



**A STUDY OF JAPANESE OFFICIAL
DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE (ODA)
FOR EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
IN POST GENOCIDE CAMBODIA**

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ABSTRACT

Foreign aid in war-torn societies is often significant for peace building after an early phase of urgent humanitarian military intervention. Numerous development organizations have been contributing to rebuild war-torn societies. The Kingdom of Cambodia is one of those countries which has been receiving a large number of development assistance since the end of the civil war and tragic genocide, which occurred during Pol Pot's communist period (1974-1979). During the genocide, approximately 80 per cent of Cambodian elite were killed, and national education system was destroyed for ideological control. Therefore, educational reconstruction has been one of significant sectors in Cambodian post-war reconstruction.

Japan International Cooperation Agencies (JICA) is a Japanese Official Development Assistance (ODA) based bilateral aid agency. In post-war Cambodia, JICA has been contributing for post-war reconstruction as one of those numerous development assistance. Their contribution is broadly known as philanthropic peacebuilding practices. However, in the current situation of Cambodia, there seems to be several controversial issues which might be an indirect cause of the structural violence, such as aid-dependency, economic disparity between the urban rich and the rural and urban poor, and corruption of the Cambodian government. It is my contention that educational development assistance by JICA may have also negatively influenced peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction.

Therefore, this study aims to explore and understand if Japanese foreign aid and JICA's support to Cambodian educational development is truly being positive peace or can it be said to be an indirect cause of structural violence. For this purpose, this study focuses JICA's motives for educational development in Cambodia.

LIST OF FIGURES, TABLE, AND MAP

FIGURES

Fig. 1	Population pyramid of Cambodia in 2008.....	8
Fig. 2	The path to reach informants.....	33
Fig. 3	Education level of teaching staff.....	51
Fig. 4	Trends in major DAC countries' ODA (2008).....	57
Fig. 5	ODA Share of major DAC countries by region (2002).....	60
Fig. 6	JICA's cooperation results by region in Asia, fiscal year 2006 (Unit: USD/m).....	60
Fig. 7	Cambodian teacher education system.....	69

TABLE

Table 1	Age and teaching experience of JICA's teaching experts in Cambodia	66
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MAP

Map I	Map of Cambodia	vi
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APPENDICES

- Appendix I A list of interview informants
- Appendix II Interview guide
- Appendix III Interview checklist to JICA and CJCC officers
- Appendix IV Interview checklist to JOCV Japanese volunteer teachers
- Appendix V Interview checklist to Cambodian students (service receivers)

MAP I: The map of Cambodia



Source: LEARN NC [online]

URL- <http://www.learnnc.org/lp/multimedia/3291>.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN TEXT

ADB	Asian Development Bank
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CARE	Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere
CGDK	Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea
CJCC	Cambodia-Japan Cooperation Center
COSVN	the Communist Office for South Vietnam
CPP	Cambodian People's Party
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DDR	Demobilization, Disarmament, and Rehabilitation
DK	Democratic Kampuchea
EFA	Education for All
EROA	Economic Rehabilitation in Occupied Areas
ESP	Education Strategic Plan
ESSP	Education Sector Support Program
FUNCINPEC	National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia
GARIOA	Government Appropriation for Relief in Occupied Area Fund
HDI	Human Development Index
HRD	Human Resource Development
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISMEC	Improving Science and Mathematics Education at the Upper Secondary Level
INGOs	International Non-Governmental Organizations
JBIC	Japan Bank for International Cooperation
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
JOCV	Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers
LARA	Licensed Agencies for Relief of Asia
LFA	Logical Framework Approach
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
METI	Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry of Japan
MoEYS	Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports in Cambodia.

NIE	National Institute of Education
NSDP	National Strategic Development Plan
NUM	National University of Management
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PRK	People's Republic of Kampuchea
PTTC	Provincial Teachers Training Center
RTTC	Regional Teachers Training Center
RULE	Royal University of Law and Economy
RUPP	Royal University of Phnom Penh
SMEs	Small- and Medium-sized Enterprises
STEPSAM	Secondary school Teacher Training Project in Science and Mathematics
SWOT	Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats
U.N.	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNTAC	United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia
U.S.	United States of America
WTO	World Trade Organization

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ii
ABSTRACT.....	iii
LIST OF FIGURES, TABLE, AND MAP.....	iv
APPENDICES.....	v
MAP	vi
ABBREVIATIONS USED IN TEXT.....	vii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Development, education, and educational development: definitional issues	2
1.2 Problem statement	4
1.3 Objective of the study	4
1.4 Hypothesis	5
1.5 Research questions	5
1.6 Relevance of the study	5
1.7 Study site	6
1.7.1 Location.....	6
1.7.2 Population	7
1.8 Overview of the study	8
CHAPTER TWO: CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS.....	10
2.0 Introduction	10
2.1 A political economy approach to development assistance and aid for education	10
2.1.1 Aid	10
2.1.2 Aid for education	13
2.2 Post-conflict reconstruction from development studies	14
2.3 Peacebuilding from peace studies	16
2.4 Peace and conflict theories from peace studies	19
2.5 Conclusion	20

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK AND	
RESEARCH METHODS	22
3.0 Introduction.....	22
3.1 General approach of qualitative and quantitative research	22
3.2 Methods of choosing focus.....	24
3.2.1 Choice of social setting: Why Cambodia?	24
3.2.2 Choice of research focus	25
3.3 Choices of sources and methods of data collection.....	26
3.3.1 Logical Framework Approach for the development study	26
3.3.2 Primary source data for the micro-level approach	27
3.3.3 Secondary source data for addressing the macro-level.....	28
3.4. Fieldwork	30
3.4.1 The theory of gatekeeping.....	30
3.4.2 Opening procedure and gatekeeper in the fieldwork.....	31
3.4.3 Conducting interviews	33
3.5 Data processing	34
3.6 Challenges of fieldwork data investigation	35
3.6.1 Constraints due to cultural bias	35
3.6.2 Methodological challenge as an outsider	36
3.6.3 Challenge of access to informants	36
3.7 Conclusion	37
CHAPTER FOUR: THE CAMBODIAN CIVIL WAR AND GENOCIDE	38
4.0 Introduction	38
4.1 Brief historic background of modern Cambodia	38
4.1.1 Influences from overseas and colonization	38
4.1.2 Sihanouk’s post-independence modernization efforts	40
4.1.3 <i>Coup d’état</i> by Lon Nol. the beginning of chaos	41
4.1.4 Pol Pot’s communist regime (1975-1979) and its destruction of education.....	42
4.1.5 After the tragedy: the period of international alliance for peacebuilding	44
4.2 Educational development in post-war Cambodia	48
4.2.1 Educational reconstruction after the genocide	48

4.2.2 Current situation of education in Cambodia	50
4.2.3 Cambodian national effort on educational development	51
4.3 Conclusion	53
CHAPTER FIVE: JAPANESE FOREIGN AID AND JICA.....	55
5.0 Introduction	55
5.1 Japanese foreign aid	55
5.1.1 Origin of Japanese aid	55
5.1.2 Current situation of Japanese aid	56
5.2 JICA.....	58
5.2.1 Historical framework of JICA	58
5.2.2 JICA's ODA disbursement in Southeast Asia	59
5.2.3 JICA's educational development support projects in Cambodia	61
5.2.4 Japanese volunteers as teaching experts	62
5.3 Conclusion	63
CHAPTER SIX: ANALYSIS OF THE JICA'S EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE	64
6.0 Introduction.....	64
6.1 Interview informants	64
6.1.1 JICA officers (Japanese)	64
6.1.2 JICA's teachers in practical fields	65
6.1.3 JOCV's volunteer teachers	65
6.1.4 Students (Cambodian service receivers)	66
6.2 Educational development assistance I: science and mathematics education	66
6.2.1 Development assistance of science and mathematics education	66
6.2.2 Secondary School Teacher Training Project in Science and Mathematics (STEPSAM)	68
6.2.3 JOCV volunteers as science teachers	72
6.2.4 On explicit and implicit motives	73
6.2.5 Responses from individual practitioners of educational development	78
6.3 Educational development assistance II: Cambodia-Japan Cooperation Center (CJCC) and Japanese language education	80

6.3.1 Japan Center project	81
6.3.2 Education produced by CJCC	82
6.3.3 Japanese-language education	82
6.3.4 Japanese-style business education	83
6.3.5 On explicit and implicit motives	84
6.3.6 The relationship between Japanese and Cambodian individual practitioners	88
6.3.7 Strategy of the infrastructure construction of CJCC	89
6.4 Conclusion	90
CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUDING REMARKS.....	92
7.0 Introduction	92
7.1 A brief summary of the study	92
7.2 Responses to the research questions	93
7.2.1 The findings of the explicit and implicit motives.....	94
7.2.2 Positive peace or structural violence?	94
7.3 Recommendation of further studies	95
REFERENCES.....	97
APPENDICES.....	106

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The main theme of this thesis is to explore how Japanese Official Development Assistance (ODA) is channelled through the bilateral organization: Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) for educational reconstruction in the post-war Cambodian society. Development assistance in war-torn societies is often significant for peace building after an early phase of urgent humanitarian military intervention.¹ Numerous development actors, including multilateral and bilateral agencies, and International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) are contributing to rebuild war-torn societies.² The Kingdom of Cambodia has been receiving development assistance since the end of the tragic genocide, which occurred during Pol Pot's communist period of Democratic Kampuchea (DK) (1974-1979).³ Presently, a large number of different development assistance organizations from the global North contribute to Cambodia's educational development efforts for school education, university-level of education, and also for many kinds of non-formal education.⁴

¹ In this thesis, I will use the term 'development intervention' as the term for entering another country to deal with problems through development assistance. This is distinguished from the term 'military intervention'.

² There is a conceptual confusion about NGOs, e.g. in Norway, some of the large, traditionally independent NGOs are now engaged in contract work for the government and financed 100 per cent of their outlay (Tvedt 1998:14). In this thesis, the term NGO or INGO includes such organizations who are financially covered by governmental support.

³ About the communistic ideological control and its resulting massive slaughter of the Cambodian people by the Khmer Rouge, I intend to use the term genocide. Further description of the genocide is in chapter four (p.42).

⁴ The term 'global North' refers to the countries who are taking initiative for development assistance in developing countries. It mainly consists of the U.S., France, the U.K, Australia, Germany, Japan, etc. On the other hand, the countries who are receiving those development assistances are called the 'global South'.

This international assistance is based on commitments to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and to other related international agreements focused on the education sector.⁵

1.1 Development, education, and educational development: definitional issues

First, I would like to briefly debate the definitions of the terms ‘development’, ‘education’, and ‘educational development’ in this study. Needless to say, ‘development’ is an ambiguous and much used term, which is mainly and broadly used to refer to economic growth. According to Crush, “Development is prospective, forward-looking, gazing toward the achievement of as yet unrealized states, there seems little point in looking back” (Crush 2003:9). Also, Appadurai (2004:60) has argued that development is always seen in terms of the future; as plans, hopes, goals and targets. The term ‘future’ seems predicated on the condition of economic development; only if such development happens, are human beings seen as having a future. As he has argued, several of the major development efforts in the global South by the global North, seem to be focusing on economic growth in particular. This globalized scheme is, in my view, also embedded in recent Cambodian development strategies, as the priorities seem to be economic growth and capitalistic market expansion.

Cambodia, as well as other recent war-torn societies, has received many types of development assistance, e.g. reconstruction of infrastructure, land-mine clearing, agricultural development, health-care provision, poverty reduction, gender empowerment, and not the least, education. Of those different sectoral fields of development assistance, I focus on educational-development assistance. In general, ‘education’ is one of the really important sectors for development. As a basis, I define the term ‘education’ as formal schooling: primary, secondary, and tertiary education. However, in broader sense, it includes vocational training, adult literacy, health training and nutrition programs, agricultural training, learning in the

⁵ The MDGs is the global social contract ratified by the member countries of UN in 2000, which aspire to human development and poverty alleviation goals (Roy 2008:251).

home, community rites, initiation ceremonies, religious schooling, and various other forms of non-formal schooling and learning-by-doing experiences (Müller 2005:189). In this study, I use the term education in the broader sense. Because the Cambodian educational system totally collapsed during the civil war in the 1970s, educational reconstruction had to start from zero.⁶ Hence, educational development has been required, and having a broad approach, as the more-inclusive definition entails, is needed.

Educational development in a post-conflict society comprises different elements, i.e. (i) reconstructing the ‘hardware’ of education such as school buildings; (ii) promoting enrolment to primary, secondary, and tertiary schools in order to fulfil the right to education, which is the basis of the worldwide school enrolment project: Education for All (EFA)⁷ initiated by the World Bank, UNESCO, UNICEF, and UNDP; (iii) promoting advanced teaching methods of sciences and languages in order to build human capital.⁸ This mainstream notion of education is propagated by the World Bank, within the framework of the post-Washington Consensus (Müller 2005:192).⁹ In this thesis, I would like to focus on the perspective of (iii). Hence the term ‘educational development’ in this thesis refers to educational assistance as strategy of economic development including human capital.

⁶ More detailed information about the history of educational destruction in Cambodia will be described in chapter four (p.38).

⁷ The global EFA movement is aiming to provide quality basic education and meet the learning needs of all children, youth and adults by 2015.

⁸ The concept of human capital considers the individual human being as a resource for national or global economic development; therefore, this logic places an emphasis on supplying many kinds of education for individuals. In the human-capital theory, education is mostly considered as a tool of economic development.

⁹ Washington Consensus refers to predominantly neo-liberal policy recommendations such as privatization of state-owned enterprise, tax reform, eliminating barriers to foreign direct investment, ensuring competition of trades and exchange rates, financial liberalization, etc., made by dominant development institutions since the 1980s (Storey 2005:746).

1.2 Problem statement

My interest in the problem area that informed this problem statement was nurtured during my very first visit to Cambodia in 2005. I was there as a member of a study trip with doing volunteer work at an orphanage, visiting the sprawling city of Phnom Penh and the emerald green but impoverished countryside. I was already interested in Cambodia's effort to overcome its devastating past, and found, to my surprise, that many international development and humanitarian organizations from the global North were representing their contributions with symbolic expressions such as signboards or flags of their home countries. Was such massive development assistance, I wondered, mostly helpful to the Cambodian quest for a lasting and just peace, or might it lead to problems such as aid-dependency, a donor-driven national budget, or even government corruption?

Also, when I visited the JICA office in Cambodia during my first trip, I found that they were teaching Japanese language and business ethics to Cambodian people. I wondered first of all, why and for what purpose were they teaching Japanese culture to Cambodian people? Wouldn't this create problems if these practitioners did not know much about the very complex and tragic modern educational history of Cambodia? Well, these queries were still with me when I became a student at the Masters Program in Peace and Conflict Transformation.

1.3 Objective of the study

The objective of this study is to explore and understand in post-war Cambodia, if foreign aid and JICA support to Cambodian educational development in particular, is truly positive or can it be said to be structural violence¹⁰?

¹⁰ The theories of structural and cultural violence are focused on more depth in chapter two (p.19).

1.4 Hypothesis

It is generally acknowledged that the assistance of JICA has been contributing to educational development since the civil war ended in Cambodia. It is my contention that educational-development assistance by this organization in the post-war Cambodian society may have also negatively influenced peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction in Cambodia, since the assertions of development as liberal economic growth may not be promotive of long-term peacebuilding.

1.5 Research questions

Based on above key question, I have formulated a main research question and a more specific operational sub-question for the study.

- What are the explicit and implicit motives of JICA's educational development assistance as discerned in providing science, Japanese language and business ethics education services?
→Is Japanese aid for education promoting positive peace¹¹ or indirectly functioning as structural violence?

1.6 Relevance of the study

After the terrible internal war ended in 1979, Cambodia has gradually attracted development, and peace and conflict scholars, and a host of different aid agencies from the global North. Granted that massive international assistance has been contributing to and playing a significant role in post-conflict reconstruction, there have been hosts of studies devoted to development assistances and educational reconstruction in Cambodia (e.g. Aryes 2000a and 2000b; Chandler 1991; Dugan 1996 and 1997). But much less attention in research has been

¹¹ Positive peace refers to the best protection against all kinds of violence (Galtung 1996:32). The concept will be discussed in chapter two (p.19).

devoted to a more critical examination of the underlying agenda of Japanese development assistance and how it may be embedded in a larger scheme of global dominance and exploitation.¹² This study attempts to explore some of these problematic issues with an empirical focus on educational-development assistance, examined from the interdisciplinary perspective in peace studies.

1.7 Study site

1.7.1 Location

Cambodia is located in the southwestern part of the Indochina Peninsula, and is classified as a part of Southeast Asia. Cambodia has boundary with Thailand on the north and west, Laos in the north, and Vietnam in the east and southeast. The southwestern part faces on the Gulf of Thailand (cf. *Map 1*). The climate is tropical, with two main seasons: the dry season and the rainy season. When I was there for my fieldwork, it was a rainy season. Everywhere in the large capital city there was a strong smell of the distinctive tropical lukewarm rain, of the soil, and of car exhausts and rotten garbage in the streets and backyards.

