (OECD, 2017; Asian Development Bank,

2014). Lister (2003), Dwyer (2010), and Patrick (2017) have linked the absence of social protection to diminished citizenship rights, not least because its absence undercuts the enjoyment of social citizenship rights which Marshall (1950) says is constituted by an individual's right to a "modicum of economic welfare and security". The following responses from students underscore another aspect of this salient fact.

I want orphans to get education and have something to eat; I want to run an organisation to take care of the elderly because in Cambodia some elderly do not get support from their families; I also want more jobs for university graduates as I notice that many of those graduates do not get employment (Phanith, Phnom Penh Thmey High School).

Unemployment pushes people to work and live in other country; drug abuse makes youth's future is severely affected and health deteriorated as well as trouble in family; lack of housing leads to street people and homelessness (Phorn, Phnom Penh Thmey High School).

Students in remote areas do not have proper schools and stationery; those who finish high schools cannot afford to go to university; bad environment both in the city and in the country's resorts (Kosama, Phnom Penh Thmey High School).

Students recognise that orphans and the elderly are not taken care of by the government. Effective welfare reform is particularly important for social inclusion (and, of course, for full citizenship) simply because welfare support helps individuals transform their lives, enabling them to become independent, dutiful, and hardworking citizens (Patrick, 20176). Through such support individuals can be confident of supporting themselves and their families to live according to the prevalent standard in society (Marshall, 1950). Doxa is defined by Bourdieu (2000, 2000a) as "a set of fundamental beliefs which does not even need to be asserted in the form of an explicit, self-conscious dogma" (p. 16). He further simplifies the definition, likening doxa to the unspoken but widely accepted logic that not only informs but also structures social life. Bourdieu (1977b) puts it thus: "What is essential goes without saying because it comes without saying, where the tradition is silent, not least about itself as a tradition" (pp. 165-7).

Understanding this in another way, students' current doxa of 'no challenge to the status quo' can be a form of misrecognition. Bourdieu (1998a) refers to doxa as a form of misrecognition, partly because it results from historical struggles which make such misrecognised views of currently weak systems appear natural and true. In order to understand the common misrecognitions among these young students, I discuss the relational concept of misrecognition through the lens of doxa and illusio in the section below.

DOXA AND ILLUSIO: A RESULTING MISRECOGNITION

In the following sections I illustrate a form of misrecognition among young students by looking particularly at the illusio associated with helping their disadvantaged fellow citizens rather than challenging deep-rooted structural barriers. I do this by demonstrating that students' doxa is related to their understanding of 'individuality'. Rather than challenge (and change) the system to devise an adequate welfare system, they sacrifice their own time and resources to help those in need. This form of doxa is characterised by the belief that individuals with better living conditions should offer support to those in difficulty. I call this a form of misrecognition simply because students, their families, and schools do not have the capacity to fulfil the role of the state. They tend to believe that the government is not able to provide these kinds of support, or that this is not the government's responsibility.

Misrecognition (of their social rights and of government's responsibilities) is so normative that it is understood as a form of social order which reinforces an individual's doxa and prevents them from challenging the existing rules. Bourdieu (2013) explains that the notion of misrecognition is characterised by an individual's misunderstanding of their personal circumstances. That said, an individual seems to believe that the existing social order is established to grantee fairness irrespective of their backgrounds. To Threadgold (2018), misrecognition is not to be interpreted as false consciousness, and doxa is not ideology; however, they do concern history and temporality. Individuals are simply living in the present with a cursory understanding of the past that offers an incomplete picture of the history of the way doxic norms develop. Misrecognition represents an acknowledgment of one's spatially and temporally situated being and, while unequally distributed, applies to both strong and weak players of the game in each field (Threadgold, 2018). That said, students' practice of helping

others is not to be interpreted as their false consciousness; exercising their rights to influence the existing system is more productive, with more desired outcomes.

The illusio of “helping hands” in the absence of state welfare

In the context of Cambodia’s existing structural inequalities and the weak welfare system, students express their understanding of the challenges young people are currently facing. They do not directly blame the system, however, or demand a change in the existing system in a frank way. Instead, these students develop an illusio of helping those in need, taking state’s responsibilities as their own. Students’ responses reflect their different aspirations for various groups of the deserving poor with the doxa of ‘no direct complaining’ about the inadequacy of the system and of a preference for individual or familial support. To address social inequalities students believe in taking matters into their own hands through volunteering to help others, for example. Below are some students’ comments on how they offer support by meeting some basic needs of those experiencing difficulties:

I have helped the poor and the homeless, orphans and some NGOs, which means I help my country and learn to be citizen (Rith, Preah Sisowath High School).

I want to help the elderly and orphans as these groups of people do not have income and are not fit to work to generate incomes (Phary, Phnom Penh Thmey High School).

I often volunteer to help the disabled and the poor as well as join clean-up events. These activities are important for me; they make me know more about what is happening in the society. The reason why I volunteer is simply I have a pity on those people and wish to help contribute to my country’s development (Vivath, Santhormuk High School).

Critically, the absence of state support, or more accurately, an unsupportive welfare system, is a feature of social exclusion and thus a denial of citizenship rights and citizenship membership (Roche, 1992; Turner, 1994). The students clearly indicated that those who are supposed to be looked after by the state are not receiving what they deserve, that it is a form of denial of their social rights, and that they are being involuntarily left on the margins of citizenship. The presence or absence of a welfare system (or social rights) serves as a useful theoretical lens for understanding whether citizens are included or excluded (Patrick, 2017). There is, therefore, a

notion of critical social exclusion in students' comments, confirming the findings of my literature review of Cambodian citizenship in Chapter 4 in which I argued a lack of universal material rights as a form of citizenship deficiency. Other students are inspired to support organisations working for the benefit of disadvantaged people or to raise funds to help them. They not only choose to spend their limited spare time in this way when not studying, but also shoulder the associated expenses.

I have participated in charity events to raise funds for orphanages and hospitals that offer free-of-charge services to Cambodian kids. I also joined the activities to clean our school campus (Reach, Santhormuk High School).

I have participated in a charity trip organised by my school to share some stationery to those poor kids in Cambodia's remote areas. Children are Cambodia's human resources; therefore, giving them these stationaries will help encourage them to study harder (Smey, Santhormuk High School).

These students develop the *illusio* of volunteerism and charitable activity, hoping that those who need the support the most can better their current living conditions. Positively, this form of *illusio* is in support of their *doxa* of not blaming state institutions; however, this allows the system and its institutions to retain an ineffective welfare system. In Bourdieu's views, *illusio* is how one is attracted by things and therefore invest in them without reflecting too much on their meaning. There is a strong association though between the rewards for an individual's commitment and the possible rewards for certain behaviours, reflecting either low or high aspirations, that is, indicating position-taking (Hage, 2011). Threadgold (2018) argues that a subject's position-taking depends on both their commitment to invest (driven by individual psychology or personality traits) and their level of awareness. The commitment towards the *illusio*, argues Threadgold, is understood as how much time, effort, and emotion one is willing to invest in the field, whereas level of awareness is responsible for the choice of strategy and the network harnessed to achieve the goals set. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) posit that:

If someone is invested in the *illusio* of a field, they are motivated by its stakes as something worth struggling over; they see the investment of their own time, effort and emotion as a valuable endeavour; and they are committed to reaping the rewards of the field—that is they see something worth *aspiring* towards. Once an *illusio* is personally

invested in, a trajectory is formed where one is '*taken in and by the game*' [my emphasis] (p. 116).

Students' illuso of helping the poor is highly likely shaped by Cambodia's long-standing socio-cultural imperatives (such as poor social welfare and Buddhist doctrines about helping the needy), where social protection and general social and economic welfare is extremely limited. This form of illuso cannot be associated with any single factor; it should be seen as a more relational process, with the teaching of Buddhist values in the citizenship curriculum, the traditional views about helping the less fortunate, and the effects of familial habitus in Cambodian families all playing a part in these forms of doxa and illuso.

Given the current circumstances of Cambodian welfare (such as the absence of state support), the student's illuso of helping the poor is no surprise, yet their contributions are not structurally transforming the social order. Whereas the students' commitment to helping the poor is admirable, their contributions as discussed are not systematic and are likely to be short-lived. Their illuso cannot counter ongoing social inequality. Such contributions can positively help those in need in the short term, for both students and schools are not the right persons and institutions to provide effective welfare support, but these contributions reinforce the belief that the population's wellbeing is in individual hands rather than being the state's responsibility.

The existing structural conditions (poor social welfare, poor quality and limited accessibility of education to meet market demand, and the narrow space for an active citizenry) will have to change if significant transformations are to materialise. Put simply, only the state's welfare structures can be systematic, legitimate, and enduring; ad hoc support from individuals and some charity organisations is not based in policy or imbued with clear and uniform procedures.

The OECD's Social Protection Review of Cambodia (2017) indicates that social assistance coverage is extremely limited, that the sector is highly fragmented, and that it is not pro the poor. Public spending on social protection remains low if compared regionally, while the provision for vulnerable groups is relatively limited, with public care facilities for the most vulnerable children having been scaled back. The review goes on to emphasise that the government does not provide direct financial support for the elderly, and while an allowance for people with disabilities exists its distribution is a challenge.

The relationship between doxa, habitus, and fields involves a form of misrecognition that individuals are both formed by and caught up in. When we feel comfortable in our roles within our social world, those roles seem natural to us, and we have a different view of how we have become particular kinds of people (Fowler, 2009; Webb, Schirato, & Danaher, 2002; Wacquant, 2014; Threadgold, 2018). Although Threadgold warns that the struggles experienced by social agents work to create meaning in their day-to-day lives, both reproducing and transforming doxic norms, I argue that Cambodians are pushed and pulled towards reproducing the existing system as imposed and intended by social structures. This is because Cambodian society is shaped by symbolic violence (Chapter 2), by various forms of social exclusion (Chapter 4), and by an education system that reinforces the ‘no challenge’ mantra (Chapters 3 and 6). Cambodian people, especially the aspirational young, are led to involuntarily conform to the system, and if they practise their citizenship rights it is to be done in an *illusio* of dealing with immediate issues perceived as unrelated to conventional politics. Volunteering to teach poor children and to offer assistance in-kind is what they can do, for they can feel secure and welcome in such a role. Pisey and Mean comments illustrate these efforts:

When thinking about volunteerism, I always think about the poor. These poor people do not have anything to support their lives. I have helped to teach children without pay (Pisey, Phnom Penh Thmey High School).

I have volunteered to share/distribute medicines to people in the countryside. This is a good act as it helps those in need (Mean, Phnom Penh Thmey High School).

At a glance, students’ doxa and *illusio* are easily understood as their acceptance of the system; however, their comments clearly demonstrate that their criticisms of the system do not link their activities with rebellion against it. Their recognition of societal issues and their voluntary and charitable behaviours reveal their disappointment about what they experience daily. In what follows I theoretically and empirically explore further the aspirations of students in relation to doxa and *illusio*.