For the case-study site, I chose the capital city of Cambodia, Phnom Penh. Phnom Penh is located in the south-central part of the country, a part that is characterized by flat land and the junction of three big rivers: Mekong, Bassac, and Tonle Sap. There are many recently constructed high and modern buildings. From dawn until night, every road, market, and park are always full of old and new cars, of pattering motorbikes, and of a lot of folks. Yet, even the huge and crowded city seems to be energetically developing. I saw many adult and child beggars. I was also struck by the large number of stray dogs walking or sleeping along sidewalks and in parks. Also I recall well that there was garbage everywhere in the city, so unlike what I am used to in Japan and Norway.

¹² Galtung (1996:194) defines the term ‘exploitation’ as “any utilization of anything in nature, human, social, or world spaces to the point where that entity is no longer capable of reproducing itself”.

This huge, damp sprawling city is an administrative centre with many national governmental institutions, including many significant educational institutions, and also, most of the significant international development institutions are present, such as Asian Development Bank (ADB), the World Bank, and U.N. agencies. Similarly, JICA also has its office in Phnom Penh. Thus, it is worth focusing on Phnom Penh due to such political and administrative concentration. Perhaps also due to its political importance, compared to other provinces, Phnom Penh receives a high amount of the total amount of disbursements, and the leading educational institutions receive their share of the development assistance.¹³ This is an acknowledgement of Phnom Penh as the main national center, and as the site for leading educational institutions, including the universities.

1.7.2 Population

The population in Cambodia is approximately 13 million, comprising 90 per cent Khmer people, and several national and ethnic minorities such as Vietnamese, Chinese, Thai, Lao, and South Korean in particular. In addition, there are several indigenous groups in peripheral regions such as Jarai people in the northern part. The state religion is Theravada Buddhism. Approximately 90 per cent are Buddhists. Everyday life in Cambodia, in both rural and urban areas, is highly affected by Buddhism. Even in 'Westernized' urban areas, many Buddhist temples, statues and monks, in the typical Buddhist bright orange robes, can be seen everywhere.

As for industries, it can broadly be said that about 70 to 80 per cent of the population are living on small-scale indigenous farms, and working in local agricultural industries such as rice farming, fishery, timber, garment, etc. According to the 2008 Human Development

¹³ In 2006, total disbursement in Phnom Penh is USD 9.36 million, compared to the second biggest city, Siem Riap: USD 2.77 million (The Cambodia Aid Effectiveness Report 2007:25).

Index (HDI), Cambodia is ranked 136 out of 192 U.N. member states (UNDP, Human Development Index 2008:33). Many Cambodians, in particular those who live in remote areas, are living in poverty. Also, due to entrenched gender hierarchies, as in other Asian countries, there is not really gender equality between women and men. HDI placed Cambodia 93rd in the gender-empowerment ranking (*ibid.*:49). These measurements of degree of development indicate that Cambodia is one of the developing countries in the global South. Significantly, the tragic history of civil war influences the population balance (cf. *Fig.1*).

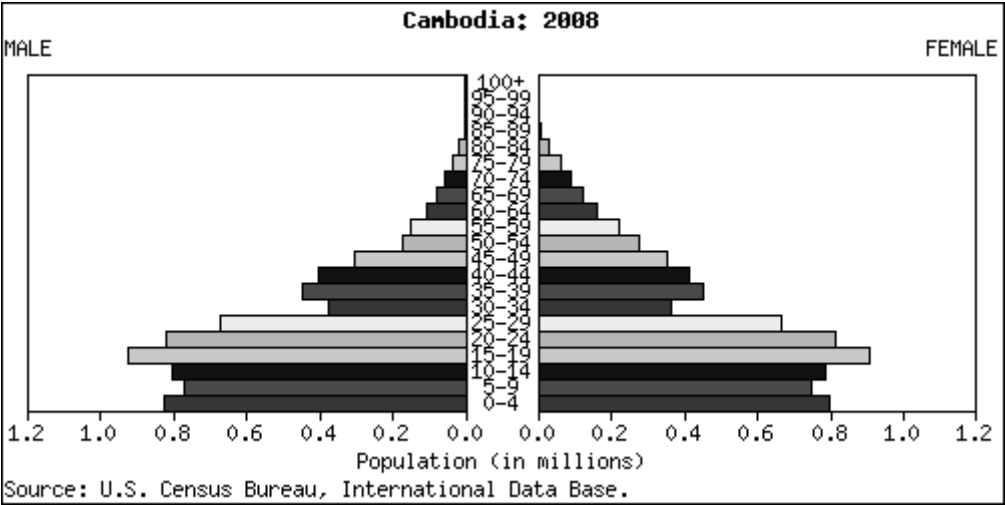


Fig.1. Population pyramid of Cambodia in 2008.

Source: the U.S Census Bureau, International Data Base

The population in the age group over 30 is considerably lower than the younger generation. Also, this group significantly shows that the female population is larger than male. In addition, the age group 30–34 has extremely low population. The people in this group were born during the genocide occurred in Pol Pot’s period. Thus, this unbalanced population composition clearly shows the effects on the population structure of the devastating civil war.

1.8 Overview of the study

In the next chapter, I will start by describing the theoretical and conceptual framework I have used. In chapter three, I will describe the methodological framework following my empirical

fieldwork data collection and procedure of analysis in particular. Then I will focus on political and educational history, and the current situation of Cambodia in chapter four. In chapter five, I will describe salient tendencies of Japanese ODA. In particular, I will discuss key features of Japanese foreign aid in Cambodia. Finally in chapter six, I will present my analysis of educational reconstruction by JICA and attempt to answer the research questions I have posed.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

Theories are the basis of research studies and can be thought of as formal statements of explanations of events, expressed in such a way as to allow their investigation, confirmation and verification.

(Black 1999:8)

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I will outline the conceptual and theoretical frameworks I have found most useful for this study. My main ambition is try to combine peace studies and development studies for a deeper understanding of educational development assistance. For this purpose, I will first discuss the terms ‘aid’ and ‘aid for education’, within a political economy approach. I then will discuss two related concepts from different approaches: ‘peacebuilding’ from the perspective of peace studies and ‘post-war reconstruction’ from the perspective of development studies. Finally in this chapter, I will discuss the theoretical framework of peace and violence from the perspective of peace studies.

2.1 A political economy approach to development assistance and aid for education

2.1.1 Aid

Let me discuss the term ‘aid’. We generally talk about ‘foreign aid’, ‘international aid’, or ‘overseas aid’. According to the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development), the term aid is defined as:

[That which] flows to developing countries and multilateral institutions from official agencies that satisfies two criteria. First, it is primarily intended for development

purposes (ruling out both military aid and export credits). Second, it is highly concessional, meaning a grant element of at least 25 percent. Aid flows comprise the largest part of official capital flows to developing countries. Other flows include private commercial flows, and grants from NGOs (White 2005:20).

More simply, it refers to “a transfer of resources on concessional terms—on terms that are more generous or ‘softer’ than loans obtainable in the world’s capital markets” (Cassen and Associates 1994: 22 qtd. in Willis 2005:45). In particular, these aids by bilateral agencies are implemented via ODA. At present, following the concept, huge amounts of money, human resources, food and other basic commodities essential to life, technologies, knowledge, and skills have been transferred from the global North to the global South. These various types of aid are claimed to contribute to poverty reduction, social reconstruction, and human development in post-conflict war-torn societies.

It is significant to focus on the political economy of the current aid and international assistance in a historical perspective. Historically, aid became one of the significant political and economic concerns of the international governance after the end of World War II (1945), on the initiative of the war-victorious Western countries (Barakat 2005:13). This post-WWII Western scheme was conceived and developed by the U.S. and initiated in the Bretton Woods Agreement in 1944. As I have mentioned above, this agreement has exerted considerable influence in the non-communist countries, and configured a new world-economic order based on the establishment of global institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Following the agreement, the U.S., as the leading actor of the post-WWII Western world system, started the post-war reconstruction program in Europe, known as the Marshall Plan (1948–1952). The Plan quite successfully restored the economic market and rebuilt infrastructure, through massive financial assistance.¹⁴ It was the U.S.’s political strategy during the Cold War in order to protect European countries from the

¹⁴ For the Marshall Plan, approximately USD 17 billion was contributed for the development aid.

communist influence by the Soviet Union. Therefore, the post-war reconstruction was originally the capitalists' political and economic strategy against communism during the Cold War, resulting in an expanding global economic liberal market through development assistance (Willis 2005:37; Barakat 2005:14).

Thus, the strategic objective was to promote the global capital market and a Western-dominated economic world order. This ambition politically underpinned the Cold War; almost fifty years of worldwide ideological conflict that polarized the world. On one side was the Western liberal capitalist countries led by the U.S., and on the other, the Eastern socialist bloc side led by the mighty Soviet Union. During and after the Cold War, aid was used as a political tactic by Western liberal capitalist countries. Some scholars have argued that this global North-dominated world order aimed to promote global political stability while promoting a liberal economic capital market. Without going much into this debate, one can at least conclude that with increasing post-war prosperity from the 1960s onward, international assistance by the global North increased rapidly, and the U.S. (in absolute numbers) in particular. Much of this Western aid was channelled through several economic multilateral institutions, such as the IMF, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), and later the World Bank.¹⁵

In addition, as for international political system, the U.N. was established after the end of the World War II in 1945 (Barakat 2005:14). These institutions are generally known as large development actors, through some were really banks with minor attention to development in a broader sense. Anyway, they came to exert strong impact on development in the global South. In addition, it is worth noting that Japan also gradually became a contributor

¹⁵ The World Bank, along with the IMF and IBRD, are called Bretton Woods institutions, which are products of the Bretton Woods Conference (the conference to discuss economic development plans for the postwar world system, which was held in 1944, lead by the U.S.). They were essentially set up to serve the global economy, under the sponsorship and direction of the U.S. Now, it is generally known as the one of the biggest multilateral development agencies.

to these multilateral development institutions through large-scale financial support and political participation (Sèoderberg 1996:5). Especially in the 1990s, (from 1989 until 2000, except 1990) Japan has been one of the world's 'top donor' in financial disbursement. In other words, Japanese foreign aid has clearly contributed to this Western-dominated global scheme of development.¹⁶

2.1.2 Aid for education

Educational development assistance covers a diverse wide-range of aid expenditure. The education sector is generally considered as complicated development sector to intervene in by external actors, because it is closely related to any society's culture. Tilak (1988:315) has argued that of all the development assistance, education is most susceptible to charges of intervention, dependence, cultural domination, etc. Therefore, educational projects tend to be particularly difficult to administer, implement, complete, and assess. Thus, implementation needs to be genuinely accommodated to local realities of both formal and informal learning. In spite of this challenge for educational development in the global South, aid for education is often rationalized because of its presumed large impact on economic growth and poverty alleviation through income distribution as a driver of social equity (*ibid.*: 316). Some scholars (e.g. Mende, 1974 qtd. in Tilak 1988:318) insist that aid for education is simply a responsibility of the rich (the global North) to assist the development of poor countries (the global South). This perspective is used to justify massive development interventions into other countries' educational systems. Thus, the concept is rationalized from a moral perspective.

How do the development practitioners reflect this concept? The World Bank, which can be considered to be one of the main multilateral organizations funding educational development in recent years, has stated that "Education is one of humanity's basic needs and

¹⁶ More detail of Japanese aid (ODA) will be described in the chapter five (p.55).

is an important tool for achieving its other needs. Education is also the basics for economic and social development” (The World Bank 1990 qtd. in JICA 1994:25). In addition, some multilateral organizations such as UNESCO, UNICEF, and UNDP distribute aid for education in Cambodia within a children-rights perspective (Aryes 2000a:155–158; Tilak 1988:315). This perspective is underpinning UNESCO’s worldwide educational strategic plan: EFA. UNESCO states that “aid for education is UNESCO’s top priority, in line with its recognition that education is indispensable to the wider diffusion of culture, justice, freedom, peace, and human dignity, and that it is a tool and method for achieving world peace” (UNESCO 1990 qtd. in JICA 1994:23). The difference in definition between the above two large organizations: i.e. the World Bank and UNESCO, clearly shows how aid for education is understood within different overall rationales.

In addition, JICA defines aid for education as a contribution to the development of the whole personality of an individual in different stages of development. The organization’s objectives are to fulfil individual needs and to respond to the manpower-training needs of a nation and society as a whole by building individuals’ character and fully developing their potential talents. This transmits knowledge, skills, and values through the interaction between educators and learners (JICA 1994:25).

2.2 Post-conflict reconstruction from development studies

In development studies, the concept of post-conflict (more precisely one may say post-war) reconstruction seems appropriate, when discussing the case of development assistance in post-war Cambodia. In such war-torn societies, normal development assistance faces the huge challenges of the complexity of reconstruction needed in the aftermath of destruction (Barakat 2005:10). Barakat (*ibid.*) has argued that such post-war societies face serious destruction of relationships, including the loss of trust, dignity, confidence, and faith in others, that prove to

be the most far-reaching, potent and destructive problems. Also, in war-torn societies there persist many problems of security and post-conflict violence¹⁷, such as accidental detonation of land mines, the physical/mental health and environmental effects of wartime destruction—burglary, murder, rape, assault, etc. (Mayell 2005:545). Barakat (2005:12) also has argued that traditional development assistance which emphasizes national economic growth, employing liberal market strategies, can often lead to extra pressure on post-war societies, with privatization and restructuring resulting in large job losses and wider grievances. In this sense, Junne and Verkoren (2005:3) have argued that the pursuance of traditional development strategies, which are focused on economic development, may have even contributed to the increase rather than prevention of violent conflict. Junne and Verkoren (2005) have also claimed that “More than referring simply to economic growth, development is about improving the standard of living for all people in poor countries” (3). Therefore, before ordinary development assistance, such as technical or economic sectors, is given, humanitarian relief and security that covers such challenges is essential in post-war situations (Barakat 2005:10–11). More concretely, post-war reconstruction must include improvements of both software and hardware, and micro- and macro-levels of assistances, e.g. re-establishing governance, repairing physical infrastructure, rebuilding and maintaining key social infrastructures such as education, health, gender empowerment, poverty reduction, and Demobilization, Disarmament, and Rehabilitation (DDR)¹⁸, and supporting land mine reduction activities, etc.

Let me here look at practical development policies. This concept has also been

¹⁷ The term ‘post-conflict violence’ refers to “low-level spasmodic violence following a larger-scale episode of war that has otherwise ended” (Mayell 2005:545).

¹⁸ DDR is defined by U.N.: “A process that contributes to security and stability in a post-conflict recovery context by removing weapons from the hands of combatants, taking the combatants out of military structures, and helping them to integrate socially and economically into society by finding civilian livelihoods” (United Nations Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration Centre 2006:16).

appropriated by the main actors of current development assistance, which make use of this kind of social science expertise. According to the World Bank:

[P]ost-conflict reconstruction has two overall objectives: to facilitate the transition to sustainable peace after hostilities have ceased, and to support economic and social development. Economic recovery depends on the success of this transition and on the rebuilding of the domestic economy and restoration of access to external resources (The World Bank 1998:4).

As for educational sectoral post-conflict reconstruction, Degu (2005:130) has argued that educational sectoral development is assumed to be important in terms of political and economic terms, not only for pedagogical reasons, therefore it should be given special attention in the post-conflict situation. According to Degu (*ibid.*:129), education is strongly connected with the root causes of conflict, such as recognition of identity and culture, and community survival, distribution of resources, access to political power, and ideological orientation. In the fragile post-conflict situation, attitudinal changes among the political leaders for educational policies and teachers are strongly required, in order to reform both educational policies and schooling.

What are actual development efforts in the educational sectoral post-conflict reconstruction? Different conflicts require different educational-reforming assistance, hence actual development efforts also need different types of projects, which should be managed depending on the situation. Yet broadly, in most of the conflict cases, both soft and hard types of development efforts are required, e.g. reforming textbooks, reforming educational infrastructure, distribution of school equipment, improving teachers' professional and moral qualities, encouraging access to the school, etc.

2.3 Peacebuilding from peace studies

In peace studies, the concept of peacebuilding is comparable to the theory of post-conflict reconstruction in development studies. The concept of peacebuilding is quite ambiguous and

does not have one clear definition. Therefore, there are many different arguments on how to conceptualize it, and more so on how it should be done in practice (Paris 1997:55; Call and Cousens 2008:3; Lambourne 2004:3). For instance, Lambourne (2004) defines post-conflict peacebuilding as “strategies designed to promote a secure and stable lasting peace in which the basic human needs of the population are met and violent conflicts do not recur” (3). According to Galtung (1996:271), peacebuilding is one of the three main aspects, i.e. peacekeeping¹⁹, peacemaking²⁰, and peacebuilding. Peacebuilding should achieve positive peace through building cultural and structural peace²¹. More specifically, peacebuilding implies the ability to overcome the contradictions at the root of the conflict formation, and aims to stop further suffering, and material and nonmaterial destruction (*ibid.*:103).

Let me here briefly look at the practical policy making. The concept of peacebuilding has been promoted by U.N. in recent decades and is closely associated with the former U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali’s famous U.N. report on peacebuilding. In this report it is defined as “comprehensive efforts to identify and support structures which will tend to consolidate peace and advance a sense of confidence and well-being among people” (Boutros-Ghali 1992:para.55), which is crucial after having accomplished peacekeeping and peacemaking if positive peace is to be achieved.