DOXA AND ILLUSIO OF STUDENT'S CITIZENSHIP ASPIRATIONS

As I mentioned in the beginning of the chapter, one of the circulating doxic views among students concerns becoming 'good citizens'; in consequence students contribute their time, embody the values of nationalism, and concern themselves with natural resources-cum-environmental protection. To Bourdieu, the interplay between habitus, capital, and field is significant in forming individuals' aspirations and determining the strategies for individuals' social actions (Bourdieu, 1998). Aspirations, realised and enacted in the social world, are influenced by various sociocultural resources that include policy and populist ideologies, family, community histories, and the cultural agency of people within their current circumstances. Put simply, aspirations are embedded in the social milieu (Zipin, Sellar, Brennan & Gale, 2015; Stahl, Wallace, Burk & Threadgold, 2018).

Aspirations can be conceived as internalised dispositions towards certain commitments (Zipin, Sellar & Hattam, 2012), as well as deeply social phenomena arising from a relational, felt, emotional, and embedded process. Aspirations are also associated with various other abstract concepts including excitement, fear or desire (Allen & Mendick, 2013). Hart (2012) posits that aspirations among young people keep evolving, and that level of aspirations can either be improved or reduced through various steps from the latent to the mature, from the realistic to the reaching, and from the short term to the long term. In the same vein, Wallace (2018) proposes that young people's high aspirations are often derived from their own desires, or from ancestors, or from the rewards they gain from personal fulfilment in their social trajectories. Below, I explore the different values to which the students aspire.

Aspirations towards nationalism and volunteerism: the good citizens

The empirical exploration of students' aspirations draws on responses to the student questionnaire. While their aspirations generally revolve around love of and pride in their country, what is most interesting is their emerging citizenship aspirations. Students' aspirations in relation to broader society reflect their positioning as good citizens-in-the-making and their willingness to contribute to the nation. These quotes from students reflect this form of aspiration:

I always come to pay respect to the national anthem as this helps us to give values to ourselves. I learn that in other countries, people stop to pay respect to their national anthem; this is values. In Cambodia, especially in my school, student skip the time to pay respect to our national anthem, but they claim they love this nation. My last word: I wish all schools legitimise national anthem (Rita, Chumpu Voan High School).

I have actively involved in clean-up in my community and neighbourhood watch to make certain that my community is safe. I do this both in my school and in my community. The motivation behind my volunteer is that I want to do exercise as well as to help make my country cleaner (Sopheak, Santhormuk High School).

Good citizens, according to Rita and Sopheak, are those who are proud of being Cambodian and who contribute to the safety of their communities and neighbourhoods. Interestingly, they make a distinction between the state (the government) and the nation. Although they are not happy with the current system, they are proud of their good behaviour and their taking of personal responsibility rather than being dependent on the system. Other students aspired to contribute to the nation through different forms of voluntary activities.

I volunteered to conserve Cambodian culture, say traditional martial arts (Khorm martial arts), as I want to make this known to others instead of disappearing. I often do this with other young Cambodians who also love doing the same thing (Sreng, Phnom Penh Thmey High School).

Volunteerism is important in that by volunteering I have a chance to contribute to the development of our country like other nations (Rothy, Phnom Penh Thmey High School).

Primarily, it may seem that the teaching of the Moral-Civics subject is producing its intended results. In Chapter 6, I discussed the notion of cultural transformation through education. The students' commitment to becoming good citizens who can contribute to their community and to their country's development can be attributed to the Moral-Civics curriculum given that such commitment is the one of its main goals. It is noteworthy that the curriculum covers three subjects and themes: human values, the culture of peace, and community involvement. The notion of being good citizens remains pervasive among Cambodian students, as citizens'

obligations and responsibilities are emphasised more than the state's. All the students' comments clearly indicate that seeking to be 'good citizens' and 'responsible citizens' has become the norm among young Cambodians. From the government's perspective, good citizens are not perceived as those who represent a challenge to the system, that is, those seeking democratic participation. From students' perspectives, good citizens connote reduced or no risk.

Other students also expressed their aspirations to become responsible citizens, with a focus on their obligations and personal responsibilities. The following responses reflect their intention to uphold their citizenship obligations.

Volunteerism not only teaches me about being a citizen, but also makes me realise the good deeds and social obligations which is good for my future. I have volunteered to help the poor kids as I think these kids will become the leaders (bamboo shoots) and the future leaders of the country. I have only done this once for a while with my teachers (Deth, Preah Sisowath High School).

Volunteerism is important for me as this helps me, my family, and my country. This also helps me to express my ideas to help others and the country. Volunteerism is a channel for me to contribute to my school and country and it makes me understand the action (Narak, Phnom Penh Thmey High School).

The students' remarks below illustrate their willingness to take responsibility for their actions as citizens of the nation. They have different internalised dispositions, but they can all be attributed to students' beliefs about personal and citizens' responsibilities.

Volunteerism is important as it helps expand my knowledge and develop myself both at the present and in the future. Moreover, volunteering makes me brave and dare to express my opinions (Panha, Phnom Penh Thmey High School).

Volunteerism is important for me as this is part of my daily life as well as others'. Although I have not volunteered quite often, I have always thought about volunteerism as this is usually my topic of discussions with fellow classmates (Phirun, Phnom Penh Thmey High School).

Group study is what I like to participate as volunteerism. As I find that my team members are not good in their studies, I think helping them to learn and become good students is what a team leader like me should do. I do this because this is the good things I can do and it serves as the model for the students in next generations as well as contribute to the field of education (Vichheka, Santhormuk High School).

As students' aspirations gradually become clear, one can see a link between the introduction of shadow capital in education (Chapter 6) and the sense of national citizenship among students—the good citizens. The ultimate objective in the citizenship curriculum is to produce students who are not involved in radical democratic participation but rather are obedient and law-abiding citizens, despite the curriculum aiming to make them active citizens, on paper and in theory. The discussion above illustrates students' tendencies to contribute to their country as citizens as well as helping their fellow Cambodians, who are disadvantaged, through charity and volunteerism. What students are aspiring to do describes what communitarian theorists ascribe to “good citizens” whose practices are informed by responsibility and duty as citizens (Etzioni, 1997; Willetts, 2008) and are characterised by behavioural and moralising dimensions (Lister, 2003). As Patrick (2015) points out, there is a dichotomy: the ‘good’ citizen who performs an effective role to positively transform their communities and the ‘bad’ citizen who may not make any significant contributions to the common goods. The students in my project have been educated to move towards the good citizen axis, a predictable result, although they are not empowered enough to perform the tasks of an active citizenry.

Aspirations to natural resources and environmental protection

In constructing the theory of habitus, Bourdieu (1990a, 1990c) argues that it is social influences that shape a person's history. In keeping with Bourdieu's proposition, Dean (2016) observes that people use personal experience and social guidelines to inform their behaviour in social institutions, and that their actions are apparently confined to a structural cycle; that is, one's identity is not constructed ‘in opposition to the social world’ but instead *by* the social world (Dean, 2016; Lawler, 2008). In this respect, students' concerns over natural resources and the environment serve as another piece of evidence that confirms Cambodia's current problems (such as illegal logging and poor environmental protections). Some students talk about other individuals' behaviours:

Poor sense of tolerance; poor sense of participation, especially in keeping the environment clean (Kiri, Santhormuk High School).

I find volunteerism important as clean environment will help develop our country as the nation's development also depends on environment. As a citizen, I have rights to help keep our environment clean (Kruy, Santhormuk High School).

Both Kiri and Kruy's understanding of environmental issues is very powerful, not least because they pointed to both the careless behaviors of their fellow citizens and the critical role of environmental citizens. Active citizens, for them, are those who play significant roles in helping develop their nation, albeit their dissenting attitudes towards the handling of environmental issues by the system. Furthermore, they have a profound understanding of the difference between state and the nation, for they emphasise the interplay between clean environment and nation's progress, irrespective of the poor system. Other students, however, critique such a poor system straightforwardly, expressing their concerns over weak institutions in containing the issues (that is, the government and its relevant institutions) which lets things happen that are beyond the individual's control.

Environment clean-up is important, and I have involved in any events relevant to this regardless where they happen: at home, at school or at public places, esp. at tourist sites as these sites help our nation's economy. I have done this very often with my friends, family members and individually (Phearak, Preah Sisowath High School).

Corruption in society is increasing; illegal loggings lead to forest destructions; people live in misery: lack of basic needs; poverty, lack of foods; homelessness (Visal, Preah Sisowath High School).

Although these students do not explicitly mention the government's responsibilities with reference to corruption, illegal logging, and human rights abuses, their views clearly reflect their understanding of the real problems in their country. According to the World Justice Project 2019 Cambodia is ranked 15 (out of 15) in East Asia and the Pacific and 125 (out of 126) for the rule of law (World Justice Project, 2019), while Transparency International's Corruption Index 2018 ranked Cambodia 161 out of 198, with a score of 20/100 (Transparency International, 2018). With regard to freedom of expression, the World Report 2019 of Human

Rights Watch indicated that Cambodia no longer had any local, independent newspapers, radio stations, or TV channels by the end of 2018 (Human Rights Watch, 2020).

The students' disinclination to causally link their issues of concern to government's weak institutions is undoubtedly justifiable, for there has been increased curtailment of involvement in any political activity. As discussed in Chapter 4, the concept of participation in Cambodia is an alien one thanks to the country's sociopolitical context. On school campuses and in public places, commentary about political parties or government is prohibited. In principle, citizenship is associated with democratic politics and political participation (Bellamy, 2008), while the lack of opportunities to participate in proactive ways represents marginalisation (Fraser, 2003).

In the remainder of this chapter I examine the students' status as emerging citizens. I begin with their disposition of non-involvement in conventional politics, followed by their conception of citizenship. The discussion that follows aims to explain their doxa of no collective bargaining or democratic participation. The concept of direct involvement in conventional politics is present but not acted upon, with students' distance from democratic involvement reflecting their understanding of associated risks.

ORDINARY POLITICS CITIZENSHIP

Given Cambodia's sociocultural environment is framed by the legacy of a tragic past, it is no surprise that Cambodian young people have developed a view that politically perceived activities are linked to risk. The OECD (2017) reports that young people tend to be extremely cautious about their participation in civic life as well as in other forms of engagements, for these activities are almost always associated with more harm than benefit. The inclusiveness that flows from youth participation is seen to be served by social media for those who live in urban areas, whereas most of those who live in rural areas, as well as overseas migrants, remain significantly marginalised (UNDP, 2010; UN, 2011). Meaningful youth participation is overshadowed by the lack of recognition of young people as a result of Cambodia's age and knowledge hierarchy that persists within its wider society (OECD, 2017; UNDP, 2014; UN, 2009).