One of the reasons for this conceptual ambiguousness may be due to the diversity of involved political and development actors. Not only U.N. institutions, but other regional international, multilateral organizations, national development agencies, local and international NGOs, private donors, etc., are stakeholders in peacebuilding efforts over the

¹⁹ Peacekeeping refers to control the armed actors who fight, kill, or destroy people and social structure. It is normally the deployment of U.N. presence in the field of direct violence, hitherto involving U.N. military and/or police personnel, and frequently civilians as well.

²⁰ Peacemaking is political action to bring the hostile parties to agreement by peaceful means. It “embeds the actors in a new formation; in addition, it transforms attitudes and assumptions” (Galtung 1996:103).

²¹ More detail of positive peace is explained on p.19.

last few decades. Another reason may be that those actors implement multidimensional approaches to peacebuilding, e.g. the DDR of the former belligerents, monitoring and conducting elections, repatriating refugees, rebuilding physical infrastructures, social and socio-economic development, advising and training security personnel and judicial officials, etc. Additionally, the concept of peacebuilding should include conflict transformation, restorative justice²², and socio-economic development (e.g. Lederach 1997:35 qtd. in Lambourne 2004:20). In other words, not only political, legal and security aspects are implemented, “we need to focus on the task of relationship-building and how that may be enhanced through these various processes” (Lambourne 2004:20).

Considering the above arguments, peacebuilding, in the broadest sense, can be defined as: long-term activities and strategies for recovery of a war-torn society after the initial conflict is over, in political, economic, judicial, cultural, social, educational and psychological senses, encompassing both the individual level and the national level. In this sense, my focus on educational-development assistance would be analyzed as integral to the peacebuilding process. Cambodia is one of the typical examples of a peacebuilding process. After the civil war ended, the U.N. peacekeepers and foreign militaries intervened through DDR, and then held a monitored election, and offered multidimensional development aid. Currently, restorative justice is being pursued between former Khmer Rouge combatants and victims.

Paris (1997) argues that the peacebuilding is part of a liberal internationalism, it refers to “an activist foreign policy that promotes liberal principles abroad, especially through multilateral cooperation and international institutions” (59). He argues that it is in fact grounded in the Kantian perspective of a “republican constitution”, the intention is to promote democracy and a free-market economy. This perspective has had important implications for the character of peacebuilding operations in the post-Cold War era that are still influential, i.e.

²² Restorative justice is defined “emphasis on restoring or healing relationships between conflicting parties” (Lambourne 2004:22).

“the international organizations most strongly committed to market democracy have also played the most prominent roles in peacebuilding” (Paris 1997:62).

2.4 Peace and conflict theories from peace studies

Galtung (1996:127) insists that a fusion of development studies and peace studies, while focusing on reduction of structural violence and cultural violence, implies a deeper understanding of a theoretical framework of development. Following his argument here, I would like to describe mainstream peace and violence theories that are relevant for analyzing development challenges of countries like Cambodia.

This school of thought has tried to deconstruct the concept of violence and peace. In peace epistemology, there are three types of violence: direct violence, structural violence, and cultural violence; there are two basic definitions of peace: positive peace, and negative peace. Direct violence involves any act of physical force meant to cause harm or pain. It includes killing, maiming, siege, sanctions, rape, and misery, etc. Structural violence refers to internal socio-economic and political institutions that perpetrate injustice, inequality, exploitation, and marginalization of people. Cultural violence is found in those aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence—exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, etc.—that can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence (*ibid.*:196–197).

“Negative peace is the absence of violence of all kinds” (Galtung 1996:31). This notion suggests the absence of actual violence, and that the absence of war does not necessarily mean peace. “Positive peace is the best protection against violence” (*ibid.*:32). On the contrary, positive peace is more inclusive, and its conceptualization sends message of its normative value. In addition, there are three distinct modes of positive peace—direct, structural, and cultural positive peace. “Direct positive peace would consist of verbal and physical kindness, good to the body, mind and spirit of Self and Other; addressed to all basic needs, survival,

well-being freedom and identity” (*ibid.*). If this notion of positive peace is applied on a global level, it could reduce many forms of violence and foster peace. “Structural positive peace would substitute freedom for repression and equity for exploitation, and then reinforce this with dialogue instead of penetration, integration instead of segmentation, solidarity instead of fragmentation, and participation instead of marginalization” (*ibid.*). This notion could be recognized as one of the reasons for the existence of some peacekeeping missions that the U.N. is undertaking. “Cultural positive peace would substitute legitimation of peace for the legitimation of violence; in religion, law, and ideology; in language; in art and science; in schools, universities, and the media; building a positive peace culture” (*ibid.*). As for this theory’s relevance for this study’s focus on post-war development in Cambodia, I find the concept of structural violence productive. Applying these concepts, and picking up on the above debate on aid and development effort; they may have serious negative impacts since they originally were based on the Western-dominant political strategy, while expanding the liberal capital market economy that implied massive exploitation of resources, and undermined sovereignty in the global South as well as undermining deep-rooted cultural values.

2.5 Conclusion

The concept of aid basically asserts that finance, knowledge, skills, and supply flows from the global North to the global South are beneficial for those who need to be developed. The discussion of the concept of aid indicates that the concept is used to rationalize and legitimize foreign intervention in other countries. This argument shows that the concept of aid is used not only for humanitarian philanthropic reasons to attain world peace, but also to legitimate a Western-dominated world order, which aims at global political stability, via promotion of a liberal economic capital market.

Also, aid for education tends predominantly to follow the above rationale and purpose. However, there are big challenges of intervention and implementation, because education is closely related to a society's culture. The discussion shows two quite different ways of legitimation: 1) education as a strategy of expanding and reinforcing worldwide economic capital market in the global South, which in turn contributes to poverty reduction, achieving the peaceful world order; 2) education as an indispensable basic human need to the wider diffusion of culture, justice, freedom, and human dignity, for achieving world peace.

Post-conflict reconstruction is the concept employed by both many development sectors and in development studies. Since war-torn societies have complex and fragile issues such as post-war low-level violence, mistrust in relationships, traumatic physical and mental problems, etc., before the ordinary traditional economic development assistance, humanitarian relief and security is essential. For this, diverse sorts of development assistance, from both software and hardware, and micro and macro levels of approaches are needed.

In peace studies, the similar concept of peacebuilding plays an important role in understanding conflict transformation, and the entire social and economic reconstruction and rehabilitation efforts in a war-torn society. It explains the mix of security, humanitarian and developmental activities during and after the conflict, e.g. DDR, hardware reconstruction, observing elections for a new regime, restorative justice, and also other kinds of development efforts. An epistemology of positive peace and structural violence is significant in conceptualizing the implicit motivations of any development scheme and its deeper effects. One has to scrutinize the effects of this development scheme; if we take the long-run view, it may be said to represent one form of structural violence by the global North to the global South. Building on this theoretical and analytical examination, I would like, in the later chapters of this thesis, to analyze my case study of educational development by the Japanese bilateral development agency.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHODS

3.0 Introduction

This chapter aims to present the methodological framework and the methods used in this study. Hence, I will start by explaining my research strategy given my choice of research topic, and then outline my methods, fieldwork procedures and techniques of data collection. Finally, I will present my procedures of data processing, and the questions of validity and reliability of the data will be addressed.

3.1 General approach of qualitative and quantitative research

In this section, I will briefly describe certain basics of my methodology. In general, methodology is defined as “a general approach to studying research topics” (Silverman 2005:109). A methodological framework informs the basic approach to any research; the underlying assumptions of this framework need to be spelled out in brief. In this study, my aim is to explore and investigate the focused organization’s practitioners’ motives and objectives, in order to discuss general problematic issues of Japanese aid and development intervention. For this purpose, I have used both qualitative and quantitative research methods. Here, I would like to start from discussion about these two types of research methods.

Many scholars have debated how one should best understand the difference and similarities between qualitative and quantitative methods (c.f. Hammersley 2003; Holliday 2002; Bryman 2003). In social-science studies, quantitative research methods are in common use, for example, through social surveys or census-taking such as a population census or school-enrolment rate analysis, etc. These research methods are appropriate to study how

many people, or what percentage of each group are affected, and how valid the sample is in representing the whole from the sampling (Holliday 2002:2). Silverman (2005:6) says that if we want to discover the tendency of voting in an election, quantitative research is appropriate for getting relevant results. This research method is especially efficient to analyze structural features of social life (Bryman 2003:60).

On the other hand, qualitative research methods refer to a whole range of interpretative methods, be it through interviews of various kinds, or seeking the opinions of respondents—requesting them, on a random or non-random basis, to fill in questionnaires, or by participatory observation, etc. It may involve case studies with selected groups or individuals (Black 1999:9). For instance, “if you are concerned with exploring people’s life histories or everyday behaviour, then qualitative methods may be favoured” (Silverman 2005:6). Qualitative research method is broadly used for the social-science studies, and practical professional research.

Also, some studies say a mixture of qualitative and quantitative research is very useful in social-science studies, e.g. Bryman (2003:61) mentions that quantitative research can provide a macro-level perspective of a given research topic, showing certain structural features of social life, whereas qualitative research provides micro-level analysis of small-scale behavioural aspects; hence, the integration of both kinds of research methods is relevant. In this study, I have assessed qualitative research methods as being appropriate in order to investigate my research questions.²³ Since the aim of my research is to investigate and understand not only the articulated assumptions for aid in the educational sector, but also the implicit motives of development actors from foreign countries and local service receivers, I made use of qualitative methods as my primary data-collection method. In addition to my own primary collection of data, I have made use of secondary materials (both national

²³ cf. research questions in chapter one (p.5).

statistics and quantitative data collected by international aid organizations) since my research topic is on how aid works in Cambodia and in the education sector in particular. I should at least briefly be able to say something about the quantitative aspects of aid in general in Cambodia and in this sector in particular. Also, since I am interested in understanding both certain qualitative and quantitative aspects of the international aid, I also chose to make use of the political economy approach.

3.2 Methods of choosing focus

In qualitative research, explanations of choices of social setting, of research activities, and of themes and focuses is needed to show the readers how the overall strategy of the study is appropriate to the social setting, and also if the relationship between researcher and subject meets the scientific requirement (Holliday 2002:8–9). Therefore, following this methodological rigour of writing, I would like to describe those perspectives in explaining my choices.

3.2.1 Choice of social setting: Why Cambodia?

There are two reasons for my choice of Cambodia as case study. First, I began my research focusing on the Cambodian experience of conflict and massive violence. Cambodia has a tragic and complex modern history of genocide and extraordinary educational destruction by Pol Pot's communist regime, which occurred during the civil war²⁴. Cambodia has not only been engulfed in an intra-national conflict. The country was influenced by communist ideology, originally a Western ideology, during the Cold War, which led Cambodia to its civil war. Moreover, the country was involved in the Vietnam War (1960–1975), which involved a major Western power, the U.S. Thus, due to this recent unique history of successive phases of

²⁴ More detail of the modern history of Cambodia will be described in chapter four (p.38).

war, the last one also leading to education destruction, I consider it worthwhile focusing on educational development efforts in Cambodia.

Second, the scale of development assistance efforts by foreign aid organizations are remarkable in post-war Cambodia. Since the violent conflict ended, many development organizations from the global North offered Cambodia development assistance in order to contribute to social and economic recovery. The situation in recent Cambodia seems to be a typical case of post-war reconstruction and peacebuilding practice, which can be researched by way of theoretical and methodological approaches that try to capture salient features of the international aid regime and of the economic order.

3.2.2 Choice of research focus

As I have presented above, for my empirical investigation, I selected the Japanese bilateral aid agency, JICA. JICA has been providing development assistance for Cambodia in a number of sectors, e.g. reconstruction of infrastructure and legal system, governance, agricultural development, sanitation and poverty reduction, education, etc. JICA is responsible for the execution of Japanese ODA worldwide. In Japan, JICA is generally recognized as a philanthropic organization that contributes to development and peacebuilding in the global South.

On the other hand, interestingly, JICA is sometimes criticized by the people in academic fields and development practitioners as being a typical Western organization that promotes donor-dependency. Therefore, considering such debates when assessing if JICA would be a suitable case for my study, I had this critique in mind. I also chose to look into some quantitative data on financial disbursement, in order to assess if JICA is a major actor by this indicator.

3.3 Choices of sources and methods of data collection

This study is based on both primary and secondary data sources. As a primary source, I have combined two different methods, interview and participant observation. As for interview, first I would like to present my choice of interview technique for data collection and analysis, which was necessary to use to investigate the motives of informants. Second, I would like to present how I used secondary materials, and how important they are for this study.

3.3.1 Logical Framework Approach for the development study

Given that my topic is aid and educational development assistance in particular, I have found the Logical Framework Approach (LFA) relevant and useful. In short, the LFA is a systematic analysis tool for assessing, planning, monitoring, and evaluating a development effort; it can be used at the level of a program or in a project situation. This framework is much used by development practitioners to make explicit the development challenges, and the concrete options for addressing those problems. Hence, it is a methodology used by multilateral- and bilateral-development donors in different stages from inception of an effort to its evaluation and closure (AusAID 2005:1; NORAD 1999:10). The LFA is also appropriate for sectoral and comparative studies as well (NORAD 1999:10). Within the LFA, there are several kinds of tools such as the Logical Framework Matrix for analyzing the effectiveness of concrete activities, stakeholder²⁵ analysis, analysis of objectives, analysis of alternative strategies, etc.

From these tools, I have for my research purpose selected the stakeholder analysis, which is also from my analytical viewpoint, useful for understanding the interests of development actors and their capacities to address certain identifiable problems. Hence, stakeholder analysis is not only useful in development planning, but also for an applied research topic like mine, in order to analyze “Who will benefit?” from development efforts

²⁵ The term ‘stakeholder’ refers to the individuals or institutions that may (directly or indirectly, positively or negatively) be affected by or affect an activity (AusAID 2005:9).

(AusAID 2005:9). In particular, I have chosen to make use of the analytical tool of the stakeholder analysis matrix and SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats) analysis in order to investigate informants' assessments. The former one is an analytical tool for understanding how the selected stakeholder affects the addressed problem, and what their motivation is for participating in addressing the problem(s). It is also used for understanding the selected stakeholder's assessment of positive and negative impacts (or influences), and the main objectives of informants. The latter one, SWOT analysis, is used to analyze the selected stakeholder's internal strengths and weaknesses, and external opportunities and threats that a selected organization faces, and how it might address the specific problem or challenges (*ibid.*:31). I organized interview questions following the methods of LFA, in order to investigate their motives and assessments for their development practices (cf. Appendices).

3.3.2 Primary source data for the micro-level approach

At the micro-level of research, I mainly relied on fieldwork interviews. I conducted in-depth interviews.²⁶ The in-depth interview is a qualitative research technique, which sometimes is called unstructured or open-ended interview. This interview technique is flexible so that informants can answer variedly. Hence, it is appropriate to gather the informants' perspectives, and to find out what is in and on their minds (Simon 2009:43). The interview questions were mainly based on the LFA. As I described above, I focused on the stakeholder analysis matrix and SWOT analysis techniques in designing my interview questions.²⁷

In addition, I used, to a limited degree, participant observation. Spending time for observation helps researchers gain better understanding of focused informants' social and cultural patterns of behaviour (Fife 2005:72). In my case, I needed to understand atmosphere

²⁶ The details of interview procedure will be described in the section 3.4.3: conducting interviews (p.33).

²⁷ Interview questions cf. Appendices III, IV, and V.

and behaviour of both Japanese officers and Cambodian local culture. Therefore, in person, I attended a Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (JOCV) regular meeting, several Japanese-language classes for university students, and ‘coffee-break’ after the classes to observe communication with Japanese teachers, and Cambodian teachers and students. It helped me to understand how Japanese teachers behave and communicate with Cambodian service receivers.

3.3.3 Secondary data sources for addressing the macro-level

In this study, I filled the majority of spaces for discussion with secondary data, for a deeper understanding of general issue (macro-level) of the research topic. Secondary data sources are also essential for being able to address macro-level research questions. According to Fife (2005:17-18), historically informed data is an important secondary source in ethnographic and other qualitative research, in order to gather basic information and develop a deeper understanding of the longitudinal dimension of the research issue and of the study site. I have made use of already existing and published relevant social science literature on the history of the Cambodian educational system in times of conflict and the current post-conflict phase. I have made extensive use of some of the published key literature on Cambodia and Internet articles about the Cambodian genocide and political transition. Especially, I have focused on literature by the Cambodian Genocide Program in Yale University²⁸, which is widely regarded as an academically reliable source.

Also, in order to be able to investigate macro-level phenomena in Cambodia, I have chosen to use secondary sources about political and economic characteristics of the Cambodian society, that are significant in order to understand the social setting and the contemporary situation of my chosen case (Fife 2005:3). I have made use of development

²⁸ More detailed information is available in the home page of Cambodian Genocide Program in Yale University [online] URL-<http://www.yale.edu/cgp/links.html>.

studies on the transition of Cambodian educational recovery, on the role of foreign aid, and also of commissioned studies and reports by the main multilateral organizations, such as U.N. institutions, ADB, the World Bank, etc. Also, I have used such secondary materials for an analyzing quantitative approach of Japanese ODA analyses of financial disbursements in order to investigate its general tendencies.