The aspirations expressed below can be understood as everyday politics. The students' involvement in charitable or environmental protection activities is extremely high, yet

involvement in such democratic processes as signing petitions, boycotting certain products, or learning about the roles of political parties is surprisingly low. Students seem to be very aware of what is “politically” possible, circumventing any potential state repression of their activism by their inaction. Few students claim involvement in activities that are political or perceived as dissent. Based on students’ responses in the survey, questions which are perceived as ‘resistance to’ or ‘disagreement with’ school management received the lowest response rate; for example, when asked if they had ever ‘signed a petition’ or ‘boycotted any product’, the majority of students (98%) said they had never done so. While ‘making a complaint at school’ received a few more positive responses, still 94 per cent of students claimed they had never made any complaint.

Table 8. 1. “Have you ever involved in these activities?”

Question	Yes (%)
Joining any association or youth organization	16
Signing a petition	2
Making a complaint at school	6
Boycotting a product	2
Donating money to any organisation/association	18
Volunteering at any organisation	7
Helping your community	13
Volunteering to help your school	45
Supporting your school’s sport team	46

*N=206

As the results from the survey indicate, students’ citizenship dispositions are evolving around a generic disposition that is non-political. These include, but are not necessarily limited to, ‘social harmony’, ‘helping those in need’, ‘charity’, ‘no politics’, ‘no discrimination’, ‘the making of good citizens who obey the laws’, and ‘good children and students’ (Table 8.1). Taking socialised subjectivity that the Cambodian students in this study embody, I argue that the citizenship spaces at school have a great impact on how students act, think, perceive, and approach reality. Put simply, their lived trajectories justify their practices (Costa & Murphy, 2015; Bourdieu, 2000). To these students, the notions of ‘routine, habit and normality’ (France, Bottrell & Armstrong, 2012) are not uncommon as they result from social (re)constructions which include their family’s routines (what Bourdieu calls primary socialisation) and schools serving as social controllers (Chapter 7).

Most students interviewed revealed that they almost never discussed topics related to politics when they had a chance to talk with their family members or their friends. While the topics of discussion with family members are issues pertaining to social ills (that is, drug misuse, alcohol consumption, and youth violence), the students usually talk with their peers about their study. As the data in the table indicate, activities related to disagreement with or challenge to the existing system are avoided. There is low involvement from students if activities are perceived as rebellious (for example, ‘signing a petition’, ‘making a complaint at school’, or ‘boycotting a product’); however, where the activities are not perceived as a challenge to the state and as non-political, more students get involved (such as ‘supporting your school sport team’ or ‘volunteering to help your school’). In the section below I explore students’ emerging citizenship dispositions which are significant for their everyday politics.

CURRENT CITIZENSHIP DISPOSITIONS AMONG STUDENTS

The above discussion and that in Chapter 7 reflect Cambodian students’ dispositions as being alienated from conventional politics. They are consistent with Bourdieu’s argument that current practices are shaped by past and present circumstances and by education and social order. The resulting aspirations represent the current individual structures comprising a system of thoughts and behaviours. In most Cambodian people’s mindsets, the absence of state support and the ‘no formal politics’ attitude are just normal and accepted as commonsense. This conception arguably underlies the notions of “feel for the game” or “fish in water”—where one feels comfortable with the current social order (Bourdieu, 1994d, p. 63). In the focus group discussions students showed that they are aware of how to play the game. At the core of it is centring their conversations around exams and their daily routines, mainly studying. For these young students, getting good results in their studies and passing exams with flying colours will be their passport to good universities and, most importantly, they represent preconditions for being awarded state scholarships when full fee-paying would be a great burden on their parents. Being ‘good students’, ‘good children’, and ‘good citizens’ are necessary strategies for achieving a pathway to a good life and for cultivating significant cultural capital for their families and schools (the system of positions).

Table 8. 2. “To what extent do you agree with the following statements?”

Question	Agree (%)	No Opinion (%)	Disagree (%)
It is important for me to vote.	85	12	3
It is important for me to obey the law.	94	5	1
It is important for me to express my opinions.	91	7	2
It is important for me to be active in a voluntary org.	81	16	3
It is important for me to discuss current issues with family.	78	17	5
It is important for me to discuss current issues with my friends.	73	23	4
It is important for me to study the roles of political parties in a democratic country.	51	37	12
It is important for me to learn about government systems.	67	26	7
It is important for me to learn about the country’s judicial system.	83	12	5
It is important for me to learn about parliament.	64	31	5

*N=206

Alongside their alienation from politics, students’ notions of personal agency remain significantly constrained. Most students surveyed responded that ‘It is important to do something’; yet when it came to actual practice, most students appeared passive. There seems to be dissonance between their ideals and their practice, a dissonance arising from what they perceive as a risky context. As the data in the table above shows, when asked about their views of democratic values/practices, students contend that it is of paramount importance for them to exercise their rights in a democratic nation by ‘voting’, ‘obeying the laws’, ‘expressing opinions’, ‘volunteering’, ‘discussing current issues with friends’, ‘discussing current issues with family’, and ‘learning about the country’s judicial system’. The question seeking their views about the importance of studying the role of political parties in a democratic nation received the lowest positive response at 51% (this further confirms the no-politics disposition), whereas the above-mentioned questions attracted higher response rates, between 73% and 94% (Table 8.2). The data from Table 8.2 accords with the above argument that social change is not configured around party politics and regime change, but rather around volunteerism and concern for socially-disadvantaged members of the community.

It is understandable that they respond positively to the idea of democratic values and/or practices; however, in reality they are more passive as citizens than their attitudes imply. This

is confirmed by other studies on students' sense of activism and active citizenry among university students in Phnom Penh. In his study, in which 200 senior students from the Royal University of Phnom Penh participated, Sen (2008) reported a focus on three dimensions of engagement: civic activities, electoral activities, and activities for political voice. The findings revealed that students are actually involved in few activities despite their strong awareness of civic activities and considerable attentiveness to politics and government. This has been confirmed by another study on university students' civic engagement, civic attitudes, and utilisation of media and information and communication technologies (ICTs) by Peou and Chea (2011) who underscored the negative correlation between 'attentiveness' and 'activism'. Attitudes toward an 'informed citizenry' were positive among the students surveyed; however, students seemed to lack the capacity for the kind of activism that rights-conscious citizens in developed societies have. Superficially, it seems that the notion of citizenship exists among educated youth in Cambodia; however, enthusiasm for the notion does not tally with their actual behaviours which should be at the core of active participation. Such paucity of activism, I argue, may be associated with the lack of citizenship space, both at school and in wider society, as well as past experience of risk peculiar to involvement in politics.

Drawing on this argument, citizens' sense of agency may result from opportunities made possible by structure. Marquand (2004) discusses the notion of hollowing out of citizenship, claiming that there is an increase concerns when citizens are not actively performing their role as active citizens, for such a trend leads to this hollowing out. On the contrary, such a shallow conception of citizenship may be corresponding to the fact that the opportunities for citizens to be citizens have become fewer and fewer, thus excluding people from voicing their contestation of what constitutes the common good. At the same time there are no opportunities for students to exercise their political rights. On the other hand, I argue that agents themselves are partly responsible for their own agentic disposition, and Matron (2008) warns that it is the social actors who take their own responsibilities to increase their accumulated capital as more volume of which can place them in a better social position. Given the lack of an enabling environment, students do not seem to show enthusiasm when it comes to actual participation; their responses to the questions regarding participation in activities symbolising citizenship, such as 'caring for the environment', 'humanitarian/charity', 'volunteering in the neighborhood', 'youth camp', and 'youth organisations' are low (see Table 8. 3 below). To put a positive spin on this, students' low or high aspirations towards certain activities can be attributed to the accumulated capital and social apparatus available to them.

Table 8. 3. “Outside of school, have you ever participated in the following activities?”

Question	Yes (%)
I participated in an environment organisation.	26
I participated in a humanitarian organisation/charity.	34
I participated in a voluntary group to help develop my neighborhood.	14
I participated in a youth camp.	20
I participated in a youth organisation.	13

*N=206

The most interesting part of the findings, and the most significant in understanding young Cambodians as citizens, I argue, is what I call ‘emerging citizenship’. Given the restrictions discussed above, whether structural, personal, or cultural, young Cambodian students have developed their own dispositions, albeit non-political ones. The emerging dispositions reflect the actual challenges faced by Cambodian young people today. Perhaps their generational location which gives them a distinctive view of the world, in that they have not personally experienced the dark side of the nation’s history, has shaped a different understanding of their lives and their social world.

Young people’s roles and positions in Cambodian society differ from those of their parents. This is partly evident in their attitudes towards politics. There appears to be a generational shift in views about citizenship and politics that can be understood as a response to young people’s socio-historical location as the post-Khmer Rouge generation. Evidence to suggest different generations have distinctive point of views towards their political rights; it demonstrates that their ‘no-politics’ agenda cannot be interpreted as disinterest in social and political issues in general (Biesta, 2011).

The following responses from students reveal how young Cambodians view their current social world. When asked to rank eleven issues from most serious to the least serious, students showed that they well understand what young people like them really need and are clear about the issues they really want to address first. Problematic drug use (other than alcohol), homelessness, lack of money, and alcohol consumption among young people received the lowest mean scores (1 means the most serious issue; 11 is the least serious issue).

Table 8. 4. “Please rank the following issues (1-11) according to their level of seriousness affecting young adults like you” (1: the most serious issue; 11: the least serious issue)

ISSUES	MEAN
Problematic drug use (other than alcohol)	2.60
Homelessness	4.27
Lack of money	4.39
Alcoholism	4.97
Violence in Public Places	5.69
Personal Health Issues	6.51
Lack of Jobs	6.52
Family Relationship	6.76
Quality Education	7.79
Personal Relationship	8.06
Concerns Over the Environment	8.30

*N=148

As the data suggests, students’ citizenship dispositions are shaped by a combination of historical social conditions and experience. I argue that structural conditions do have great implications for young people’s life trajectories, yet at the same time their critical understanding of the oppressive social order does not stop them from becoming active citizens. Their conception of active citizenship, however, is not characterised by conventional politics (such as involvement in a political party or a demonstration); rather it is fundamentally social and national, for they express their love towards the nation and a commitment to helping those fellow citizens who are most socially and economically excluded. They have expressed critical views of citizenship in terms of impoverished living conditions, favoring volunteerism and a violence-free, drug-free society. Students’ conception of citizenship is more informal than formal.

In the preceding sections, I used the term ‘emerging citizenship aspirations’, which refers to their accrued dispositions to become contributors in making their communities safe, and these commitments are associated with their illuso of tackling social issues impacting their disadvantaged citizens, especially young people. Their illuso is shaped by the ongoing impoverished ways of life of a great number of the population, young and old. For student participants, several challenges are still persistent and keep adversely affecting young people like them amidst the perceived failure of state support. Therefore, creating platforms and

empowering young people to contribute to solve these problems not only enhances the practice of active citizenship but also paves the way for the volunteers to forge the gap between conventional and less conventional politics, thereby encouraging more future productive engagements from youth.