Fife (2005:62) also mentions that collecting government-published information and newspaper articles are important, since they allow scholars to check evidence from more than one source. I have collected official documents issued by both the Japanese and Cambodian governments, which I consider relevant for my analysis of foreign aid in general and of educational development efforts in particular. JICA's Cambodia office has a small reference room, which is basically open to any visitors. They have a collection of JICA's Development Reports and the Cambodian government's official references. From the reference room, I collected JICA's Annual Reports, JICA's educational development project reports, and the Cambodian government's official documents regarding donor assistance, educational development and educational statistics. Also, I got relevant documents from several informants, such as JICA's non-published project matrix, development assessment reports, etc. In addition, after I came back from the fieldwork, I collected several relevant sources from the Internet, such as the NGO Forum's documents²⁹ on Cambodia, new relevant documents by multilateral organizations, and official documents of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. As for newspaper articles, I found online articles by several intra-national and international newspaper publications such as *The Japan Times*, and *The New York Times*.

²⁹ The NGO Forum on Cambodia is a membership organization for local and international NGOs working in Cambodia. More detail is [online] URL-<http://www.ngoforum.org.kh>.

3.4. Fieldwork

3.4.1 The theory of gatekeeping

“Gatekeeping is important because gatekeepers provide an integrated view of social reality to the rest of us” (Shoemaker 1991:4).

Before describing my fieldwork procedures, I like to return to a discussion about methodology by briefly discussing the relevance of the theory of gatekeeping for my study. This theory was developed by the school of communication studies. It refers to the selection process through which researchers reach, or do not reach, information during the data collection. The term ‘gate’ refers to the entrance to or the exit from a network and information. The term ‘gatekeeping’ is used to conceptualize a “process of controlling information as it moves through a gate. Activities include selection, addition, withholding, display, channelling, shaping, manipulation, repetition, timing, localization, integration, disregard and deletion of information” (Barzilai-Nahon 2005:248). Shoemaker (1991:1) defines the gatekeeping process as involving every aspect of message selection, handling, and control, whether the message is communicated through mass media or interpersonal channels. The person who does the gatekeeping is called ‘gatekeeper’; the gatekeeper is able to grant or refuse access to the field (Silverman 2001:378). In most cases, gatekeepers follow their organization’s decision and directionality. However, Shoemaker (1991:25–27) argues that a gatekeeper also acts with his or her individualistic cognitive structure³⁰ and motivations³¹. Therefore, the gatekeeper can be understood by both personal and organizational decisions and directionality to protect significant information against outsiders. Thus, gatekeepers have functions to prevent the entrance and exit of undesired information from the outside, and to control the

³⁰ The term ‘cognitive structure’ refers to the terms in which people think and speak about something (Shoemaker 1991:46).

³¹ The term ‘motivation’ includes individual values, needs, and obstacles to overcome (Shoemaker 1991:46).

information inside the network (Barzilai-Nahon 2005:248). In social-science fieldwork studies, researchers are outsiders who have to intervene to investigate information from the inside of a studied organization. Hence the gatekeeper concept is methodologically significant in order to explain how researchers, as outsiders, acquire or do not access information.

3.4.2 Opening procedure and gatekeeper in the fieldwork

I went to Cambodia on the 31st of May, 2008, and completed my fieldwork in two months. Before entering the field, I tried to make an appointment with a contact person in JICA via e-mail in order to get acceptance for my fieldwork investigation and my submission of the research proposal, together with an application for research admission, including a detailed plan of fieldwork. Yet, I could not get acceptance. Therefore I had to go to Cambodia before I had this acceptance. After a few days in Phnom Penh, I finally got an appointment of investigation after a short phone conversation.

To begin with, I had a meeting with the coordinator of the JICA Cambodia office, who was actually the one I had contacted before entering the field. Having in mind the theory of gatekeeping, she, in my assessment, played the role of a gatekeeper of the organization. In the meeting, I explained the purpose of my research and asked about the possibility of allowing me to conduct any planned interviews. After the meeting with the gatekeeper, she selected some of the staff members, whom she assessed would be relevant informants for my investigation. I followed her suggestion, and she made three conference appointments for me with three JICA officers. My purpose was to get some preliminary information before starting interviews. Significantly, this operation was totally controlled by the gatekeeper. Interestingly, she prohibited me from making any appointments with other possible informants in the organization by myself. It can be said that my interviews were totally conducted and lead by the gatekeeper, as a JICA insider. Thus, based on the meeting with the gatekeeper, I had

pre-conferences with three JICA officers. They each gave me an overview of JICA's educational sectoral development assistant projects, JOCV's dispatched teachers, and Cambodian current situation of foreign aid. Also based on the three pre-conferences, one of the JICA officers made appointments for me to have interviews with three Japanese-language teaching expert volunteers and five science teaching expert volunteers (JOVC). As for Cambodia-Japan Cooperation Center (CJCC), after the pre-conference with one of the officers, I was able to be allowed to have interviews with the director and a JICA officer, who was in charge of CJCC.

Furthermore, the gatekeeper, when she was not on duty, invited me to have a dinner at a simple café in the city. In such an 'unofficial' situation, she introduced me to one Japanese teacher who used to work as a JOCV. He said that now he has been independent from JICA for a couple of years, and explained the current situation of Japanese-language education in Cambodia. Also, the gatekeeper personally introduced me to two Japanese people who worked individually at the Cambodian National Institute of Education (NIE).³² They had earlier worked as JICA's experts for an educational-development support project. She said that she officially, as an officer of JICA, could not introduce me to those people, but privately, she could introduce me to them. In my analysis, her comment shows that at her work place, she plays the gatekeeping role, following her boss, i.e. JICA's decision maker. While not on duty, she was ready to help me as an individual person. Thus, due to her personal help as an individual person, I was able to reach some people who have critical opinions about JICA's educational-development support projects (c.f. *Fig.2*).

³² NIE is a national institution for pedagogic study. It also functions as a teachers' training school in Phnom Penh.

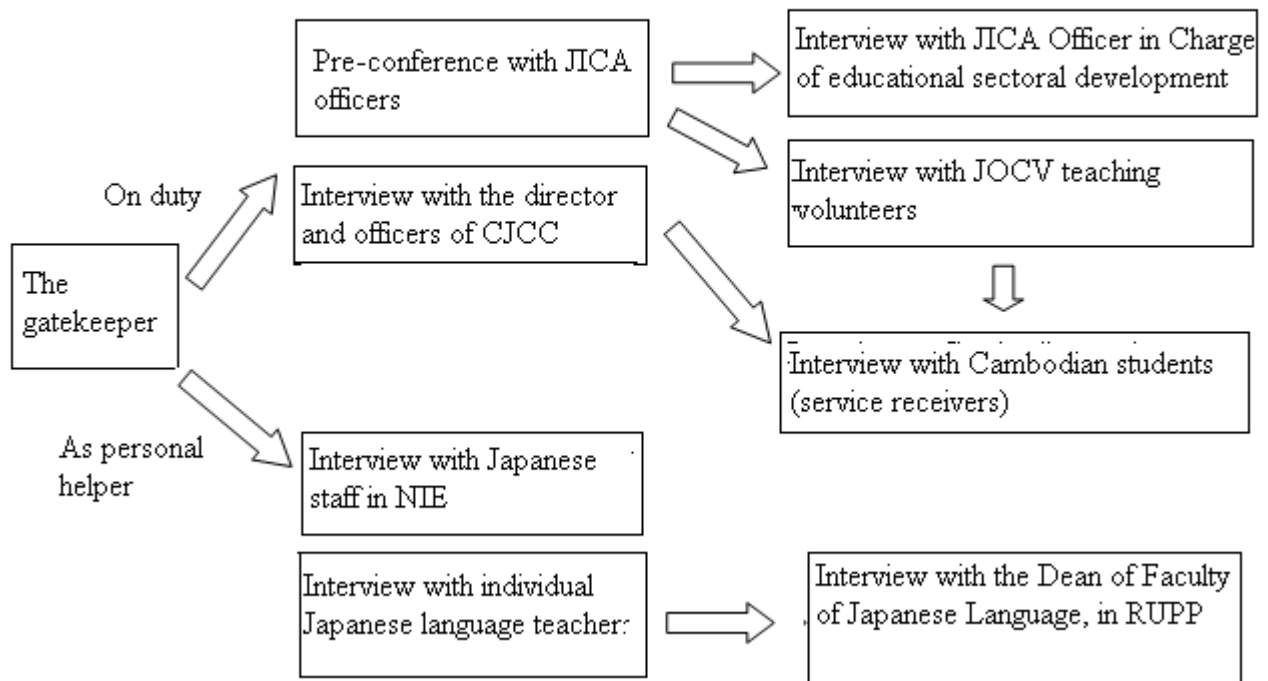


Fig.2 The path to reach informants

3.4.3 Conducting interviews

The target informants of the study are the decision makers of JICA and CJCC, teaching volunteers dispatched as JOCV, ex-JICA participants who were working individually for educational development in Cambodian national institute, and Cambodian service receivers, i.e. students who were taking courses by Japanese teachers. In all, I conducted 16 individual interviews, two group-interviews for eight informants, and three pre-conferences.³³ The interviews were conducted in Japanese or English, therefore I did not have to use interpreter.³⁴ All of the interviews including pre-conferences with JICA and CJCC decision makers and JOCV science teaching volunteers were carried out during their working hours in the meeting room or office room in their institution, where the privacy of the informants was protected,

³³ c.f. Appendix I: the list of informants.

³⁴ The interviews in Japanese were translated by the author.

and enough there was enough silence to record. Most of the interviews with Japanese-language teachers and students were carried out in their vacant classroom or teacher's room after their classes had ended. It was more like an open-environment because there were other students curiously peeping into the interviews, and in all of the cases other Cambodian teachers were also in same room, despite having those others present, it was quiet enough to record. The rest of the data was collected during dinner or their tea breaks, in times when the informants were in 'out-of-on-duty'. These interviews were impossible to record, and the question set could not be followed due to the circumstances. As a substitute, I took notes, and afterward I relied on my fieldwork notes and fieldwork diary.

As for the interviews with Cambodian students who receive Japanese-language and Japanese-style business education services, I conducted eight interviews overall. I asked the students for voluntary applicants after classes with the teachers' consent. I then conducted interviews with them in the classroom. This procedure led to a biased selection of information, since I conducted interviews only with voluntary applicants, which means that they are motivated students. As a result, every informant gave me only positive answers regarding JICA's educational-development assistance. If I could have asked randomly chosen students, the results may have been different.

3.5 Data processing

My data-analysis procedure started from transcript work after I left the field and had returned to the university. In qualitative research, Silverman (2005:111) explains that transcripts are "used to understand how participants organize their talk and body movements". Hence I transcribed word for word, following the digital audio-recorder, adding the informant's laugh, interval of pause, and remarkable gestures, such as looking at their references. Additionally, following my fieldwork notes, contexts of the interview situation, such as date and time,

atmosphere, number of observers, etc., were added. It was helpful for me to understand implicit expressions besides their answers.

Identification for all informants was done by gender, staff position in their institutions, and nationality. As I mentioned above, most interviews of Japanese informants were done in Japanese, and the rest of the interviews, in particular the Cambodian informants, were done in English. For Japanese interviews, I translated only several important parts by myself. Also, for several secondary data, I collected most of the Cambodian and Japanese government-issued official documents in English versions. But rest of the documents written in Japanese were translated by author for direct quotations.

3.6 Challenges of fieldwork data investigation

In discussions about methodology, the term validity refers to the ‘truth’ of research data (Silverman 2005:210). Reliability refers to “the degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions” (Hammersley 1992:67 qtd. in Silverman 2005:380). As an author of a scientific thesis, I should systematically reflect on the validity and reliability of my own data. So far in this chapter, I have mostly addressed my emphasis on qualitative methods and my data-collection procedure. I also discussed the theory of gatekeeping, as a part of my methodological reflections. I would like to finally share several challenges that I encountered during my fieldwork.

3.6.1 Constraints due to cultural bias

Initially entering another culture for academic study is no doubt a big challenge for social-science researchers. To me, as Japanese, it was also big challenge to encounter Cambodian culture and society. I only had two months for my fieldwork. Not only the

language, most of the Cambodian lifestyle, such as their notion of time and work ethics, were totally different from my background, hence I have faced my own limitations of understanding what my informants meant. For instance, on my fieldwork interviews, many of the Cambodian people answered ‘yes’ even though they did not understand what I was asking.

3.6.2 Methodological challenge as an outsider

When I introduced myself to the informants, they all first asked what peace studies is all about. It was obvious that they were skeptical of me and my work, because it was a totally unknown field for them. Therefore I felt I was a total outsider. Hence, I attempted to explain who I am, what I am doing in peace studies, why I came to Cambodia, and what I intended to do with the fieldwork interviews.

Actually, before I entered the field, I presupposed that I would easily be able to communicate with Japanese people in Cambodia, simply because I am also Japanese, and I know their work ethics and cultural behaviour. However, the reality was not as easy as I had expected. For them, I was totally an outsider, and therefore, they were not open-minded toward me, an unknown student from Japan, coming from a European university. Thus, I experienced being a total outsider—irrespective of being Japanese, and studying a Japanese organization with mostly Japanese staff.

3.6.3 Challenge of access to informants

As I described above, most of my data investigations were prompted by and influenced by the aforementioned gatekeeper of JICA. In other words, I could not freely decide on any informants by myself. For instance, when I attempted to contact decision makers in a Cambodian university, the gatekeeper said I should not have contact with any of them who are cooperating with JICA, as it would interfere with JICA’s project. Thus, even if her

cooperation was to some extent helpful, it also represents methodological constraints on whom I could contact and the kind of data I could collect. Needless to say, I would not have been able to have interviews without her. Yet, her selection of informants might have intended to hide some information about the organization's weaknesses. For example, she did not tell me herself about a failed project of educational sectoral development assistance, I discovered it myself and had to ask about it during the latter part of the fieldwork. Also, she 'advised' or 'warned' me not to ask what she called sensitive questions of informants.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter focused on some selected methodological questions and offered some depth on the methods of data collection in the fieldwork. I have tried to account for why I was able to collect certain kinds of data, and why I might have been prevented from access to certain data. Regardless of these constraints, which I have tried to discuss by use of the theory of gatekeeping, I appreciate the informants who willingly consented to be interviewed. What the informants conveyed to me was valuable, as they were real voices from the practical world of development assistance. We cannot obtain such information and precious lived experiences from a library. However, it is also true that I have to admit that I faced challenges and unplanned hindrances during my data collection over two hectic months of fieldwork. Also, I have in this chapter tried to consider critically some challenges of reliability and validity of my collected data. Furthermore, it was not only the data in itself, but also the very experience of conducting my fieldwork in the offices of JICA and in the damp streets of Phnom Penh that positively motivated me and nurtured my curiosity and genuine interest in this study.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CAMBODIAN CIVIL WAR AND GENOCIDE

4.0 Introduction

Cambodia has a complicated and quite unique modern history. After it obtained its independence from France in 1953, Cambodia's rapid and conflict-ridden political transition unleashed a massive conflict and bloody genocide, which in direct and indirect ways still influences Cambodia today. This chapter focuses on this political transition, and its many conflict dimensions, as it is essential to understand it in order to address my concrete research topic—aid and educational development. In particular, I would like to focus on the devastating civil war, which occurred in the 1970s and only completely ended in the early 1990s. Given my research topic, I would like to especially focus on how education has played a role during successive colonial and post-colonial phases. I would finally like to briefly discuss how this current era of educational-development assistance is a very important part of the international-assistance period the international community offered after the genocide. Moreover, I would also like to describe briefly the current situation of Cambodian education, where the Cambodian national effort for educational development still is heavily supported from the outside.

4.1 Brief historic background of modern Cambodia

4.1.1 Influences from overseas and colonization

Let me begin with this brief review of the history of Cambodia, by stressing that the lands where modern-day Cambodia is situated has for centuries been at the crossroad of regional cultural and economic influences. Already during the first century of the Christian era, when the southern part of this land was formed into the 'Funan' Kingdom, Indian and Chinese

civilizations were exerting influence through cultural exchanges and trade (Chandler 1983:14). As a part of this regional civilization, cultural and religious centers in the form of temple buildings developed in the northwestern part during the ninth to the fifteenth centuries at Angkor.³⁵ The centralized Angkor Empire was thus established. During the period of the Angkor Empire, conflicts within the royal dynasty were rampant, as were inter-conflicts with the neighbouring Chinese empire and with Siam (former name of Thailand), and Vietnam. There was, so to say, a constant situation of war until the middle of the nineteenth century. The foreign power to claim political power was the French. At that time, the French colonized Indochina. In 1863, Cambodia became a French protectorate. The French control got very intrusive, especially during World War I. For instance, the French increased taxes, and recruited Cambodians as ‘volunteers’ for military service abroad. As for the educational system, the French educational development effort only focused on limited privileged categories of people, such as the royal family, children of French residents, members of the Cambodian elite, Chinese merchants, and children of Vietnamese immigrants. Commoners who living in rural areas, peasants in particular, hardly had any chance of modern education, and had to rely on informal local education and what the religious center offered.

Such colonial policies made the Cambodian people dissatisfied, and they yearned for independence.³⁶ World War II (1939–1945) was the turning point for French colonialism in Indochina. During WWII, Japan invaded Southeast Asian countries. The Japanese political tactics called ‘*Dai-to-a kyoeiken*’ (the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere), aimed to decolonize the Indochina region from Western powers and to establish Japanese colonies

³⁵ The representative archeological site, the temple Angkor Wat, was registered as a world-heritage site by UNESCO in 1991. In present-day Cambodia, it is hugely supporting the Cambodian economy via the tourism industry.

³⁶ During the control by France, hundreds of rebels were part of the protest movement in 1915, also the assassination of a resident official occurred in 1923.

instead.³⁷ This plan failed when Japan lost the war, but it also contributed to the decolonization of the Philippines, Vietnam, Laos, Burma, and Cambodia from the Western colonial powers France and England.

Thus, due to the Japanese invasion, the French colonial authority was dismantled. Partly resulting from this invasion during WWII, some intra-state conflicts occurred. For example, one could mention the Franco-Siamese war (1940–1941)³⁸, the Buddhist monks' demonstration (1942), Japanese *coup de force* (1945)³⁹, etc. (Chandler 1983:166). As a result of those events, Cambodians were in a mood for national independence, led by their King Sihanouk, and in 1945, Cambodia declared independence. However, because of Japan's defeat and troop withdrawal, Cambodia became again a French protectorate. This affair affected Cambodian society deeply after WWII was over. Cambodians were again longing for independence from French colonialists.

4.1.2 Sihanouk's post-independence modernization efforts

Through King Sihanouk's political efforts of negotiation, Cambodia finally succeeded to independence in 1953. After achieving independence, Cambodia started a new era of political struggle and political disorder, which eventually lead to the tragic Cambodian civil war from 1974 onward. Because of his successful struggle for independence, King Sihanouk was hugely popular among citizens, and as a result, he became prime minister after the national election in 1955 and came to dominate Cambodian domestic politics, public life, and foreign

³⁷ Japan established puppet governments in the occupied countries, and has therefore been broadly criticized for having deceived local independency.

³⁸ "The Franco-Siamese War broke out due to the pro-Japanese government of *Phibul Songgram*, aware of the weakness of French military, and hence seized the opportunity to regain the territories in Cambodia and Laos that the Thai had ceded earlier in the century to the French" (Chandler 1983:167).

³⁹ On 13 March, 1945, Cambodia declared its independence and pledged Cambodia's cooperation with the Japanese, in response to a Japanese request, in order to dismantle the French control throughout Indochina (Chandler 1983:167).

relations.

Prime Minister Sihanouk put his efforts toward modernizing independent Cambodia. For Sihanouk, educational development was the key to national development in post-colonial period. As for his educational development, it is broadly said the most significant period of Cambodian educational development in terms of modernization of education was in the era of Sihanouk (from the middle of the 1960s until 1970). He had a strong desire to modernize and expand the national educational system, built on a model of the Western educational system. His educational reforms led to a rapid educational expansion. For instance, to address the teacher-shortage problem, large numbers of new teachers were employed within short period.⁴⁰ As a result, even to the poorest peasants, education was regarded as valuable as a means for escaping the tough life with serious poverty in the countryside (Aryes 2000a:52).

Thus, due to Sihanouk's rapid and radical educational development effort, school enrollment rapidly increased. However, Aryes has argued that the educational policies and practices of the Sihanouk era were overwhelming a failure. First, the modern educational development policy was too far from the reality of Cambodia, and it was not well-integrated with the traditional education system. Secondly, the rapid educational expansion was not economically affordable, and thirdly, it was incompatible with the productive economic capacity of the country (*ibid.*:63).

4.1.3 *Coup d'état* by Lon Nol: the beginning of chaos

The 1960s and the 1970s were marked by political and national chaos, as the subregion was involved in an international conflict through the U.S. occupation of Vietnam. In 1965, Prime Minister Sihanouk broke the diplomatic relationship between the U.S. and Cambodia, criticizing the carpet-bombing of North Vietnam. As a result of this, in 1970, a *coup d'état*

⁴⁰ Approximately 13,000 out of 21,000 teachers were employed by the new educational policy (Aryes 2000a:48).

occurred in Phnom Penh, which was conspired by the U.S.–supported Lon Nol and his followers. After the successful *coup d'état*, Lon Nol condemned Prime Minister Sihanouk into exile, and established a new government: The Khmer Republic. Due to Lon Nol's extreme pro-American regime, which entailed a fierce anti-North Vietnamese and anti-communism campaign, thousands of Cambodian-Vietnamese and Vietnamese in Cambodia were killed or persecuted. Meanwhile, Lon Nol allowed the U.S. to engage in a bomb campaign targeted on his own country. The bombing was ordered by the U.S. President Richard Nixon who wanted to destroy the Communist Office for South Vietnam (COSVN)'s headquarters located inside Cambodian territory. For this purpose, more than 3,500 bombing sorties were carried out, and as a result, thousands of residents, both Cambodian and Vietnamese died (Chandler 1991:184). Due to the bombing, peoples' resistance against Lon Nol's government gradually intensified, and as a result, the communist group, Khmer Rouge gradually increased their supporters and rebel combatants.⁴¹ In 1973, the U.S. army withdrew from Vietnam, and COSVN also withdrew from Cambodian territory. As a result, Lon Nol's regime of Khmer Republic lost their biggest supporter, the U.S., and they gradually lost their authority. Meanwhile, the Khmer Rouge and its leader, Pol Pot, gained power, and finally in 1975, the Khmer Rouge occupied Phnom Penh. Thus, Khmer Rouge gained sovereign rule, and established a new government: DK.

4.1.4 Pol Pot's communist regime (1975-1979) and its destruction of education

The radical regime change by DK brought a communistic autocracy, ideological control, and genocide. This period is broadly known as a period of massive violence and social destruction⁴² by Pol Pot's tyranny. What the Khmer Rouge did clearly meets the conditions

⁴¹ At that time, the Khmer Rouge was supported by exiled King Sihanouk. This support also helped to increase their supporters in Cambodia.

⁴² The term 'social destruction' refers to 'discontinuity' (Chandler 1991:240; and Aryes 2000:195).

specified in the definition given by the United Nations Genocide Convention. While the exact numbers are disputed, approximately 1.7 million people, or 21 per cent of the Cambodian population lost their lives during the civil war. Moreover, the social fabric of the whole society was torn apart (Cambodian Genocide Program in Yale University). Also Khmer Rouge committed atrocious torture against opponent civilians, and evacuated on a mass-scale citizens who were urban dwellers. They also established concentration labour camps in remote areas and re-settled the evacuated town dwellers as peasants. As a result, many people, both young and old were tortured, killed, or died because of starvation and disease.

Here, I shortly would like to comment on the definition of ‘genocide’. The term genocide is fraught with ambiguities (Harff 2005:305). According to the U.N. resolution 260, acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group, as such: (a) killing members of the group; (b) causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or part; (d) imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) forcibly transferring children of the group to other groups (U.N. Resolution 260-III 1948:Article2).

So why is it sometimes argued that this definition might not suit the Cambodian case? It is because the majority of the massive slaughter occurred within one ethnic group who shared the same culture and religion.⁴³ Also, the purpose of the massive slaughter was to control the whole population by imparting communist political and ideological reform, and not as such to ‘erase’ a whole group. Such arguments insist that the term ‘genocide’ should be used for cases that intended to kill members of (an)other group(s) in order to ‘erase’ in whole or in part (Harff 2005:305). In this study, however I do find it useful to apply the term ‘genocide’ for Cambodia’s tragic history of massive slaughter on its own nation.

The genocide also entailed systematic mass murder of the country’s educated elite,

⁴³ It is noteworthy that there were also atrocities to ethnic minorities such as Vietnamese, Lao, Chinese, etc., because of the ethnic differences. Also, the Khmer Rouge prohibited religion; therefore, they killed Cambodian Buddhist monks for ideological control.

including primary- to university-level teachers, and even students and pupils, doctors, lawyers, etc. It is generally agreed that around 80 per cent of educated Cambodians lost their lives. Khmer Rouge used school buildings as prison cells or as agricultural tool-sheds, and burned books for political and ideological control.⁴⁴ For instance, a surviving eyewitness testified that he saw young Khmer Rouge troops carrying out stacks of what they called ‘imperialist books’, throwing them into the street, and burning them (Kiernan 1996:39). This resulted in nothing less than the educational destruction, of rare proportions in late 20th century. During the regime, the Cambodian education system radically collapsed as a result of the merciless execution by the ideology-driven communist policies of Khmer Rouge. In particular, the higher-education system was virtually destroyed, as most of university professors and students were killed, and the institutions were closed or destroyed. According to Clayton (1998:8), only 87 of 1000 academics and intellectuals at the University of Phnom Penh survived the civil war. This genocide, including the destruction of the country’s educated elite, was part and parcel of the Khmer Rouge’s program for radical social change of the former regime, aimed at achieving what they thought of as the reconstruction of a communistic social structure, which they supposed to be a perfect social system with collective farming, without a capitalistic market economy, individualism, family ties, religion, urban life, private properties, and monarchy.

4.1.5 After the tragedy: the period of international alliance for peacebuilding

The bloody genocide was over in 1979 with collapse of the DK regime, when the Vietnamese occupied Phnom Penh. As a result, the pro-Vietnamese Cambodian authority led by Heng

⁴⁴ For instance, Toul Sleng Security Prison 21 (S-21) in Phnom Penh, used to be a high school before the civil war. It was used for a prisoner’s camp by Khmer Rouge during the civil war, and it is said that approximately 17,000 people were tortured or executed there.

Sum Rin, gradually drove the Khmer Rouge into exile⁴⁵, and they established a new government: the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK). However, it did not mean any immediate peaceful settlement of the conflict. Because the PRK was a puppet government of Vietnam, and since the presence of the Vietnamese army lingered on, the new regime was accused of being an occupying power, therefore it was not approved by foreign countries, especially by the U.S. and China.

In this situation, the exiled Sihanouk's party and Son Sann party, which were against the PRK, united with Khmer Rouge in order to get rid of the Vietnamese influence and control of Cambodia. For this purpose, they established a new political group: Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK).⁴⁶ Interestingly, the PRK was criticised by the U.N. countries as a Vietnamese puppet authority at that time, while Khmer Rouge and their government, the DK, was still recognized by U.N. as the official government of Cambodia, in spite of the fact that their massive violence against civilians was broadly known. Moreover, they were also financially and politically supported by the U.S. and China. In fact, those financial supports contributed to continued guerrilla activities by the Khmer Rouge. As a result, direct violence against civilians was still lasting. "In the meantime, hundreds of Cambodian civilians were killed or maimed every month by mines and guerrilla raids, and hundreds of Cambodians along the border perished from artillery fire and as combatants for the CGDK" (Chandler 1991:314).

Eventually, in order to make a joint effort to stop the long-lasting occupation of Cambodia by Vietnam, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the U.S. and Europe countries put their efforts toward political settlement and Vietnamese withdrawal by

⁴⁵ Khmer Rouge soldiers were exiled to the northeastern part (near Thai border), and became guerillas, hence the civil war lasted, becoming even worse.

⁴⁶The CGDK was the only government-in-exile, which was officially recognized as a legitimate government by the U.N.

negotiations and military intervention.⁴⁷ In 1989, due to international pressure and the high financial cost of the occupation, Vietnam finally decided to withdraw from Cambodia.⁴⁸ Peace talks were arranged in Tokyo in 1990, which led to the signing of the Paris Peace Agreement in 1991.⁴⁹ Thus, a long lasting conflict ended. This event was marked as the starting line for massive international peacebuilding and development assistances. As a result of the Paris Peace Accord, the U.N. Transitional Authority for Cambodia (UNTAC) took charge in 1991. The responsibility of the UNTAC was to be in charge of social reconstruction, peacekeeping—including DDR, refugee repatriation, and a national independent and free election, which was held in 1993. This U.N. peacekeeping operation was expected to result in a peaceful political settlement. Yet, in fact, the process of DDR did not go very well at all, because the Khmer Rouge still had considerable power at that time. As a result of political confusion and chaos after the Vietnamese invasion (after the DK period), the Khmer Rouge managed to again increase their support from 5 per cent to 20 per cent during the UNTAC intervention period (Richardson and Sainsbury 2005:287). They also boycotted the U.N.-organized election in 1993, and killed some foreign peacekeepers (Kiernan 2002:490). In spite of the Khmer Rouge's resistance and disturbance, the general election was held. As a result, a son of King Sihanouk: Prince Norodom Ranariddh's party, FUNCINPEC⁵⁰, and Hun Sen's party, Cambodian People's Party (CPP) took the initiative to a new coalition

⁴⁷ It is said that ostensibly 15,000 to 20,000 troops from those international alliances intervened to fight against the Vietnamese (Richardson and Sainsbury 2005:286).

⁴⁸ It also related to the Vietnamese Doi Moi (the economic policy reformation to the capitalistic market economy system) and political reform to the international alliance, following the Soviet Union's *Perestroika* (political and economic restructuring for open-market economy).

⁴⁹ It was agreements on a comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodian conflict, which set up the UNTAC mandate.

⁵⁰ The FUNCINPEC is a royalist political party, which is an abbreviation for the French *Front Uni National pour un Cambodge Indépendant Neutre Pacifique et Coopératif*, meaning "National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful, and Cooperative Cambodia."

government. Thus, the UNTAC withdrew from Cambodia in 1993, and the country's autonomy was re-established. In 1997, Hun Sen was behind a *coup d'état*⁵¹, and as a result, the coalition collapsed and Hun Sen got political power. Since then until today, the CPP has been taking in charge of the government. Since the general election, Cambodia has painfully and very gradually been recovering from the conflict, despite setbacks, political wrangling and unresolved social, economic and security challenges such as rampant poverty, lack of sanitation and of (quality) education, many land mines, and unpunished war criminals. It is noteworthy that at present, the International Criminal Court (ICC)⁵² still has many cases of crimes of genocide awaiting trials. After the Khmer Rouge soldiers demobilized, they returned back to their communities. Survivors and family of victims, and offenders are living in the same communities, experiencing deep mistrust, and hostilities (from my own interviews with Khmer people).

For the post-conflict reconstruction, a huge amount of international development assistance flowed into the country for the demobilization of soldiers.⁵³ For this demobilization plan, USD 42 million was needed. International organizations such as the U.N., the World Bank and the ADB, other countries in the global North: especially Japan, the Netherlands, and Sweden, and INGOs financed and made up the balance (Richardson and Sainsbury 2005:292). In addition, it is noteworthy that the DDR in Cambodia was Japan's first intervention for a peacekeeping operation. This happened in spite of the Japanese Constitution's prohibition of sending defence-forces to any foreign countries in order to follow the international scheme of peacekeeping operations. Japan established a new

⁵¹ Despite the fact that it was broadly known as a *coup d'état*, Hun Sen is still denying it was a *coup d'état*.

⁵² The ICC is a court of law established by international community with treaty and has jurisdiction over human rights aggression such as genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, etc., It tries persons accused of committing such crimes. It is located in Hague, in Netherlands.

⁵³ In concrete: financial support, settlement assistance, treatment for basic needs, or job training, etc.

intra-national law⁵⁴ and sent 1,200 troops, and 16 specialists for distribution of basic needs for civilians, ceasefire observation, election observation, policing, etc.⁵⁵

This early peacebuilding period in the late 1980s overlapped with the period of economic and political liberalisation. Macrae (2001:53) has argued that this conflict resolution and post-conflict development effort, weakened Cambodia's sovereignty and the state lacked internal legitimacy due to high dependency on international aid. As he said, this large contribution might have two faces. On the one hand, it has contributed to Cambodia's peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction. On the other hand, it might provide incentives for corruption in the Cambodian government and state apparatus. Richardson and Sainsbury (2005) have argued that with "all of the resources the international financial institutions devoted to assessing, quantifying, and making dire predictions about corruption in Cambodia, the IMF's and World Bank's own failure to design and implement a transparent program is the height of hypocrisy" (295). As they argue, serious corruption in the Cambodian government apparatus is still going on, and it is spreading down in the society to local teachers' training-school management.

4.2 Educational development in post-war Cambodia

4.2.1 Educational reconstruction after the genocide

As for educational development after the genocide, Duggan (1996) has argued, "At the end of the regime in 1979, basic education and teacher training became top national priorities for Cambodia" (362). Soon the Vietnamese-sponsored PRK started an educational reconstruction process. They used a rapid educational expansion strategy as the basis for nation building

⁵⁴ The Law concerning cooperation for United Nations peacekeeping operations and other operations, is generally known as the International Peace Cooperation Law [*PKO kyouryoku-hou*].

⁵⁵ Not only defense forces, but also 75 police officers, 41 civil servants for election observation, and several volunteers were dispatched for the UNTAC activities.