Fostering non-conventional civic participation is considered as a core of the development of responsible and rational citizens, for students are likely to become active citizens through their self-regulating citizenship (Kennelly & Llewellyn, 2011). In this way, young Cambodians may have enough chance and supportive platforms to make self-regulation a reality, and they are able to cultivate skills and embody active citizenship values to engage with more future activities that may influence decision-making processes. Lindstrom (2010) suggests that citizenship carries both formal and informal meanings. Formally, citizenship implicates a citizen's bestowed rights and obligations within a sovereign state, whereas informal citizenship is associated with a citizen's contribution towards a better society through economic participation or voluntary work. Harris, Wyn and Younes (2007) argue that young people's concept of citizenship is not adequately represented by adult-centric views of engagement. By this they mean that young people tend not to engage in informal activities structurally organised by adults; rather, issues that young people think are important and become their immediate concerns requiring immediate informal responses (Helve, 2001; Harris et al., 2007). These views are clearly reflected through the mean scores of the students in my research in relation to each of the issues listed. To these young people, problematic drug use, homelessness, poverty, and alcoholism are all serious issues to be attended to.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have illustrated different forms of current circulating doxa and *illusio* among young Cambodian students. Young people, while on the way to becoming citizens, are alienated from formal politics, but aspire to address current social ills, express love of their nation, and wish to become responsible citizens through helping the underprivileged and protecting natural resources and the environment. The empirical evidence from the study reveals that Cambodian students hold a wide range of aspirations related to perceived societal ills. Moreover, students' emerging aspirations are shaped by Cambodia's historical legacy and current structural inequalities which see political engagement closed to them but responses to the environment, poverty, and real social ills [like drug and alcohol use] open to them. These

are the reflections of their ‘own agenda’ which goes beyond the older generation’s survival mentality and the ‘no-war nation’ mindset which has significantly influenced their parents.

As the discussion about students’ current dominant beliefs unfolds, we understand that while the students do intend to challenge the system, that system has set a trap for them, restricting their bestowed citizenship rights. The right to democratic participation is denied while students distance themselves from the very processes that would empower them to make a difference (democratic processes like protesting or signing petitions). At the same time they tend to indirectly challenge the system by resorting to volunteering and charitable activity, hoping to ameliorate the struggles of those in need of support. Through education, the students are taught to be well-behaved, responsible, and law-abiding citizens (reflecting the content of the citizenship curriculum), and helping their fellow citizens makes them feel good.

Towards the end of the chapter, I demonstrated students’ emerging citizenship dispositions by looking at their current thinking and their commitment to addressing the issues that are important to them, issues such as problematic drug use, alcoholism, and poverty (homelessness and lack of money) that they see as problems that represent risk for young people like them. All these problems are fundamentally structural, requiring remediation, and addressing them is more important to the student participants in this study than claiming their right to engage in other democratic participation processes.

It is, however, useful to draw on students’ ‘emerging citizenship’ which is associated with the government low commitment to redressing the grievances of young citizens. Withstanding the imposed limitation on their rights to get engaged with conventional politics, the students in my study conceived of citizenship as merely social citizenship. For them, the government’s failed handling of the identified structural issues only worsens citizens’ rights in all three dimensions—civil, political and social.

In addition, the students’ current dispositions and practices reaffirm contemporary debates about everyday engagements or everyday politics which is an alternative pathway for today’s society. This is even more significant for young Cambodians when the socio-political contexts do not provide space for conventional form of participation. Ultimately, it is of crucial importance to emphasise that learning citizenship is not confined to classroom learning, and citizenship practices are not tied to conventional politics. Young Cambodian students who

participated in my research project prove that these become true, thus shedding lights on future possibilities of full democratic participation among Cambodian population.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION

This thesis aims to contribute to our understanding of the discourses and practices associated with citizenship education in Cambodian schools. In this thesis I examined how students understand and experience citizenship in their everyday lives and how teachers working within the Moral-Civics education curriculum understand and teach citizenship in the school. I also interrogated the factors that enable and hinder students' practice of active citizenship, as well as the factors affecting teachers in their delivery of citizenship content in their classrooms.

Central to the aim of this thesis, therefore, is my determination to understand not only how young Cambodian students experience their daily citizenship practice in schools, but also to understand whether schools (through the teaching of the citizenship curriculum, their teachers' views of citizenship teaching, and their institutional policies and practices) are positioned to educate young students to embody the values of democratic citizenship. In this sense, this thesis empirically provides fresh data and analysis of the experience of citizenship teaching, learning, and practice in Cambodian schools. It contributes to a nuanced understanding of the construction of citizenship on school campuses, which, I argue, is extremely important given the ongoing restrictions and denial of citizenship rights in Cambodia, as discussed earlier in this thesis. While the thesis provides new information about Cambodian citizenship education, it also applies Bourdieu's thinking tools to generate new understandings of citizenship education and citizenship for young people in the Cambodian context. Such overlapping research contributions are rare in the field of education and youth citizenship.

In the following sections I respond to the main research questions and sub-questions posed in the first chapter of this thesis. These questions have guided the construction of my research design, my reading of the literature, and the analysis of the data. In the next section, I address the first of my main research questions which asks how Cambodian schools and citizenship education (known as the Moral-Civics curriculum) prepare students to be both informed and active citizens. To answer this question, I also examine my first sub-research question: what are the current forms and content of Moral-Civics education? Answers to these questions provide insights into how Cambodian schools enhance or hinder young people's understanding and practice of citizenship. In the next section, I address how teachers understand and teach

citizenship. I answer two of the research sub-questions that inform the teaching, learning, and practice of citizenship through exploring the views of school teachers: What are teachers' perspectives about teaching and learning citizenship in schools? How do teachers teach citizenship in Cambodian classrooms? Teachers are at the coalface of the struggle to deliver curriculum content that will enable students to be active participants in Cambodian social and political life. It thus seems pertinent to gain an insight into their view of the delivery and content of this curriculum area. The chapter continues with the presentation of some findings that respond to the second of my main research questions: What are students' citizenship aspirations, given the imperatives of both schooling and the contemporary social-structural contexts? I also answer the research sub-question: "What do young Cambodian students understand as active citizens, including their rights and responsibilities?" Answering these questions enables me to identify the kind of citizenship to which Cambodian students aspire, to assess their knowledge of their rights and responsibilities, and to examine practices that elucidate their aspirations for citizenship and for Cambodian society in general. The chapter concludes by restating the main contributions of this thesis to the research field of citizenship education and youth citizenship.

THE ROLE OF CAMBODIAN SCHOOLS AND CURRICULUM IN PREPARING STUDENTS FOR CITIZENSHIP

In this section, I highlight significant findings relevant to the role of the current citizenship education curriculum in the promotion of citizenship values and practices. To construct a nuanced understanding, I used the conceptual framework of cultural capital and shadow capital as a theoretical lens (Chapter 6). I examined how Cambodian schools and the curriculum are positioned to educate young students to be both informed and active citizens. Ultimately, as the findings suggest, the current curriculum is structured towards reinforcing the norms and values of the current regime, which are not openly democratic ones. In other words, the cultural capital embedded in the citizenship curriculum is presented in its objectified form, whereas cultural capital can exist in three different forms; that is, it can objectified, embodied, and institutionalised (Bourdieu, 1986). Presented in such a form, the curriculum is characterised by a distinct form of capital that replicates the more productive form of capital, yet produces less fruitful results (Stich & Cipollone, 2017).

To begin with, the current curriculum is geared towards creating a culture of compliance rather than one of resistance or challenge to the system. This is evidenced in the insertion of Buddhist content, especially in grades 11 and 12; in grade 11 this content covers up to two-thirds of the entire textbook. What is particularly relevant is the intended outcome, a ‘no complaints’ culture, based on the Buddhist notion that everything people experience in this life results from ‘*Kharma*’, that is, their actions in past lives; the misery of citizens (whether they are poor, disabled, or uneducated) is the result of what they did before they came to this life. Furthermore, the teaching of a culture of peace is less about building peace based on international law and organisations, and more about inculcating self-restraint and compliance; that is, students are taught to calm themselves down and not to challenge an unjust system. Macedo (1990) contends that individuals who exhibit an unethical acceptance of tradition and authority fail to capitalise on the critical and tolerant attitudes embedded in civics education. This has significant implications for the success or failure of Cambodia’s citizenship education in which students are encouraged to ascribe to an abstract belief in the consequences of past life actions.

While the normalisation of compliant attitudes in Cambodian society is a longstanding cultural imperative, it is continually reinforced through education. In classrooms, students are not empowered to challenge their teachers (authority figures), nor are they allowed to critically discuss or debate issues, irrespective of the issues in question. What they do is simply to absorb their teachers’ teachings, which is conducive to good outcomes in tests or exams; thus, what is being taught is memorisation of facts. The teaching method that remains dominant in Cambodian classrooms is rote learning through a teacher-centred approach, a method that places significant limitations on student empowerment and autonomy. While some researchers and educators might argue that memorisation and testing are important elements in the learning process, it is clear that they reflect a limited version of education that is unlikely to lead students to an interrogation of their society’s circumstances.

The notion of shadow capital is illustrated in the process of censorship of curriculum content by, for example, the removal of certain information. The findings emerging from content analysis of the current citizenship curriculum and from students’ focus group discussions indicate a lack of rigour in the current curriculum, perhaps resulting from the process of censorship. The commitment by the Ministry of Education (and the government) to make school a neutral place (that is, free from political influence) is illusory. A supposedly neutral

place turns out to be biased: certain content in the curriculum is clearly taught to accommodate the values desired by the regime. Bourdieu argued that students are taught particular things in a particular way: one suspects that neither schools, nor the classroom, are “neutral” places of learning, but rather sites where constructions of citizenship to be taught and learned respond to an institutional habitus that shapes citizenship content toward the more formal political elements of this complex concept and practice, aligning with values and norms closely related to the government’s interests.

In the thesis I introduce another important element of shadow capital, the paradoxical element. My analysis has produced the significant finding that what is being taught in schools and what students experience first-hand on a daily basis take on the nature of a paradox. Students understand this paradox. A lesson on ‘Public Administration’ in grade 11, for instance, presents the importance of public administration reforms in creating strong government institutions. The reforms in this lesson are related to combating corruption or making improvements to the judicial system, yet corruption takes place even on school campuses where teachers collect money from students for putative in-class private teaching (that is, during regular teaching hours), or for the sale of exam papers. In another instance, students reported being taught that everyone is equal under the law, yet in real life they observe that the rich and powerful are not subject to law enforcement. The effectiveness of citizenship education that students receive in school is questionable, not least because what they are told to do is an illusion. Anti-corruption to them is a theory rather than a reality, for what they learn cannot be put into practice. As Biesta (2011) suggests, citizenship learning significantly embeds when it reflects the lives of young people, that is, when the learning mirrors actual experience and real citizenship conditions. In this sense, the curriculum should offer young people opportunities for positive experiences associated not only with decision-making but also with taking action in all aspects of their lives.

Democratic and participatory processes in schools are both rare and discriminatory alike. Although some students and teachers from two of the four sample schools claim that there is a school council at their schools, the gatherings they described were simply meetings of the regular school management teams. What they refer to as a school council is overseen by their school principals, with members being lead teachers and members of Cambodia’s Red Cross Youth and Youth Scouts. These are the only two youth groups established by the Cambodian Red Cross and the Union Federation of Youth of Cambodia whose members are nominated by

the school management teams. As the findings reveal, only members of these two groups are selected to join meetings with principals to organise charity events. Class captains are only called upon to join the meeting when there are issues to resolve; for example, they are summoned to meetings to report any problems their classes encounter. This indicates a conspicuous absence of schoolwide inclusiveness and empowerment, with student involvement in decision-making processes being selective and discriminatory. Not every student, nor their class captains, are informed about events in their schools because most of the time only the student members of Youth Red Cross and Youth Scouts are involved in decision-making. Understandably, this paucity of inclusiveness contradicts the concept of school as a “neutral” place; it reflects the social norm of nepotism and the client-patron system that has a long history in Cambodian society.

TEACHERS’ PERSPECTIVES AND TEACHING PRACTICES OF CITIZENSHIP

Not only does the notion of a neutral place on school campus have implications for student learning, it also affects how teachers’ pedagogies accommodate such a limitation and how teachers conceive of citizenship. My thesis contributes to these understandings through the lens of Bourdieu’s institutional habitus which has enabled me to highlight the significant limitations teachers face in teaching citizenship (Chapter 7). In this respect, I expand my explanation by looking into how teachers implement the illusory curriculum, and I utilise the conceptual framework of habitus and institutional habitus to explain how teachers negotiate their teaching. Bourdieu (1993a, 2000) argue that it is impossible to program humans to perform their tasks because the existing social spaces will be far more than static, and practices are generated accordingly. He refers to this phenomenon as habitus, which is shaped and reshaped, characterised by “structured-structuring structure” (Bourdieu, 1994d, p.170). The twists and turns of teachers in approaching their pedagogies remain dependent on the role of schools in legitimating symbolic violence (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977a); this is particularly true in Cambodian schools. In other words, teachers’ pedagogies seem to transcribe unfavourable social order, “a symbolic violence to the extent to which it is an imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power” (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977a, p. 18)—the role of a school’s institutional habitus. Institutional habitus results from a complex interplay of agency and structure, and from a particular social group through a specific channel (school in this case) (Reay et al., 2001; McDonough, 1996). Understandably, institutional habitus is characterised

by the cultural ethos of an educational institution; in this way, certain institutional practices are informed by deeply embedded relational issues and priorities (Reay et al.,2001).

My research findings indicate that Cambodian teachers have limitations imposed on their teaching and on their capacity to promote citizenship practices in their schools. In relation to their classroom pedagogies, teaching of sensitive topics such as democratic values, anti-corruption, and social injustice is still constrained by the fact that teachers themselves are aware of the concept of school as a so-called ‘neutral place’. For the teacher, their best means of avoiding disciplinary action by their school is to add no extra information (beyond the textbook) and to avoid unnecessarily linking the topics to daily life experience. Perhaps there is a recognition of the paradox of citizenship teaching; that is, the content looks significant in terms of presenting a variety of themes, yet teaching is confined to superficial coverage of those themes. Mr. Sarith from Santhormuk High School, for example, recalled that he never talked about any specific country when the lesson concerned a ‘democratic country’; neither did he provide examples in everyday life. When asked what he really did to teach that concept, he responded that he simply explained the meaning of ‘democracy’, giving the example of citizens’ rights to vote and choose their representatives, as exactly presented in the textbook. He would not go beyond the statements in the text, and that is what he emphasised. It is understood that teachers negotiate their teaching practice based on their conception of institutional practice; that is, school is not the place for any politics-related expression. To these teachers, the provision of examples linked to the current government would probably be viewed as politically motivated.

On a positive note, the findings suggest that, although Cambodian teachers interviewed were aware of good practice in teaching citizenship values and practising citizenship, the institutional limitations imposed and ongoing structural barriers remained overwhelming. They mentioned, for example, that groupwork and group discussions are rarely employed by teachers because there are too many students in the classroom and the tables are not mobile, making it quite challenging, if not impossible, to practise a student-centred learning approach.

Other teachers voiced concerns about their teaching methods, mentioning that the way in which students are taught now is not instrumental in enabling students to embody democratic citizenship values, not least because they are not being empowered to realise their potential. This also highlights teachers’ concerns about issues relevant to disempowerment and lack of

opportunity. If citizenship education remains the same as it is today, it will fall far short in achieving its objective of making students informed and active citizens. Mr. Leng from Chumpu Voan High School compared what he learned from different workshops he attended with what teachers in his current school taught their students. He underscored the importance of an empowering teaching approach (that is, student empowerment) that provided opportunities to students to identify an issue in their communities and then plan activities to address that issue. Such a practice would seem alien in Cambodian public schools not only because of the deliberate restrictions on teaching methods but also because of constraints on the time given to finish all lessons in the textbook and because of schools being under-resourced. Further, a teacher from Santhormuk High School stressed the lack of recognition of democratic values in schools by providing his personal observation that students are not empowered to adhere to democratic processes in how class captains are chosen. He recalled that the selection of each class captain was dominated by the decision of a class-based teacher; that is, the teacher nominated 3 to 6 students whom they thought were active class members and who performed well in the previous academic year. There might be some variations in the process, as mentioned by both teachers and students, but teacher involvement in the selection remained dominant and acceptable by school standards.

In another instance, a teacher from Preah Sisowath High School critiqued his school's lack of recognition of student involvement in volunteering. He commented that the school did not encourage students to commit to volunteering. If the school did, he argued, there could be a letter of recognition given to those who had volunteered because this was a way to not only recognise their contribution but also to promote a further contribution. Inherent in these comments from teachers, as I argued in previous chapters, is a lack of commitment by the school, and one could say by the government, to the formal empowerment of students' democratic citizenship.

Ultimately Cambodian schools' institutional habitus is characterised by limitations and paucity of empowerment. Both the physical and social spaces that teachers occupy are not out of the sphere of influence of their school's jurisdiction, a fact that not only influences how they teach citizenship but also constrains how teachers and students act as citizens on school campuses.

STUDENTS' UNDERSTANDINGS, ASPIRATIONS AND PRACTICES OF CITIZENSHIP

Understandably, both the introduction of shadow capital through the citizenship curriculum and the effect of institutional habitus significantly shape student understanding of, and their pathway to, citizenship practices. To explain these concepts, I employ Bourdieu's frameworks of doxa and illusio, focusing on students' sense of the system and their understanding of what is possible for them in seeking to exercise their rights as citizens (see Chapter 8). Doxa is understood as the predominant belief that shapes and guides people's practices, with its construction shaped by and through history (Bourdieu, 2000; Deer, 2008), while illusio refers to the belief that an individual's involvement and competition in a game (in my thesis, alternative means of citizenship practice) is worthwhile (Bourdieu, 1990a/2000). Ontological complicity between the habitus and the fields results in such a belief, prompting an individual to invest their time, effort, and emotions in playing the game (Bourdieu, 1990a).

My thesis makes another important contribution by highlighting the reality that some students challenge the system and others practise their citizenship by supporting disadvantaged people, showing that citizenship can be learned and practised in informal spaces outside schools. The underlying hope regarding student dispositions and values is that, despite their schools' tight control over citizenship learning and empowerment, they can creatively negotiate space for such practices. Below, I focus on everyday engagement to illustrate this process.

Education for citizenship is not necessarily confined to in-class learning; it involves gaining information, acquiring skills, and learning values relevant to citizenship, and also the acquisition of various dispositions and virtues associated with democratic citizenship practice (Kymlicka, 1997). To Print (2007), a broader perspective would include appropriate extra-curricular activities that are not necessarily classroom-based (e.g. charity events or student council). Several scholars suggest that by involving in these extracurricular activities students are more likely to develop values and skills evidenced among active citizens; that is, there is a positive correlation with young people's later engagement in civic life (Finkel, 2003). As Gutman (1987) points out, teaching citizenship is not simply about telling students to be compliant; students must be educated to be tolerant and to accommodate difference.

My findings illustrate that students express their disinclination to be involved in what is perceived as a conventional form of politics. They have embodied an *illusio* of everyday engagement and are addressing issues important to them (Helve, 2001; Harris et al., 2007). The students conceive citizenship as making a contribution towards a better society (Lindstrom, 2010) by helping socially-disadvantaged fellow citizens who most need assistance but go unsupported by the state's inadequate welfare system. It is no surprise that these embodied values emerge in this way given the ultimate objective of the current citizenship curriculum in its shadowy form and the constrained citizenship space in schools.

Students who participated in my research embody voluntary and charitable dispositions; their conception of citizenship is associated with a trend against the non-democratic and non-welfare state, and is characterised by their devoting their time and resources in lieu of challenging the current system. It is understood from such *illusio* that they are aware of the failure of institutions to tackle the issues facing disadvantaged citizens, just as they are aware of the risks associated with exercising their putative right to challenge the system. Their parents and the students themselves can predict the consequences of direct involvement in democratic processes, irrespective of the issues they seek to address. The common consequence of democratic protest, even when peaceful in nature and beneficial for the collective good, is a crackdown; in a worst case scenario, this crackdown is almost always ruinous, as I mentioned in the introduction of this thesis. Consequently, they develop the *illusio* of volunteerism and charitable activity, hoping that those who need the support the most can better their current living conditions. On a positive note, this form of *illusio* supports their *doxa* of laying no blame on state institutions; unfortunately, however, this allows the system and its institutions to retain an ineffective welfare system.

Notions of citizenship and young people's democratic learning are mediated by what students are actually doing in their everyday encounters, which is a crucial precondition because they are asked to do what they will later be doing (Biesta, 2009, 2011). Involvement in school councils, engagement with community, and volunteerism are some of the examples of platforms for citizenship learning and practice. Such informal curriculum activities can build student civic and political engagement (Print, 2007; HMIE, 2006a). As Patrick (1999) points out, even student's involvement in school-based organisations, it means a lot to their sense of citizenship, for such inclusion offers a great opportunity for students to capitalise on the learning of democratic values. These opportunities are particularly critical to Cambodian

students, not least because they not only encompass the fundamental ideas of political participation (HMIE, 2006a) and a more general notion of citizenship, but also because they make the participation process less conventional and direct.

I have argued in this thesis that Cambodian students have embodied their self-actualised citizenship dispositions, and I have used the term ‘emerging citizenship aspirations’ to refer to this. By this I mean that students aspire to contribute to their nation by working to ensure the safety of their communities and accepting responsibility for solving the problems affecting disadvantaged citizens instead of complaining about and depending on the system. Their critical conception of citizenship is geared towards tackling such issues as impoverished living conditions which affect a significant number of Cambodians, as explained earlier in the thesis. Such a concept of citizenship reflects the limited spaces and opportunities available to students in their daily experience of school. Their political rights have been undercut; they have been taught to involuntarily accept a symbolic practice of democratic citizenship. Without an enabling environment, both in schools and in wider society, students’ generational doxa of conformity, and their illusive of behavioural and moralising citizenship practice, will only reinforce this oppressive system. In this respect, rethinking citizenship teaching and learning is perhaps a precondition to the creation of an enabling environment on school campuses.