(Ayres 2000b:452). At that time, many Vietnamese political, technical, and educational advisors were dispatched to Cambodia, in order to assist building a new socialist nation. Ayres (2000a:128) has argued that the PRK's educational reconstruction was only aimed to place as many students as possible to rebuild "new Socialist workmen". As a result, serious issues of quality, access, and capacity of education remained. As for these issues, both teachers and students faced problems of poor physical health, psychological trauma, poor memory and concentration, extreme lack of hardware, etc. (*ibid.*:133).

Besides the educational reconstruction by the PRK, other international development assistance also started. At the end of 1979, UNICEF and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) started inspecting the educational situation as a provision of humanitarian assistance, and found that there was an educational crisis, in spite of the massive aid by Vietnam, which had only inadequately rebuilt the educational infrastructure (Ayres 2000a:132–133). Thus, the rehabilitation of education system started in 1979 and went on for many years. Many of the educational institutions were established year by year. Significantly, all of them were, in the 1980s, run by the assistance of (North) Vietnam and the (former) Soviet Union. It is noteworthy that those educational development efforts under the pro-Vietnamese socialist government of PRK were aimed to establish a new post-DK socialist nation in Cambodia, and this stream lasted until the Cold War ceased.

The 1990s were a remarkable decade of Western-style educational development, based on various kinds of development activities. "The end of the Cold War, eventually resulted in a renewed international effort to settle the Cambodian conflict and finally led to the 1991 Paris Peace Agreement, where Cambodia's four warring factions agreed to shift their conflict 'from the battlefield to the ballot-box' by allowing the United Nations to supervise the conduct of 'free and fair' elections" (Ayres 2000b:453). Following this, a lot of international organizations, Western countries, and INGOs came to offer their assistance to

the Cambodian government. The education sector has had the second highest aid disbursement of any sector. In total, from 1992 to 2006, the educational development sector received approximately USD 740 million which amounted to 10.7 per cent of the total disbursement (Cambodia Aid Effectiveness Report 2007:62). Here are two examples of concrete international development assistance: A National Action Plan for Higher Education was prepared by the National Higher Education Task Force, an initiative driven by the World Bank and financed by several bilateral programs including Australia and the U.S. (Duggan 1997:8). Also, in the early part of 1994, the University of Phnom Penh got 18 million USD from the French government for modernizing its education program (Duggan 1997:10). Also, its Faculty of Foreign Language was totally restored by the Australian aid (*ibid.*). Not only governmental contributions, many humanitarian and development-oriented INGOs joined, in order to make country programs and contribute to the reconstruction and development of both primary and higher education in Cambodia. The results so far seem to have been mixed.

4.2.2 Current situation of education in Cambodia

Numerous multilateral, bilateral, and INGOs' development efforts have been contributing to Cambodian educational reforms. However, in spite of those massive efforts, the situation today in Cambodia's educational system, in terms of both scale, quality, and appropriateness, cannot be said to have developed enough. In present-day Cambodia, the national education system is initiated by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports (MoEYS). The mandatory education is composed of six years of primary school (grades 1 to 6), three years of secondary school (grades 7 to 9), and three years of upper secondary school (grades 10 to 12). However, the rate of drop out is still extremely high. According to the statistics of education (2005/2006), the retention rate⁵⁶ of students from grades 1 to 9 is approximately 26 per cent

⁵⁶ The term 'retention rate' means the proportion of students who stay in education.

(MoEYS 2007 Education Statistics & Indicators 2006/2007:57). Also, completion rate of grade 12 is approximately 15 per cent in total (*ibid.*). Therefore, it can be said the students who go to upper secondary school or university are quite limited. Moreover, even the literacy rate for adults are extremely low, e.g. the literacy survey in 2005 shows 27 per cent of 15–24-year-olds are illiterate (NSDP 2006–2010:85). That is to say, all of those who go to university can be said to be Cambodian elites.

An important issue of current education in Cambodia, is the poor quality. The genocide during the conflict and lasting poverty resulted in an extreme scarcity of well-trained teachers. According to the statistics, the majority of teachers have not even completed upper secondary school level of education (cf. *Fig. 3*).

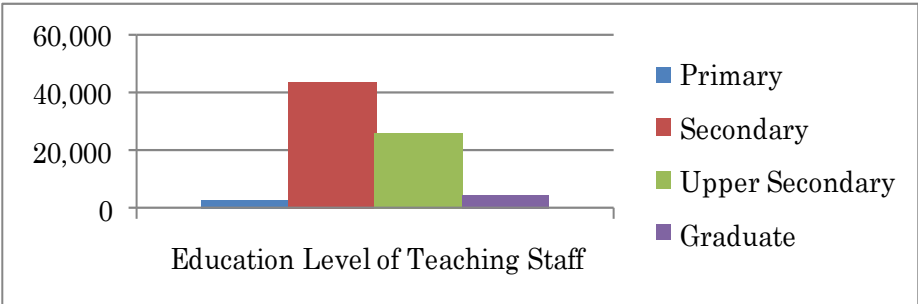


Fig.3 Education level of teaching staff

Source: Education Statistics & Indicators 2006/2007 (MoEYS 2007).

As for income poverty, a teacher’s wage is still quite low, especially in rural areas. Therefore, to survive under these conditions, most of the teachers are working a part-time job as well. In addition, the living conditions of teachers also affects the low quality of education.

4.2.3 Cambodian national effort on educational development

I would like now to make a snapshot-like remark about the national Cambodian educational development efforts, and their links with international educational policies. In short, the Cambodian government has approved five policies: 1) National Strategic Development Plan

(NSDP); 2) Cambodia national MDGs; 3) EFA National Plan 2003–2005; 4) Education Strategic Plan (ESP); and 5) Education Sector Support Program (ESSP). Concerning NSDP, within diversified sectors of development efforts, Cambodian government prioritized educational development as capacity building and human-resources development.⁵⁷ They explain the significance of educational development as a basic human right, and also as a key to Cambodia’s socio-economic development (NSDP 2006–2010:59). The report rationalizes that “the backbone of any country is a ‘critical mass’ of educated, skilled, talented and capable manpower in a variety of economic and social fields” (*ibid.*:60) so that to provide education is a significant factor of Cambodian national economic growth.

As for adopting the global scheme of development, the Cambodian government set the MDGs National Plan and EFA National Plan. As I mentioned above, the MDGs is a global scheme of development efforts which was ratified in the U.N. resolution in 2000.⁵⁸ In Cambodia, the MDGs have nine goals, 25 overall targets, and 106 specific targets, which include poverty and hunger reduction as a first priority. One of the goals is universal nine-year basic education.⁵⁹ It mainly aims to increase access to basic education. Also, it aims to improve the quality of education, meaning to increase the number of well-trained teachers, and reduce the number of illiterate adults. EFA, initiated by UNESCO, is generally known as a global educational policy which aims to provide basic education for all people. In Cambodia, they established a national plan to be implemented between 2003 and 2015.

According to this plan, the Cambodian government set five priorities: 1) equitable

⁵⁷ Cambodia established what they call a ‘rectangular strategy’ for national development. They put good governance as base of whole sectoral development efforts, and put 1) enhancement of the agricultural sector; 2) further rehabilitation and construction of the physical infrastructure; 3) private-sector development and employment generation; and 4) capacity building and human-resources development, as four pillars of priorities.

⁵⁸ cf. the MDGs in chapter one (p.2).

⁵⁹ Others are poverty reduction, gender equality with women’s empowerment, child mortality, health and sanitation, environmental sustainability, global partnership for development, and de-mining unexploded ordnance (UXO), and victim assistance.

access for basic education; 2) high-quality upper secondary provision; 3) pro-poor financing policy; 4) efficient management of resources; and 5) accountability through development of standards (EFA National Plan 2003–2015). ESP and ESSP are national educational development strategies initiated by MoEYS. In short, ESP aims to “establish and develop human resources of the very highest quality and ethics in order to develop a knowledge-based society within Cambodia” (ESP 2006–2010:1), and ESSP aims to outline how these five educational policies and strategies are laid out. In concrete, MoEYS has defined three main policies: 1) equitable access to education service; 2) quality and efficiency of education services; and 3) institutional development and capacity building for decentralization (ESP 2006–2010:1).

Thus, the Cambodian government has been focusing on educational development in several programs and projects. The scale of ongoing efforts shows that the current situation of education in Cambodia leaves a lot to be improved, if the national and international commitments are to be realized.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter examined the modern history of Cambodia, focusing on successive stages of a very difficult political transition, which in the 1970s caused genocide and a violent conflict which the international community for years did not take seriously enough. The struggle for independence from French colonialism brought modernization, and political chaos, which gradually lead the way for being engulfed in an international war, and just as that ended, a vicious intra-national conflict. As a result of the regime change, there was a *coup d'état* led by Lon Nol.

Pol Pot's communistic extreme autocracy was supposed to bring about a just communistic state, but instead was responsible for a genocide, in which a large number of the

country's men and women were killed or died under degrading circumstances. Therefore, both urban and rural areas had to reconstruct from zero. This brings me back to the theoretical and analytical discussion in chapter two on the concepts of peacebuilding and reconstruction. Both these terms figured prominently in the post-conflict development efforts, of many foreign-aid agencies that came into Cambodia for development assistance after 1979. This massive, mostly externally driven development effort brought Cambodia rapid development with economic growth, especially in urban areas, but might not necessarily have allowed the country to go through a gradual process of self-healing and reconciliation, that could allow for genuine recovery after the very traumatic and devastating period of wars and other conflicts.

As for education, Prime Minister Sihanouk's massive educational reform aimed at modernization, certainly brought opportunities for school education to many people. However, in this tumultuous situation of political confusion, it also added fuel to the conflict, and to the instability. This hastily built modern education system totally collapsed during the Pol Pot's regime. This regime, for ideological reasons, saw the educated class as an enemy; most of educated people and students were ruthlessly killed, and the school education system was deliberately destroyed, and whatever remained also collapsed. As a result, Cambodia had to reconstruct their education system from zero after the oppressive Pol Pot regime ended. Even though a lot of foreign aid has been contributed to educational development in Cambodia for 30 years after the Pol Pot regime collapsed, school enrolment and retainment rates, for instance, are still low compared to the neighbouring countries, Thailand and Vietnam. Therefore, Cambodian education has needed intensified development efforts in recent decades. This is where also Japanese development assistance has come in.

CHAPTER FIVE

JAPANESE FOREIGN AID AND JICA

5.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on Japanese foreign aid (ODA) and JICA, as implementing organization. This chapter will provide an overview of Japanese efforts for educational development in Cambodia, and serve as a context for the following chapter of empirical analysis of own primary data. I would first like to outline how Japanese foreign aid started, and to raise some concerns about how relevant and effective this aid has been in the context of Cambodia's needs for educational development. Finally, I would like to present in brief the Japanese educational sectoral development projects in Cambodia.

5.1 Japanese foreign aid

5.1.1 Origin of Japanese aid

Japanese aid and political status is strongly affected by the modern history of World War II (1931–1945).⁶⁰ Japan, as one of the Axis countries, lost the war against the Allied countries. The war involved the whole country and people in Japan⁶¹. Hence, after the war, the whole society was seriously torn apart, and many citizens faced serious poverty. Japanese post-war reconstruction was mainly led by the U.S. via Government Appropriation for Relief in Occupied Area Fund (GARIOA) and fund of Economic Rehabilitation in Occupied Areas

⁶⁰ In this paper, the controversial issue of the incidence of the Japanese invasion to Manchuria (a nation made for Japanese puppet government in northeastern part of China) is included in World War II.

⁶¹ Due to the National Mobilization Act legislated in 1938, all citizens, even children, were involved the war. Also, air-raids on cities, the Battle of Okinawa, and two atomic bombs dropped in Hiroshima city and Nagasaki city highly destroyed the country and local communities.

(EROA) which was established for aiding former enemy countries⁶². From 1946 until 1951, Japan got USD 1.8 billion of aid from these donors (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan ODA charter:ch.2). Also, contributions by multilateral organizations such as the World Bank and UNICEF, and INGOs such as Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere (CARE), and Licensed Agencies for Relief of Asia (LARA) also played a significant role in post-war reconstruction. Commenting on this aid, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, on their official Web site, says that Japan appreciates this aid from Western countries and multilateral organizations (*ibid.*). This aid can be said to be the departure point for Japanese foreign policy after the war.

Japanese aid to other countries started in 1954 with the Colombo Plan⁶³. Interestingly, this was just nine years after the end of World War II. In other words, in spite of the severe destruction of whole nation and people, Japan shifted from a ‘being aided’ nation to an ‘aiding’ nation very rapidly. It is generally said that Japanese economic and social development after the war until the 1970s was quite unique when it comes to rapidity and extremity. This is to some degree because of the massive aid from Western donors, which I have mentioned above. Japanese aid and development assistance has, it seems to me, become part of a Western (in this extended sense) hegemony, led by the U.S. Needless to say, this is also reflected in Japanese foreign security policy, which is strongly affected by the U.S. global strategy. In other words, Japan has been under the U.S global security umbrella.

5.1.2 Current situation of Japanese aid

Japan is a member of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) in OECD, which

⁶² These aids are consisted by a part of the U.S. military budgets.

⁶³ The Colombo plan was instituted as a regional intergovernmental organization for economic and social development in Asia and the Pacific region, which was started by the U.K.’s commonwealth countries in 1950.

comprises 22 nations in the global North. Due to DAC contribution, so far Japanese aid has contributed assistance to 185 countries in all over the world. Significantly, in the 1990s (from 1993 until 2000) Japanese ODA was the world’s largest donor⁶⁴ (cf. Fig.4).

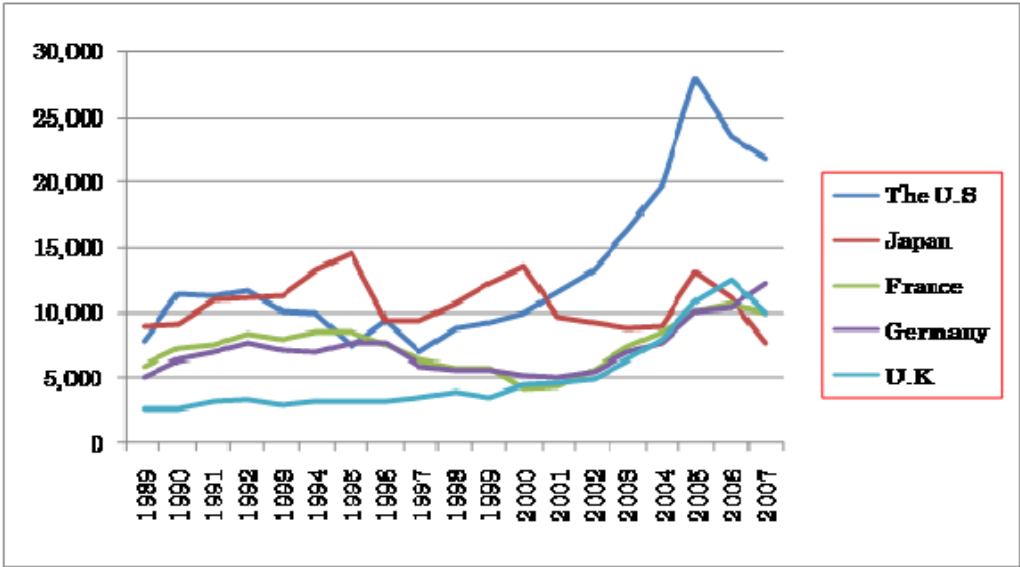


Fig. 4 Trends in major DAC countries' ODA (2008)

Source: Net ODA from DAC countries from 1950 to 2008 (OECD 2009)⁶⁵

Hence, considering the share amount, Japanese aid may have strong impacts on recipient countries in global South. Here we can speak of four modalities of aid efforts: 1) technical cooperation; 2) multilateral assistance; 3) grant aid; and 4) ODA loans. In 2007, the total ODA budget of Japan was approximately USD 7,500 million. Japanese aid gives priority to the infrastructural sector, in particular in South Asia. For example, in Cambodia, the main road named ‘route 6’, and an important bridge in Phnom Penh city, which was destroyed by Khmer Rouge during the civil war, were reconstructed by Japanese aid.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Since 1988 until 1992, USD 50 billion was spent, and since 1993 until 1997, USD 75 billion was spent (Søderberg 1996:20).

⁶⁵ The statistics is available in the web-page of OECD [online] URL-<http://www.oecd.org/dac/stats>.

⁶⁶ Now the bridge is called ‘Japan Bridge’. It is important for transportation.

What is Japan's political and economic strategy via development assistance aid? Söderberg (1996:46) has argued that this large amount of aid is for further strengthening of Japan's dominant position. She has insisted that due to Japanese aid for foreign countries, many private companies are receiving interest and benefits. Actually, in its ODA charter, the Japanese government stresses that one of the purposes of a market economy is to promote market economy. According to the charter, "Full attention should be given to efforts for promotion of democratization and the introduction of a market-oriented economy ..."

(Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, ODA charter:ch.2). This principle is clearly reflected in development efforts on economic infrastructural development in Cambodia, Vietnam and Mongolia in particular. Söderberg (1996:46) has criticised these Japanese large-scale economic infrastructural development projects in Southeast Asia. According to her, these large-scale projects provide only selected profit for people who are already financially well-off. Also, these projects sometimes are environmentally destructive, and numerous of people have been forced off their land because of these construction efforts (*ibid.*:2). Also, she is concerned with importance of the connection between ODA and Japanese private companies. From 1990, enormous numbers of Japanese private enterprises established themselves in global South as the vanguard of new liberal markets.