RETHINKING PREREQUISITES FOR ENABLING ENVIRONMENTS

There is a pressing need to address some critical issues in Cambodia’s current citizenship curriculum in order to create conditions conducive to the building of enabling environments that will enshrine citizenship practices for young people. That said, citizenship education is expected to fundamentally connect with wider social and political action, with democratic values and practices at its heart, generating active, committed and responsible citizens (Biesta, 2011). Similarly, a successful citizenship education would commit to engendering the practice of democratic participation. As Kymlick aptly (1997, p.1) puts it, “Citizenship education is not just a matter of learning the basic facts about the institutions and procedures of political life; it also involves acquiring a range of dispositions, virtues, and loyalties which are intimately bound up with the practice of democratic citizenship.”

Rethinking current citizenship education and curriculum

There is an acknowledgment that there have been modifications to Cambodia's civics education since its first introduction between 1996 and 1997; however, there should be an absolute commitment from the Ministry of Education to design a better curriculum. The curriculum may not necessarily be perfect, and a perfect one may not be possible, yet there should be an assurance that a modified curriculum not only provides information required for the embodiment of citizenship values but also aims to enable students to understand and enhance their capacity to participate (Kerr, 1999; McLaughlin, 1992).

It is critical that we look more closely at the nature and quality of the educational experiences of students in schools (Print, 2007). As Kennelly and Llewellyn (2011) point out, educational discourses serve as powerful arbitrators of a society's dominant norms and values; therefore, education is instrumental in shaping a cultural agent's behaviour. In this respect, Cambodia's citizenship curriculum can perhaps be redesigned in such a way that teachers' traditional pedagogies can be employed alongside inquiry-based learning and community engagement (Osborne 2005, Hebert 1997). In this way, students can be taught to be both independent and reflective thinkers and to put what they have learned in classrooms into practice.

In classrooms, students need to be empowered to ask critical questions and critique what is not right, be it the system or traditional social norms; therefore, allowing students to identify which serious problems young people and their neighbourhood are facing, as well as permitting them to work on solutions to those problems, is particularly important. Kennelly and Llewellyn (2011) contend that there is a danger of focusing on responsibility rather than rights because such an emphasis is not primarily based on the active claims students may make on the state, resulting in a passive message about the nature of today's 'good' citizens. Students should not be expected to be educated as desired by state authorities; rather, they should be taught to question and raise concern over ineffective practices by authority, which enables them to embody the values of "sharing political sovereignty as citizens" (Gutman, 1987, p.51). This would be particularly useful in Cambodia where students are taught to believe that the hardship they face comes from their previous lives or from their own incapacity rather than from weak social institutions; such beliefs make them willing to continue their allegiance to the state.

It is argued that Cambodian students have internalised a disposition to help and contribute (as the findings suggested); therefore, the Ministry of Education and schools should be able to efficiently devise programs just to let the system work in accordance with such a student disposition. As I argued, while young students in my study accept their responsibility to offer a helping hand and to assist others to reach their human potential, the system does not create the platforms for them to exercise their rights. By merely providing factual information about elections and government systems and ignoring the alternative citizenship practices in which these young students are increasingly engaging within a democratic sphere, citizenship education marginalises forms of collective participation (Schutz, 2008; Biesta, 2011).

In relation to pedagogy, empowering teachers to utilise a student-centred and constructivist approach should be the aim; it will improve teaching and learning experiences in terms of quality and intensity (Erebus, 2003). Teachers will play a critical role in making this not only a possibility but also a reality. Coare and Johnson (2003, p. 206) suggest that it requires the use of a “liberating educational approach” in classrooms if teachers are playing the role to enhance students’ thinking skills. They put it:

“[W]hich first acknowledges the structural inequalities that impact on people’s lives, then uses these as critical starting points from which to help learners or citizens explore and develop any subsequent learning, agency or active citizenship” (Coare & Johnson (2003, p. 206).

It is important to acknowledge that the issues related to teaching and learning citizenship in Cambodia are dependent on a larger system; the current sociopolitical context is not conducive to promoting this liberated teaching approach. The change, possibly a gradual one, requires courage on the part of teachers, for they are the ones who directly implement the curriculum and the ones who can make a difference in how students are educated. It will be so unfortunate if they do nothing, if they maintain the status quo, because students in generations to come, including their own children, will be educated in the same way. The same results can be expected as the cycle goes endlessly on.

Negotiating platforms for citizenship practices on school campus

Education for citizenship is not necessarily confined to in-class learning; it involves gaining information, acquiring skills, and learning values relevant to citizenship, as well as the acquisition of various dispositions and virtues associated with democratic citizenship practice (Kymlicka, 1997). Beck and Jennings (1982) also point out that engagement in extracurricular activities is a better predictor of adult political participation than learning civics lessons in classrooms because such engagement enhances students' self-esteem and wellbeing. These out-of-class activities are linked to students' increased competencies of skills required for them to later become full members of political community (Niemi & Chapman, 1999). Finally, such participation probably contributes to the embodiment of civic virtues and dispositions associated with tolerance, respect for difference, and social justice (Patrick, 1999). As Gutman (1987) points out, teaching citizenship is not about simply telling students to be nice; students must be educated to be tolerant and to accommodate difference.

Unfortunately, as my findings in this thesis reveal, Cambodian students lack the opportunities and platforms to engage in extracurricular activities, the provision of which will make a difference. The spaces for citizenship practice in schools are not only limited but also discriminatory. As I have argued above, the imposed limitations range from the near-absent school councils and the non-democratic processes of selection for student representation to the exclusion of participation in school-wide decision-making. Not every student nor their class captains are informed about what is happening in their schools because most of the time only student members of Youth Red Cross and Youth Scouts are involved in decision-making. Understandably, this paucity of inclusiveness contradicts the concept of school as a "neutral" place; it reflects the social norm of nepotism and the client-patron system that has a long history in Cambodian society.

Against this backdrop, it is of paramount importance to ensure that citizenship practices in Cambodian schools are a reflection of students' daily experiences. These practices should corroborate democratic ways of acting and being as citizens, a view expressed by my student participants who emphasised the importance of tackling such social problems as impoverished living conditions, alcoholism, and problematic drug use, all of which represent serious challenges for young people. Empowering them to contribute to the solving of these problems will support young people to become engaged citizens.

In summary, embracing non-conventional civic participation is central to responsible and rational citizenship within a reformed curriculum; students can become active citizens through their self-regulating citizenship (Kennelly & Llewellyn, 2011). In this respect, Cambodian students need to be given opportunities to achieve self-regulating citizenship by being engaged in any practice that puts them in a position to become rational citizens—informed and responsible (Kennelly & Llewellyn, 2011)—so that they gradually develop an *illusio* of civic engagement.

Ultimately, this thesis contributes to the field of youth citizenship, youth studies, and citizenship education. The applications of Bourdieu's various theories are rare in Cambodian contexts, and the findings in this thesis significantly add to our understanding of contemporary youth studies beyond Western and European contexts. As I argued throughout the thesis, there are significant struggles on the part of ordinary citizens, especially Cambodian youth who need to negotiate not only the unfavorable system but also the country's long-standing cultural imperatives. Importantly, Bourdieu's richly theoretical frameworks are employed throughout this thesis, which is a way forward for this thesis, and for other subsequent academic research projects, to get a nuanced understanding of social reproduction and inequality. The applications of Bourdieu's useful concepts enable researchers to think relationally as well as to scrutinize and critique social structures and systems, thereby assisting us in making hidden agenda visible. As issues in social fields are complex, Bourdieu's theoretical frameworks serve as scholarly lenses to effectively explain and successfully uncover the root causes of social ills and inequality, thereby allowing us to provide adequate remedies to build a stronger, more just and more democratic society. This thesis suggests the means through which empirical research data can be discussed through theoretical lenses, which brings its contribution to another level of educational research in Cambodia in particular, and in citizenship and educational research in other contexts in general.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Due to the lack of a culture of research in this field, and especially the paucity of research on citizenship education and youth citizenship in Cambodia, this thesis is a robust contribution to the field of citizenship. Importantly, the twin contributions of this thesis come from the generation of newly-nuanced understandings of education and youth citizenship and the application of Bourdieu's theoretical frameworks, both rare in the Cambodian context.

My findings in this thesis suggest that concerns remain over the outcomes of the current citizenship curriculum, its interpretation by teachers, and the delivery of its content by Cambodian educators. Most importantly, there is a general lack of enabling environments and platforms which would allow students to put into practical use what they learn in class. The findings also suggest that youth participation as a facet of schooling is characterised by many paradoxes, that is, the contradictions between what is taught and learned and what is happening in students' everyday lives.

My arguments in this thesis illustrate how young Cambodians are being developed as active citizenry within an unfavourable setting associated with imposed limitations and a poor institutional ethos. The findings contribute to some of the theoretical debates about young people's participation and the individual agency reflected in the current conditions of their participation. I am particularly concerned that youth citizenship in Cambodian schools as an educational practice will perpetuate the cultural imperatives of conformity, passivity, and lack of full democratic participation for years to come. There is much to be done to ensure that positive changes materialise given entrenched structural forces and longstanding practices of nepotism and bureaucratic control. This is because schools are directly and tightly controlled by the central government administration, financially and politically. The education system has been, as I have argued, one of the battlefields in legitimating government authority; therefore, challenging the education system is challenging the doxa of obedience to the system.

The dominance of shadow capital in the current citizenship curriculum explains why students have expressed their lack of understanding of the lessons, finding themselves lost between the knowledge gained at school and that acquired in real life. Their comments on their personal experience of discrimination indicate a mismatch between good practice in concepts and good practice in the reality of their society. Enshrined by the Ministry of Education in curriculum policy, the aims of Cambodia's civics education are to help students accrue moral judgment and responsibility, to instil a respect for rights, to encourage the creation of active (or good) citizens. Some of these outcomes are achieved, as is apparent in students' comments, despite the elements of capital in the curriculum only resembling those of the capital determined by the ministry.

In essence, it is possible for the formal and informal elements of the school curriculum to be designed as complementary. The decisions in any curriculum redesign must be free from political influence, and teachers must be given more freedom to interpret and implement curriculum in accordance with their own beliefs. Connecting students' daily experiences and the citizenship learning in class, as well as their practical experiences on school campus and in their communities, is of paramount importance. That said, this can only be done after some structural and deep-rooted barriers are first addressed.

Fundamentally, the rule of law must be strengthened in Cambodia; it is the prerequisite for other possibilities. If this occurs there will be a guarantee of strong institutions and leadership accountability. The practice of rule of law can reassure that combating chronic social ills is possible, that youth voices and participation can be encouraged, and that freedom of expression can flourish, eliminating arbitrary arrest. In such an environment, teachers and school management teams can be enabled to independently create spaces and devise programs to provide opportunities to not only students but also teachers to make citizenship learning, teaching, and practice more productive. This also means more power is given to teachers who directly implement the curriculum to freely interpret and teach the content of the Moral-Civics curriculum. In this way, teachers are empowered to contribute to the building of a more robust citizenry through their pedagogies. As a social institution, a school and its programs, especially those involving extracurricular activities, can promote citizenship practices (such as establishing school councils, or delegating tasks to students) and act as a bridge between schools and communities. That said, students can creatively think of how they can contribute to their community, and most importantly, they can be genuinely empowered to 'think and act' on issues important to them.

Reforms in education and training in general may serve as a guarantee of future change in mindsets (doxic views of fear), of better skills needed for lives, of better living standards, of an abandonment of polarisation and social division, and of citizen empowerment. As I argued in this thesis, many young students have dropped out of school to enter the workforce because of poverty and family debt. They migrate to Thailand, Malaysia, Korea, and Japan for work. This will continue to waste potential human resources, badly impacting upon the country's future prosperity and wellbeing.

In terms of democratic participation, many young people are kept out of the process by the discouragement of older family members and by their own fears. A high quality and unbiased education system will help allay them, enabling young people to challenge the prevailing sources of such fears. In addition, such an instrumental education system will both reduce the fears that constrain their full participation and provide a safer path to challenging the doxa by means of scholarly contribution.

Only if these conditions are established can social citizenship rights be made available to Cambodians. By ‘these conditions’ I mean that a redistribution of resources will be guaranteed, ensuring that the marginalised and the disadvantaged in the population can be taken care of by the state. With an established rule of law and a high-quality education system, Cambodia will have the capacity to institute a robust welfare system that can offer sustainable support to the poor (supports such as a youth allowance, the aged pension, and financial support for people with disability). This does not mean that traditional welfare (family support for family members) is replaced. This traditional welfare system can work alongside the state’s welfare system, for the latter will be open to those who need it most. Ultimately, impoverished living conditions (economic capital) can be reduced, fear and broken social trust (social capital) can be reinstated, and a strong education system (cultural capital) can be established.

Finally, it is noteworthy that citizenship learning and citizenship practice do not only happen in schools and in formal contexts. It is crucially important to acknowledge that both a formal curriculum *and* extracurricular activities are important contributors to citizenship values and dispositions, especially within a political system that prohibits conventional forms of citizenship. This was evidenced in my study in which students showed their commitment to creating alternative pathways for practising their citizenship, pathways that reflected their own agendas. This is a sign of hope that there will one day be a more democratic Cambodia.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX-A

Invitation letter to principal

(School Principle)

Date: _____

Name and address of school Principal

Dear (name) _____,

We are pleased to invite your school to participate in the research project on young people's citizenship in Cambodian schools. The project is titled *Negotiating spaces for young students as an informed and active citizenry: Discourses on schooling and individuals' aspirations in contemporary Cambodia*.

This is a PhD project conducted by Mr Pheaktra Pich (PhD student), supervised by Dr. Hernan Cuervo and Professor Johanna Wyn at the Youth Research Centre in the Melbourne Graduate School of Education at The University of Melbourne. It has the approval of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport, a copy of which I have attached.

We are seeking your approval for 50 students in grades 10, 11 and 12 and 1 teacher who teaches the Moral-Civics subject to participate in the research. Students would be invited to complete a 20-minute questionnaire and a sub-sample of 20 students would be invited to participate in a 30-minute focus group interview with Mr Pheaktra Pich. Teachers would be invited to participate in a face to face interview with Mr Pheaktra Pich. All participants would be provided with plain language statements and will be asked to sign consent forms. Parents of students who wish to participate will be provided with plain language statements and consent forms, which I have attached for your information. Participants are assured that their participation is voluntary and that there would be no adverse consequences if they wished not to participate or to withdraw from the project at any stage. Participants' and the school's confidentiality will be respected through the use pseudonyms.

The research explores the concept of citizenship in Cambodian schools through an analysis of students' everyday practices, the Moral-Civics curriculum and school policies and regulations. Mr Pich is interested in what it means to be an active citizen, in students' involvement in school-related activities and in their communities. It aims to produce new knowledge about students' contributions to society, their views on democracy and democratic societies. The research aims to contribute to the development of a model of citizenship education that is relevant to Cambodia today.

The research has been approved by the Human Ethics Committee of the University of Melbourne. If you have concerns about the research or its conduct which you do not wish to discuss with the research team you should contact the Manager, Human Research Ethics, Research Ethics and Integrity, University of Melbourne, VIC 3010. Tel + 61 3 8344 2073 or email HumanEthics-complaints@unimelb.edu.au All Complaints will be treated confidentially. In any correspondence please provide the name of the research team or the name of the ethics ID number of the research project.

If you approve the participation of your school in the research, the research team undertakes to provide a summary of the aggregated research findings to you . We hope that you will agree for your school to participate in this important project.

APPENDIX-B

Student questionnaire

In this survey you will find questions about yourself, activities you do at school and outside of schools, and your views on citizenship practices. Please read each question carefully and answer as ACCURATELY and TRUTHFULLY as you can. You may ask for clarification if you do not understand something or are not sure of how to answer a particular question. If you want to change your answer to any question, cross out your answer and mark/write the new one.

IMPORTANT:

- This is NOT a test which will affect your in-class assessments.
- There is no 'RIGHT' or 'WRONG' answer.
- Your answers should best reflect yourself and/or your situation.

SECTION 1: GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Are you :

Male ☐ Female ☐

2. What is your age? (Please tick the box) 15 ☐ 16 ☐ 17 ☐ 18 ☐

Other: ____

3. Are you in grade: 10 ☐ 11 ☐ 12 ☐

4. Which category best describes the work of your father or male guardian? (Please tick the box)

Not applicable	☐
Qualified professional	☐
Home duties	☐
Employed in management position	☐
Manager of own business	☐
Qualified tradesperson	☐
Employed as farmer	☐
Factory worker or labourer	☐
Clerical/office worker	☐
Salesperson	☐
Unemployed	☐
Other	☐
Please specify: _____	

5. Which category best describes the work of your mother or female guardian?

Not applicable	☐
Qualified professional	☐
Home duties	☐

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Employed in management position | ☐ | ☐ |
| Manager of own business | ☐ | |
| Qualified tradesperson | ☐ | |
| Employed as farmer | ☐ | |
| Factory worker or labourer | | ☐ |
| Clerical/office worker | | ☐ |
| Salesperson | ☐ | |
| Unemployed | | ☐ |
| Other | ☐ | |
| Please specify: _____ | | |

6. What is the highest education level of your father or male guardian?

- | | | |
|------------------------------|---|---|
| Not applicable | O | |
| University degree | O | |
| Other Tertiary qualification | | O |
| Year 12 | O | |
| Less than Year 12 | O | |
| Other | O | |
| Please specify: _____ | | |

7. What is the highest education level of your mother or female guardian?

- | | | |
|------------------------------|---|---|
| Not applicable | O | |
| University degree | O | |
| Other Tertiary qualification | | O |
| Year 12 | O | |
| Less than Year 12 | O | |
| Other | O | |
| Please specify: _____ | | |

SECTION 2: PARTICIPATION, CITIZENSHIP, SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY

8. Have you ever involved in these activities? (Tick the box that applies to you)

- | | |
|---|---|
| a. Joining any association or youth organization | O |
| b. Signing a petition | O |
| c. Making a complaint regarding school | O |
| d. Boycotting any products | O |
| e. Donating money to any organization/association | O |
| f. Joining environment protection events | O |
| g. Volunteering at any organization | O |
| h. Helping your community | O |
| i. Supporting your school's sport team | O |
| j. Volunteering to help your school | O |
| k. O | |

9. At this school, ... (Please tick the box that applies to you).

- I have a say in class monitor selection. ☐
- There is student representative council. ☐
- I have a say in how school should be run. ☐

- d. I have a chance to contribute to the community development. O
- e. I have a chance to involve in youth organizations. O
- f. I have a chance to represent the school in Cambodian Red Cross Youth Group. O
- g. I have a chance to represent the school in sports. O
- h. I have a chance to represent the school in debate. O
- i. I have a chance to represent the school in charity or fund-raising events. O
- j. I have a chance to represent the school in other activities. O

Specify the activities: _____

10. Are you involved in any kinds of voluntary activities that you think build a sense of citizenship? If so, which ones? Please write your comments in the box.

11. Outside of school, how often do you do the following activities? (Please tick the box)
(VO: Very Often; S: Sometimes; R: Rarely; N: Never)

- | | | VO | S | R | N |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| a. Read about/listen to news about current social events | | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| b. Watch the news about current social events on TV | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | |
| c. Use the internet to learn about current social issues | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | |
| d. Talk about current social issues with friends | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | |
| e. Talk about current social issues with family members | | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| f. Take part in internet-based discussions about current social issues | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | |

12. To what extent have you been INVOLVED in the following? (Please tick the box)
(VM: Very Much M: Much L: Least DC: Don't Care)

- | | | VM | M | L | DC |
|---|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| a. What is happening in your community. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | |
| b. What is happening in your school. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | | |
| c. Social issues in Cambodia, especially in Phnom Penh. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| d. Environmental issues in the city. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | |
| e. What is happening in the other countries. | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ | |

13. Please comment on the activities you are involved. (e.g. why are they important to you, why did you get involved, how frequently do you participate, with whom do you participate).

SECTION 3: VIEWS ABOUT DEMOCRACY AND SOCIETY

14. To what extent do you agree with each of the statements below? (Please tick the box)
(SA: Strongly agree ; A: Agree; N: No Opinion; D: Disagree; SD: Strongly disagree)

	SA	A	N	D	SD
a. Immigrants should have the same rights.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b. There should be law against discrimination.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c. Students from different cultural backgrounds should be allowed to wear their traditional costumes.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
d. There should be law against racism.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
e. It is important for a me to vote.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
f. It is important for a me to obey the law.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
g. It is important for a me to express my opinion freely.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
h. It is important for a me to be active in a voluntary organization.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

15. To what extent do you agree with each of the statements below?

(SA: Strongly agree; A: Agree; N: No Opinion; D: Disagree; SD: Strongly disagree)

	SA	A	N	D	SD
It is important for ME to (Please tick the box)					
a. discuss any current social issues with my family	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b. discuss any current social issues with my friends	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c. study about the roles of political parties in a democratic country	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
d. learn about government system	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
e. learn about the parliament	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
f. learn about the country's judicial system	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

16. Outside of school have you ever PARTICIPATED in activities related to the following?

- a. An environmental organization ☐
- b. A humanitarian organization (charity) ☐
- c. A voluntary group to help develop your neighborhood ☐
- d. A youth camp ☐
- e. A youth organization ☐
- f. Others: _____

17. How important are the following for YOU? (Please tick the box)
(I: Important; N: No opinion; U: Unimportant)

		I	N	U
a. Learning about commune elections	☐	☐	☐	
b. Learning about general elections		☐	☐	☐
c. Learning about Cambodia's history		☐	☐	☐
d. Learning about current social issues from various sources	☐	☐	☐	
e. Learning about what's happening in other countries	☐	☐	☐	
f. Talking about government's system		☐	☐	☐
g. Participating in activities to better traffic and environment	☐	☐	☐	
h. Participating in activities to help your community	☐	☐	☐	
i. Taking part in activities to prevent domestic violence		☐	☐	☐

18. What do you think are the main issues facing young adults today in Cambodia?
Please rank the following issues (1-11) according to their level of seriousness
affecting young adults like you. (1: the most serious issue; 11: the least serious issue).