5.2 JICA

5.2.1 Historical framework of JICA

JICA is the biggest organization for international development assistance in Japan, established as the implementation agency of Japanese ODA, particularly in the area of technical cooperation and grant aid sectors worldwide.⁶⁷ JICA was originally established in 1974, as the operational development agency for technical cooperation in developing countries. At that

⁶⁷ Another sector, i.e. loan aid sector is an initiative by the Japanese Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC).

time JICA was under the control by Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. Yet in 2003, JICA was re-founded as an independent administrative institution for development practices by the Japanese ODA. In Japan, and also in recipient countries in global South, now JICA is broadly recognized as a philanthropic organization, which has contributed to different kinds of development efforts, e.g. granted aid for infrastructure, human-capital development (education), health, technical cooperation, etc. JICA itself professes that its development efforts contribute toward peacebuilding. According to their report, peacebuilding is a priority issue in Japan's ODA Charter in 2003, and in the mid-term policy on ODA in 2005 (JICA Annual Report 2007:15).

5.2.2 JICA's ODA disbursement in Southeast Asia

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan mentions that Asia is a priority region which can have a major impact on the stability and prosperity of Japan (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, the ODA Charter: ch.1). Since 1991, Japan's largest trading partner region has been Asia, in particular the Southeast Asia region. Currently, Japanese trade is totally dependent on those Asian countries (Søderberg and Berg 1996:75).

According to the regional disbursement data (*Fig. 5*), and comparing with other donors, the figure clearly shows that Japanese aid is mainly for Asian countries. In particular, it tends to focus on Southeast Asia (*Fig. 6*).

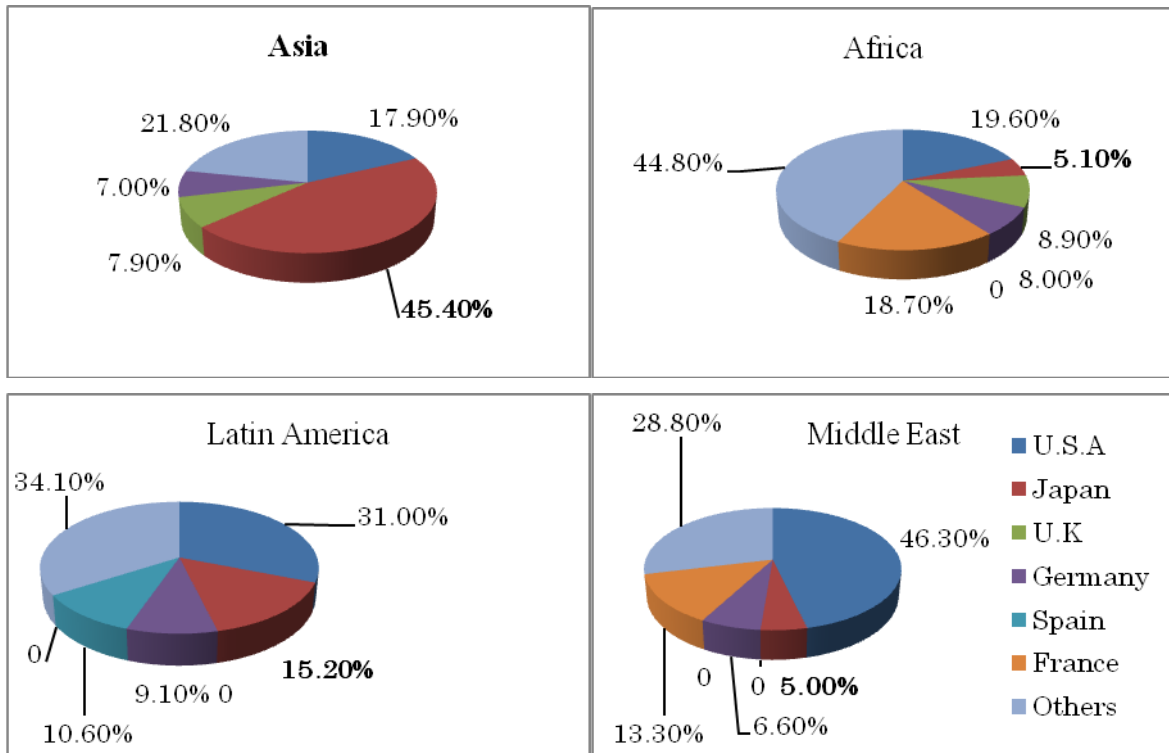


Fig. 5 ODA share of major DAC countries by region (2002)

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (2002)

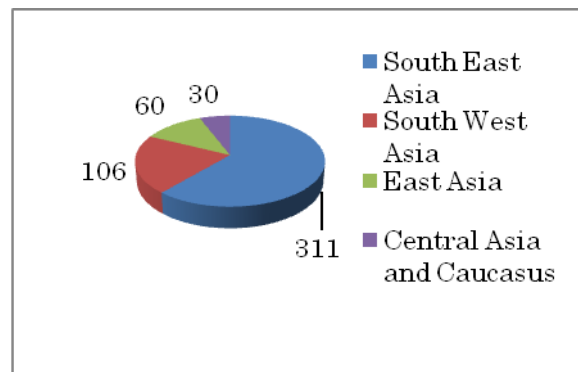


Fig. 6 JICA's cooperation results by region in Asia, fiscal year 2006 (Unit: USD/m)

Source: JICA Annual Report of 2007

As the figures show, for Japan, the relationship with the Southeast Asia region is extremely important in terms of economy, international politics, and security matters. According to JICA's annual report, Cambodia is one of the significant countries in the Southeast Asian region in which Japan is promoting a transition to a market economy. Currently, Japanese aid is also significant because it is the biggest contributor for the development disbursement in Cambodia (Nagasu 2005:68). A national official report in 2007 says that "By far largest single

development cooperation contributor is Japan. Since 1992, Japan has provided 21 per cent of all development cooperation resources” (The Cambodia Aid Effectiveness Report 2007:5).

JICA’s major tasks in Cambodia are to develop legislation that would be foundations for liberal economic activities (JICA Annual Report 2007:37). Furthermore, JICA’s aim is to contribute to overall development. Therefore, not only support for a legal system supportive of the market economy has been provided, but also the organization has contributed since 1994 to education, agriculture, health care, energy, economic infrastructure, and security issues, etc.

5.2.3 JICA’s educational development support projects in Cambodia

Educational development is one of the significant sectors in the human development field of JICA’s technical cooperation efforts. The actual amount and share of JICA’s entire cooperation in the education sector in 2006, was about JPY 25 billion (approximately USD 280 million). This represents about 20 per cent of JICA’s total operations as it covers to technical cooperation (JICA Annual Report 2007:80).

In JICA’s development efforts in Cambodia, educational development is considered as an underlying basis of the entire sustainable development strategy. In Cambodia, JICA’s educational sector comprises different projects, i.e. secondary-school teacher training project in science and mathematics (STEPSAM), a project for science textbook reformulation (ISMEC), a project for school building, study equipment distribution, a project for human-resource development scholarship, and a project for medical-training education of medical technicians and nurses in a Regional Teachers Training Center (RTTC), and a CJCC.⁶⁸ Within these educational development efforts, I would like to focus on two projects that I assessed as significant. These are two different main streams of JICA’s educational

⁶⁸ JICA does not recognize CJCC as one of educational development assistance. This is called Japan Center project, which is defined as a part of the social development sector of JICA.

development assistance; 1) science and mathematics education; and 2) Japanese-language and Japanese-style business education. The details of these projects will be described in next chapter.

5.2.4 Japanese volunteers as teaching experts

As for JICA's educational development effort, teachers are working in practical fields of educational development. As a part of international cooperation activities, JICA is dispatching Japanese teachers (mainly science and Japanese-language teachers) as teaching experts as JOCV.⁶⁹ JOCV functions as a contact window for Japanese people who want to volunteer in developing countries. This aid scheme began in 1954, following the start of the first Japanese development assistance based on the Colombo Plan. JOCV has so far dispatched 32,468 Japanese volunteers to 84 countries (JOCV homepage). Currently, 2,573 of them are working in developing countries.⁷⁰

Among their diversified sectoral development assistance, as many as 47 per cent of the volunteers are dispatched to the educational and cultural sector.⁷¹ Moreover, the educational sector dispatches science and mathematics teachers the most (now 183 people, so far 2,224 people), and Japanese-language teachers the second most (now 117 people, so far 1,586 people) (*ibid.*). In Cambodia, JOCV established itself in 1966, but it withdrew in 1970 because of the civil war. After the civil war ended, it restarted in 1992. JOCV has so far dispatched 291 volunteers to Cambodia, and currently, 46 volunteers are working there (*ibid.*). At present, five science teaching experts and three Japanese-language teaching experts are working there.

⁶⁹ The word JOCV means both the volunteers and organization.

⁷⁰ The data is as of 2009, January 31th.

⁷¹ The second-most dispatched sector is health (22 per cent), and the third is agriculture (19 per cent).

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter provided a basic overview of Japanese foreign aid to countries in the global South. Japanese assistance tends to focus on Asian countries, including Cambodia, due to geopolitical, economic, and cultural reasons. Apparently, if we look at ODA expenditure, Japan is a top-contributing donor. JICA, as the main channel of ODA, has been prioritizing development technical cooperation in the global South. JOCV has dispatched Japanese citizens as teachers, trainers, or teaching experts into several development assistance sectors in Southeast Asia. In Cambodian educational development, JICA contributes through the STEPSAM project, ISMEC project, CJCC project, and dispatching JOCV teaching experts. In the next chapter, I would like to examine how JICA's decision makers and practitioners have intervened into Cambodian educational development. In doing so, I need to return to my initial research topic and research question: What are the explicit and implicit motives of JICA's educational-development assistance as discerned in providing science, Japanese-language and business-ethics education service? And is Japanese aid for education promoting positive peace or indirectly functioning as structural violence?

CHAPTER SIX

ANALYSIS OF THE JICA'S EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

6.0 Introduction

This chapter will present and analyze a case of JICA's educational development assistance. JICA's main project for educational development assistance in Cambodia is promoting science and mathematics education. In addition, JICA is producing Japanese-language and Japanese-style business education service for Cambodian elites in their 'Japan Center' project. Hence this chapter will focus on these two aspects of educational development assistance in order to examine my research question. For the discussion and analysis, I would like to apply the previously argued theoretical frameworks of post-conflict reconstruction, peacebuilding, and positive peace and structural violence with cross references to earlier chapters. Let me now go back to my main- and sub-research question:

- What are the explicit and implicit motives of JICA's educational development assistance as discerned in providing science, Japanese language and business ethics education services?

→Is Japanese aid for education promoting positive peace or indirectly functioning as structural violence?

6.1 Interview informants

Before I discuss and analyze the projects, I will present in brief the different categories of informants that my primary empirical data are to a large degree based on.

6.1.1 JICA Officers (Japanese)

I had interviews and pre-conferences with two JICA officers: one is in charge of educational

sector, and another is in charge of dispatching JOCV volunteers. Remarkably, the Japanese personnel policy implies that personnel are reshuffled every two to three years, and therefore most of the JICA officers do not have long-term experience in Cambodia.

6.1.2 JICA's teachers in practical fields

In short, teaching experts of JICA for short-term development projects are recruited and dispatched from universities or research centers in Japan. When I visited Cambodia for fieldwork, the main project of science and mathematics education was already completed; therefore I could not meet most of the project members. However, there were few of them who were still working in Phnom Penh individually after the project was finished. They kept working as private teaching assistants in NIE. That is to say, these informants are now independent from JICA's project.

6.1.3 JOCV's volunteer teachers

As mentioned above, JICA's teaching experts are JOCV volunteers. According to the volunteer system, their terms of service are basically limited to two years. In short, they are not involved in JICA's main educational development projects. Despite this, they have been working in Cambodia as science or Japanese-language teaching experts.

When I visited Cambodia, there were five Japanese volunteers working as science teaching experts, and three volunteers working as Japanese-language teaching experts. Granted, while they are called 'teaching experts', it was surprise to find that they were quite young, and hence, do not have long-term teaching experience. Remarkably, one of them does not have any prior teaching experience in Japan (cf. *Table 1*).

ID No.	Subject	Stay in Cambodia for	Working experience as a teacher for
#6	Science for secondary school	1 year	None (University student)
#7	Science for secondary school	1 year 5 months	2 years at private cram school
#8	Science for secondary school	9 months	3 years
#9	Science for primary school	1 year	16 years at primary school
#10	Science for primary school	1 year	3 years
#13	Japanese Language at University	4 months	2 years in China
#14	Japanese Language at University	1 year	4 years in Japan
#16	Japanese Language at University	1 year and 6 months	4 years in Japan, and 2 years in abroad

Table 1: Age and teaching experience of JICA's teaching experts in Cambodia

Source: Respondents at fieldwork interviews, 2008.

6.1.4 Students (Cambodian service receivers)

In Cambodia, as noted in the previous chapter, relatively few people are able to attend a university or even high school. Moreover, even at university level, the quality of education is quite low. My informants can be described as the Cambodian elite, who expect to assume important roles as diplomats, politicians, or business entrepreneurs, etc., in the international political or economic spheres. From my observation, I found that the gender balance was good in every class in different universities and CJCC.

6.2 Educational development assistance I: science and mathematics education

6.2.1 Development assistance of science and mathematics education

In essence, JICA's overall objective for the development assistance program is to promote peacebuilding and contribute to post-war reconstruction through economic growth. In order to achieve this, JICA has prioritized educational development, especially on science and mathematics education. Japan's advantages in science and mathematics education are broadly and often explained by the rapid progress of its economic development. Despite lack of natural resources, Japan successfully and rapidly achieved economic development through the progression of science and technology after the World War II. Now, Japan is one of the most

economically, scientifically and technologically advanced countries in the world. According to JICA's report (2007b:17), "Behind this remarkable development were the government policy initiatives that aligned education, especially science and engineering, with the development of science and technology and highly efficient human resources".

In addition, Japan regards itself as a successful developed country that has adopted Western ways of thinking. According to JICA's report (JICA 2007b):

Historically, Japan, once an underdeveloped country, successfully adopted Western ways of thinking (as highlighted by logical thinking, democracy, and liberalism) different from the traditional Japanese way of thinking (and culture), and put them to effective use in developing itself. In relation to M&S [mathematics and science] education, Japan made a successful transition from Japanese mathematics to Western mathematics and proactively adopted modern S&T [science and technology]. In this way, Japan, with its strong government leadership, domestically developed the current educational system of arithmetic mathematics and science. Such experiences, which are not found in many other donor countries, provide a valuable hint for education development in developing countries (17).

Thus, the rationale of Japanese educational development assistance has been influenced by the logic described above, and thus Japan provides Western-style science and mathematics education to other countries with confidence.

JICA's educational development assistance started in 1966 dispatching volunteers with teaching expertise in science and mathematics education to countries in the global South. This assistance effort increased in the 1970s and 1980s. Since the 1990s, following a global challenge of educational development, e.g., a new global scheme of the EFA⁷² and the UNDP's conceptual change that shifted from economic-centered to human-centered development⁷³, JICA began to emphasize basic educational development assistance as well. In concrete terms, JICA's current mainstream educational development projects in Cambodia

⁷² cf. EFA in chapter one (p.3).

⁷³ Educational development is a part of human development, along with health, nutrition, a safe water supply, and family planning (JICA 2007b:5)

consist of building schools and promoting science education.

6.2.2 Secondary School Teacher Training Project in Science and Mathematics (STEPSAM)

Now I would like to focus on JICA's science educational development project in Cambodia: the Secondary School Teacher Training Project in STEPSAM. The basic research for the project was started in 1994. At first, the project went smoothly, with mutual agreement on the project with the Cambodian government⁷⁴. However, because of a political and actual conflict that occurred in 1997 in Phnom Penh, the project was suspended for a while until the conflict settled down. Thus, the actual project practically started in 2000. The overall goal of STEPSAM was to enhance the capability of science and mathematics teachers. In order to achieve its goal, JICA focused on the teacher training school, because JICA assessed it as important to enhance teachers' quality in order to produce the maximum output for Cambodia's entire educational development. In Cambodia, there is only one teachers' training school for upper secondary school, which is in the NIE⁷⁵, and there are six teachers' training schools for secondary school (i.e. RTTC) and 18 teachers' training schools for primary school (i.e., Provincial Teacher Training Center: PTTC) (cf. *Fig. 7*).

⁷⁴ In 1996, through the preliminary investigation and conferences, the Cambodian government officially accepted the STEPSAM development assistance to the Japanese government.

⁷⁵ NIE used to be named the Faculty of Pedagogy until 2004.