Lack of money	☐
Homelessness	☐
Drug abuse (other than alcohol)	☐
Personal health issues	☐
Alcohol abuse	☐
Family relationships	☐
Personal relationships	☐
Concern over the environment	☐
Quality education	☐
Violence in public places	☐
Lack of jobs	☐

19. Please write down the THREE ISSUES you consider are the most important in
CAMBODIA today.

THANK YOU.

APPENDIX-C

Interview protocol (student)

Each focus group interview lasts 20-30 minutes.

Introduction by the researcher:

1. Can you take turn introducing yourselves (your name, grade)?
2. What do you like about your school? Give me one example.
3. How is your class monitor(s) selected?
4. What do you usually do in Moral-Civics lessons?
5. Please give me one example of the most significant thing you learn in this subject?
6. How important the subject is to your everyday life?
7. Has your school ever organized teacher-student meeting?
8. How do you spend your leisure activities?
9. What social issues you usually discuss with your family members?
10. What social issues you usually discuss with your friends?
11. Has your school ever organized any social events, for example, charity, environment protection?
12. To you, how can young people like you contribute to your school?
13. How can you contribute to the country?
14. Give me one example of social events you want your school to organize in the future?
Why?

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APPENDIX-D

Interview protocol (teacher)

Each interview lasts 15-20 minutes.

Introduction by the researcher:

1. Can you tell me what subject and grade you are teaching here?
2. How many hours do you teach per week?
3. For Moral-Civics subject, what are the main themes?
4. What are the objectives or learning outcomes of the subject?
5. Please give me one example of 'being active citizens'?
6. How well do you think can the subject prepare the students to be active citizens?
7. Can you give me one example of how the subject prepares students to be active citizens?
8. What can help to make the students at your school active citizens?
9. What activities your students can do to contribute to school development or the country as a whole?

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APPENDIX-E

Parent's consent form

Project Title: Negotiating Spaces for Young Students as Active and Informed Citizenry: Discourses on Schooling and Individuals' Aspirations in Contemporary Cambodia

Investigators:

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Mr. Pheaktra Pich (PhD student)

Mobile: +61 449 213 798 Email: p.pich@student.unimelb.edu.au

Parent/Guardian name (please print)

Child's name (please print)

1. I consent to my child's participation in the project named above, the particulars of which have been explained to me. A written copy of the information has been given to me to keep.
2. I acknowledge that:
 - (a) My child is free to withdraw from the project at any time without explanation or prejudice and to withdraw any unprocessed identifiable data previously supplied.
 - (b) The project is for the purpose of research.
 - (c) I have been informed that the confidentiality of the information provided will be safeguarded subject to any legal requirements and that, due to the small sample size, complete anonymity of participants cannot be guaranteed.
 - (d) I acknowledge that participants will be referred to by pseudonym in any publications arising from the research.

Signature

Date

(Parent/Guardian)

APPENDIX-F

Teacher's consent form

Project: Negotiating Spaces for Young Students as Active and Informed Citizenry: Discourses on Schooling and Individuals' Aspirations in Contemporary Cambodia

I, ...[PRINT NAME], give consent to my participation in the above named research project run by Dr. Hernan Cuervo (Supervisor), Professor Johanna Wyn (Co-supervisor) and Mr. Pheaktra Pich (PhD student) at The University of Melbourne. In giving my consent I acknowledge that:

1. The procedures required for the project and the time involved have been explained to me, and any questions I have about the project have been answered to my satisfaction.
2. I have read the Participant Information Statement and have been given the opportunity to discuss the information and my involvement in the project with the researcher/s.
3. I understand that being in this study is completely voluntary – I am not under any obligation to consent.
4. I understand that my involvement is strictly confidential. I understand that any research data gathered from the results of the study may be published however no information about me will be used in any way that is identifiable.
5. I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time, without affecting my relationship with the researcher(s) or the University of Melbourne, the Youth Research Centre at the Melbourne Graduate School of Education now or in the future.
6. I understand that I can stop the interview at any time if I do not wish to continue, the audio recording will be erased and the information provided will not be included in the study.
7. I consent to:
 - Interview YES ☐ NO ☐
 - Audio-recording YES ☐ NO ☐
8. Do you wish to receive feedback on your provided information from the researchers?
YES ☐ NO ☐

If you answered YES to the “Receiving Feedback” question, please provide your details i.e. mailing address, email address.

Feedback Option

Address: _____

Email: _____

.....
Signature

.....
Please PRINT name

.....
Date

APPENDIX-G

Plain language statement (parents)

Dear Parents,

What is the study about?

This thesis examines the concept of citizenship in Cambodian schools through an analysis of students' everyday practices, the Moral-Civics curriculum, and school policies and/or regulations. I am interested in what it means to be an active citizen. This could be students' involvement in school-related initiatives and in their own communities, and their contribution to society.

Who is doing the study?

The study is a PhD project being conducted by Mr. Pheaktra Pich (PhD student), supervised by Dr. Hernan Cuervo (Supervisor) and Prof. Johanna Wyn (Co-supervisor) at The University of Melbourne. The study has the approval of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport.

What do I have to do?

We would like to seek your consent on your child's behalf to complete a 20-minute questionnaire. Further, your child may be chosen for a second activity that consists of a focus group. Only a sub-set of 20 participants that completed the questionnaire will be asked to participate in the second activity. Both activities are totally voluntary.

How much time will it take?

For the survey, your children will need to spend 20 minutes to complete the questionnaire. For the focus group interviews, we would like to take 30 minutes of your children's time to talk to them and their schoolmates.

Do your children have to do the study?

No. Participation is completely voluntary. Your children are able to withdraw (quit) at any time.

Is this research project part of a school assessment? Will teachers or other school staff see my responses to the questionnaire and/or focus group?

This research project is not part of any school assessment. Your children's responses will have no impact on their results. Teachers and other school staff will not see their questionnaire and/or focus group responses.

Will anyone else know?

No. The researchers may write a report about this study but your children will not be named in the report and only the researchers will know their answers.

Yes. A summary of the aggregated research findings will be made available to your children; they are entitled to these summaries.

Do I get anything for being part of the study?

Ultimately, the research will be used to generate a model of citizenship education that is relevant to the Cambodian experience. Though there are no incentives for the participants, refreshments will be served during the interviews.

What if I have any questions?

If you have any questions you can contact Dr. Hernan Cuervo (Supervisor) (hicuervo@unimelb.edu.au); Prof. Johanna Wyn (Co-supervisor) (j.wyn@unimelb.edu.au); and Mr. Pheaktra Pich (PhD student) (p.pich@student.unimelb.edu.au) and we will be happy to help you.

What if I am not happy with the study?

If you have any concerns or complaints you can contact the Executive Officer, Human Research

Ethics, The University of Melbourne, ph: 8344 2073; fax 9347 6739 or email: HumanEthics-complaints@unimelb.edu.au.

This information sheet is for you to keep.

APPENDIX-H

Plain language statement for teacher

Dr. Hernan Cuervo (Supervisor)

Tel: +61 3 8344 9533 Email: hicuervo@unimelb.edu.au

Prof. Johanna Wyn (Co-supervisor)

Tel: +61 3 8344 9643 Email: j.wyn@unimelb.edu.au

Mr. Pheaktra Pich (PhD student)

Mobile: +61 449 213 798 Email: p.pich@student.unimelb.edu.au

Dear Teacher,

This is a PhD project conducted by Mr. Pheaktra Pich (PhD student), supervised by Dr. Hernan Cuervo (Supervisor) and Professor Johanna Wyn (Co-supervisor) at the Youth Research Centre, Melbourne Graduate School of Education in the University of Melbourne. The research approval from the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport.

Your participation is voluntary. If you don't wish to take part, you don't have to and there is no consequence. If you begin participating, you can also stop at any time.

This thesis examines the concept of citizenship in Cambodian schools through an analysis of your everyday practices, the Moral-Civics curriculum, and school policies and/or regulations. I am interested in what it means to be an active citizen. This could be students' involvement in school-related initiatives and in their own communities, and their contribution to society.

If you agree to participate, you would be asked to join a face-to-face interview with Mr. Pheaktra Pich. This interview lasts approximately 15 minutes and focuses on the practice of citizenship among students and by school's initiatives. The discussions will also evolve around the themes and objectives of Moral-Civics subject.

This research project is not part of your teaching performance. Your responses will have no impact on your job. Other school staff will not see your views and/or responses.

Wider spaces for active citizenry and appropriate model of citizenship education given Cambodia's socio-political contexts are the ultimate aims of this PhD research project. Your voices about the current state of citizenship practices and Moral-Civics subject will be heard, thus expanding the spaces for students in the generations to come to enjoy their rights as active citizens. Though there are no incentives for the participants, refreshments will be served during the interviews.

We reassure that the project is not about evaluation of your school, school's management, and your answers and views in the interview are not known to your school's management. Your

privacy will be our priority and we guarantee that any information that may lead to the revelation of your identity will be kept highly confidential. In addition, the interview will be at your school and out of your teaching time so that it will not clash with your schedule.

No. Participation is completely voluntary. You are able to withdraw (quit) at any time. If you feel that you want to withdraw the provided information, you can also do this without affecting your standing as a teacher in the school.

Yes. A summary of the aggregated research findings will be made available to you, and only you are entitled to the summaries.

Confidentiality and anonymity of participants will be protected as far as possible. Pseudonyms will be used to refer to participants and schools in the data analysis and writing up. However the small sample size of focus groups may make it possible to identify participants; thus, anonymity is subject to some legal restrictions (e.g Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport's request for data). Data will be stored and disposed of in full compliance with the University of Melbourne guidelines and the University's code of conduct for research. The data will be stored for a period of five years from the date of the publication of the thesis, when transcripts will be shredded and audio recordings deleted.

There is no conflict of interest be it potential, real or perceived.

If you would like more information about the project, please contact the researchers whose contacts are provided at the beginning of this Plain Language Statement.

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of The University of Melbourne. If you have any concerns or complaints about the conduct of this research project, which you do not wish to discuss with the research team, you should contact the Manager, Human Research Ethics, Research Ethics and Integrity, University of Melbourne, VIC 3010. Tel: +61 3 8344 2073 or Email: HumanEthics-complaints@unimelb.edu.au. All complaints will be treated confidentially. In any correspondence please provide the name of the research team or the name or ethics ID number of the research project.

This information sheet is for you to keep.