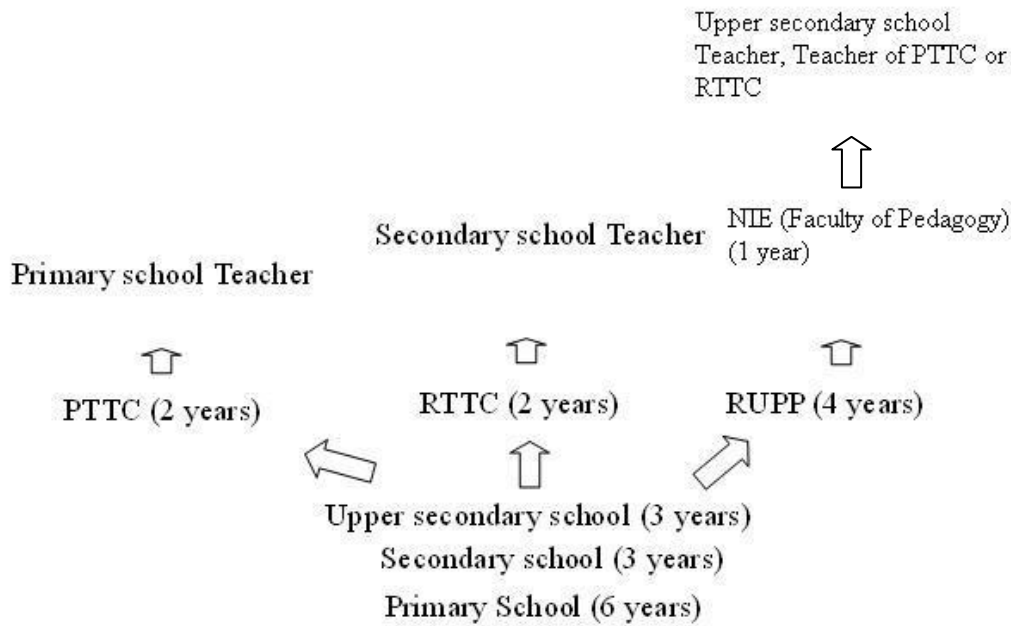


Fig. 7 Cambodian teacher education system

Source: the author

The STEPSAM project has two phases. Phase one (i.e., STEPSAM I) was implemented from 2000 to 2005, and phase two (i.e., STEPSAM II) started in 2008, and is planned to be completed in 2012.

Phase one: STEPSAM I (2000–2005)

In phase one, JICA focused on educational development for the upper secondary school teacher training program in the NIE. As noted above, the NIE is the only institution for upper secondary school teacher training in Cambodia. Its students are recruited from the Cambodian elite who graduated from the Royal University of Phnom Penh (RUPP). Those who graduate from NIE are expected to become upper secondary teachers. Hence, this educational development assistance to NIE was assumed to expect maximum output to enhance the quality of the education for the entire Cambodian secondary-school system. In addition, since many other donors, such as UNICEF, the World Bank, etc., have tended to focus on basic education at the primary-school level, JICA chose secondary-school education in order to

avoid an overlap in development assistance.

In concrete terms, STEPSAM I mainly focused on capacity building skills for Cambodian teachers in the NIE. JICA dispatched teaching experts from Japan to promote Cambodian teachers' scientific knowledge, logical thinking, and didactics, through practical training in the classroom and the laboratory. For this purpose, the STEPSAM project team established three main pillars: 1) enable participants to understand basic scientific knowledge at the primary- or secondary-school level; 2) establish their independence, e.g., let them organize study groups or workshops, etc.; 3) strengthen the ownership of knowledge, i.e., let them remake their own Cambodian guidebook of scientific experiment teaching methods, etc. In addition to these “software” contributions, JICA contributed “hardware” donations, i.e., equipment for education in the NIE, construction of experimental laboratories, equipment and manuals for experiments, textbooks, etc. For this project in 2000, JICA dispatched 16 teaching experts as educational assistants for science and mathematics teacher training in the NIE. In addition, JICA invited six Cambodian teachers at the NIE to Japan to study science and mathematics education.

Reforming science textbooks for upper secondary schools

From the outcomes of STEPSAM I implementation, Japanese teaching experts found some problems in the Cambodian science curriculum and textbooks, which should be reformed.

(1) The science and mathematics curriculum includes overly difficult and advanced content for upper secondary grade level students; (2) there is insufficient linkage between each unit. As for textbooks, (1) they lack important concepts; (2) terminologies and signs are not unified in each grade; (3) there is not concrete explanation with figures and tables but only abstract guidance. Moreover, referring to the teacher's manuals, there is a lack of explanation or consistency, and there are insufficient science experiment examples and exercises that could help teachers design interesting and understandable lectures. Therefore, revision of textbooks and teacher's manuals are necessary matters in Cambodia (JICA-Cambodia homepage).

Thus, as a follow-up project, from 2005 onward, another project started, to produce

re-compiled textbooks for science and mathematics. The project is called Improving Science and Mathematics Education at the Upper Secondary Level (ISMEC). It aims to achieve the overall goal of “Formulation of the mechanism for regular re-evaluation and revision of curriculum and textbook in the upper secondary level” (JICA-Cambodia, homepage). For this purpose, 12 Japanese teaching experts worked in Cambodia; however, this project had to be stopped before the plan was completed for the following reasons. First, with regard to mathematics, due to the Cambodian national development strategy of donor harmonization, the Cambodian government chose Belgium as the funding agency for the revision of the mathematics textbooks. Following this policy change, JICA had to give up the mathematics textbook revision project. Second, during the project, the Cambodian government privatized its textbook publishers. This development was contrary to JICA’s policy, so they had to give up publishing the revised textbook (Source: interview with #1, and #12, fieldwork, 2008)⁷⁶.

Phase two: STEPSAM II (2008–2012)

Through the STEPSAM project, the Japanese teaching experts assessed that their Cambodian counterparts had positively improved their logical thinking and scientific knowledge. With STEPSAM II, JICA is anticipating a greater positive aspect. From the outcome of STEPSAM I, it became obvious that Cambodian students at the teacher-training center tend to lack basic education at the primary- or secondary-school level. A JICA officer said,

If the basic knowledge is not enough, we cannot expect to strengthen advanced knowledge. Hence, at STEPSAM II, we decided to focus on trainers’ training at a basic level (primary- and secondary-school teachers’ training) to strengthen their basic knowledge of science. Also, simply the number of students in RTTC and PTTC is huge, compared to the number of students in the NIE; hence, greater and more rapid outcomes can be expected for the entire Cambodian science educational development (Source: interview with #1, fieldwork, 2008).

The second phase of the STEPSAM project started in September 2008 and plans to

⁷⁶ This might be another problem of development assistance about misunderstanding between donor and service recipient.

complete in 2012. Following the Cambodian government's offer⁷⁷, JICA expanded their focus from upper secondary to secondary- and primary-school science education. In addition, they spread out the project sites from Phnom Penh to other medium-size towns. In concrete terms, at STEPSAM II, JICA is focusing on six RTTC schools and 18 PTTC schools as pilot models. Overall, the goal of this educational development assistance is to improve the quality of science education in Cambodian basic education (at the primary- and secondary-school level). For this purpose, this project aims to 1) improve the quality of the teachers' training program in science education; and 2) to present the best practice model of a science-teacher training seminar for secondary-school science education. To achieve the aims described above, teaching experts in science education have been dispatched to Cambodia.

6.2.3 JOCV volunteers as science teachers

In addition, besides the STEPSAM project, JOCV has been dispatching Japanese volunteers as teaching experts for science education at RTTC and PTTC schools. The development assistance of these volunteers is not involved in the STEPSAM project; hence, each volunteer works independently with an individual plan for a two-year period of service. In short, JOCV's science teaching experts are sent as teaching assistants. Thus, they provide technical assistance for teachers, such as improving the quality of the science teaching method, introducing the procedures of science experiments, making guidelines for science education, organizing workshops for teachers, etc. Since JOCV are not involved with the STEPSAM project, JOCVs can arrange their own practical activities in their dispatched school. Speaking in concrete terms, JICA is currently dispatching five science teaching experts to the TTC in three different provinces: Kandal, Takeo, and Preivien.

⁷⁷ MoEYS officially offered JICA for the STEPSAM II project in December 2007.

6.2.4 On explicit and implicit motives

What are the explicit and implicit motives of the STEPSAM project? JICA has insisted that promoting science and mathematics education has a positive impact at both the individual and the society levels. As for the individual level, science and mathematics education helps individuals not only to improve their ability to acquire the skills needed to live securely in natural and social environments, but also to build a foundation for improving their living conditions and livelihoods. Such instruction improves health, reduces poverty, and mitigates the hazards of natural disasters, etc. According to a JICA report (2007b:10), scientific knowledge, thinking, and attitudes, along with rational judgment, analytical, synthetic, inductive, deductive, and analogical thinking provides people with an awareness of these avoidable disadvantages. Furthermore, it provides employment opportunities for people living in poverty. Science and mathematics education must be the basis of vocational education and training for technical skills, which must be acquired to maintain people's level of knowledge and sufficient skills in order for them to gain access to employment opportunities (JICA 2007b:10). As for the society level, science and mathematics education creates economic growth through the development of human resources, by providing logical scientific knowledge, thinking and attitudes, and a way to bridge the digital divide with information literacy, which might lead to the stability of a country (*ibid.*).

Moreover, JICA has also insisted that science and mathematics education promotes conflict prevention and reconciliation. To sum up, science and mathematics education provides problem-solving abilities; logical scientific knowledge, thinking and attitudes; skills of rational judgment; a sound critical spirit; and the formation of values, which is aimed to enable people to improve their livelihoods and secure a stable life (JICA 2007b:11). Thus, the STEPSAM project can – to the degree the results and outcomes are in line with the intentions that are stated above – be probably be said to contribute to Cambodian peacebuilding and to

contribute to sustainable development by developing human resources. My study has, as made clear earlier, not examined these intended results and outcomes. Instead I have chosen to examine possible differences between explicit and implicit motives and intentions. These factors mentioned above, can be said to be explicit motives that aim to provide a positive influence for Cambodian society.

However, if we look at the STEPSAM project from another perspective, it seems to have implicit motives, i.e., to ensure the Japanese benefits through this development assistance. In an interview about the benefits that the Japanese receive as a result of such development assistance, JICA officers said:

Of course, as a fundamental policy, Japanese aid and our development efforts aim to contribute to peace building, or world peace. All our efforts are dedicated to Cambodia. However, on the other hand, since our development efforts are financially supported by ODA, which means the Japanese tax from each single citizen of Japan, these development efforts must be something beneficial for Japan as well. (Source: Pre-interview conference with #1 and #2, fieldwork, 2008)

I would argue that what these informants say, might indicate that JICA's has a focus on securing economic benefits for Japanese interests from their assistance in Cambodia. I have searched for secondary data that my can be used to verify or dismiss my own limited data. Recently in Cambodia, a lot of private Asian companies have been trying to penetrate their open-market.⁷⁸ This change of economic policy to an open-market economy was followed by the 1991 Paris Peace Accords. There are several reasons for this. For example, recently the Cambodian political situation has grown more stable, and due to the large amount of development aid from foreign countries, the infrastructure has become more developed.

Furthermore, remarkably, several natural resources were recently discovered, such as oil, gold, gems and natural gas. Related to these natural resources, let me here discuss JICA's contribution for Japanese private companies. Recently, in Cambodia, JICA signed a new ODA

⁷⁸ e.g., Singapore, Malaysia, Korea, China, etc. (listed from the biggest).

loan agreement with Cambodian government. According to JICA's recent press releases (JICA 2009) the loan will be used for reconstruction of the Sihanoukville seaport multipurpose terminals. Sihanoukville is an important industrial city in Cambodia, located beside the Gulf of Thailand. It is the only suitable place, and therefore is highly significant, for maritime international transportation, commodity cargo, and trades by container ships. Also, there is a possibility that a huge amount of oil may be discovered, as there are ongoing investigations in the near future in the shore of the Gulf of Thailand. For this, a Japanese private company: Mitsui Oil Exploration Company⁷⁹ has been working on the oil exploration⁸⁰, sharing with the U.S. energy company: Chevron (Mydan 2007).

Here is another example as for tourism industries in Cambodia, the famous genocide memorial site named *Cheung Ek Killing Fields*⁸¹, which approximately 200 to 300 foreign and local tourists visit every day, has been also leased to Japanese private company: JC Royal Company- since 2005 (Mydan 2005; and Kea 2006). After the owner changed to the Japanese private company, they raised the entrance fee to USD 2 for foreign visitors, which used to be USD 0.5⁸². This shows that even such a memorial site for Cambodian, is trying to make some economical benefits. Thus, Japanese private companies are opening their business markets in many ways.

So, how is JICA's educational development assistance connected to such Japanese benefit through Cambodian economic market growth? Compared to neighboring countries, i.e., Thailand and Vietnam, Cambodian personnel costs tend to be much lower. These benefits

⁷⁹ More detail of the project can be seen in the homepage [online] URL-<http://www.moeco.co.jp/english/project/cambodia.html>.

⁸⁰ These two companies got oil exploration rights from Prime Minister Hun Sen.

⁸¹ The site is located in approximately 15km south of Phnom Penh, which remains as the memorial grave for more than 100,000 people executed during the genocide in DK regime.

⁸² Whereas Cambodian citizens can enter for free.

promote the penetration of foreign private companies. However, Japanese companies tend to avoid the open market in Cambodia. A JICA officer explained the reason:

Because of the lack of human resources, that is to say, the lack of education and the lack of a legal infrastructure, several foreign-affiliated private Japanese companies have commented that opening a new market in Cambodia is quite risky. Even if those local labor forces have low costs, unless there are no well-qualified labor forces, foreign-affiliated Japanese companies would not open a new market. Generally, Cambodian laborers are still rated very low. They are seen as lacking the ability to plan, as lacking skill, and even as lacking management capability. We, JICA, think these problems might be related to a lack of science and mathematics education, which fosters logical and critical thinking. (Source: Pre-interview conference with #1, fieldwork, 2008).

Thus, JICA's educational development assistance for the promotion of science and mathematics subjects is rationalized. Through my investigations, however limited they may be, seem to suggest that JICA's educational development assistance aims at expanding the global-market economy and Japanese influence in Cambodia for Japanese benefits mostly. As the case of JICA shows, "Aid creates more jobs and leads to the establishment of more industries in the developed than in the developing countries" (King 1975:9 qtd. in Webster 1991:157). In the sense of economic development, such Japanese investment in the Cambodian economic market would be helpful for Cambodian post-war development. Junne and Verkoren (2005:2) has argued that a lack of economic development can be a guarantee for the resumption of violence, because if a large number of young people remain unemployed, or if there is no perspective for some way out of the present misery and normal life, post-conflict violence will occur.

However, the point is, applying the theoretical framework of post-conflict development and peacebuilding, foreign aid assistance in such war-torn societies, should be more careful and sensitive for sustainable peace, avoiding post-war violence rather than pursuing economic liberal market growth (Barakat 2005:10). Also, from the earlier outlined theoretical perspective of peace studies, such rapid economic growth might be characterized as structural

violence. JICA's implicit motive of promoting a global-market economy might influence Cambodia negatively by the exploitation of above-mentioned natural resources, and the economic disparity between the urban rich and the rural and urban poor, etc. As the theory of post-conflict reconstruction has showed, such foreign aid for post-conflict development in war torn society has to be sensitive and careful for local people and communities' condition in order to avoid post-war violence.

As a matter of fact, recently in Cambodia, in addition to rapid economic growth, the poverty level in remote areas has still remained quite high. A 2004 survey shows that 34.7 per cent of the total population is below the poverty line, and 90 per cent of them are living in rural areas (NSDP 2006–2010:8). Even worse, some are still living in landmine fields. Add economic growth to such a serious situation, and it causes inflation in urban areas to worsen the poverty in Cambodia. “In some cases, it was confirmed that while some families pull their children out of school to help earn additional income, others stop sending their children to school because they have to pay higher school fees to their teacher” (Discussion forum on inflation and poverty in CJCC 2008). As the report shows, promoting a market economy has a negative aspect as well. Hence, JICA's educational development assistance, which is focusing on promoting a market economy through encouraging Cambodian elites, might affect this economic disparity between the urban rich and the rural and urban poor. Therefore, it can be argued that JICA's educational development efforts have a somewhat negative influence on the Cambodian society. If those foreign investigations were focusing on Cambodian natural resources, it could be say the strategy of exploitation. Webster (1991:150) has argued such aid by the global North is theoretically contributing for positive peace, but practically they are not merely working for humanitarian reasons. Such aid is “a way of sustaining their influence in ex-colonies, or building new influence in new territories” (*ibid.*). Thus, as the case shows, aid contributions cannot always be said to contribute to positive peace.

Also, as for centralization of educational development assistance, Fägerlind and Saha (1989:113) have pointed out that such urban-centered development motivates local teachers refuse to teach in rural poverty-stricken areas, because of the attractive modernized activities and the job securities in government or industry in urban areas. This perspective is the big challenge that JICA's educational development project faces. If their educational service remains concentrated in a few urban areas and is not provided to peripheral regions, especially to people who are economically poor, it would be one of the causes of the economic disparity between the urban rich and the rural poor. In other words, it might be an indirect cause for structural violence. If we look at JICA's motives for educational development assistance, they seem threaten the very concept of positive peace, i.e. the absence of structural violence. In order to achieve positive peace, the strategy of EFA is significant. The policy concept might assist in building positive peace, distributing equal opportunity for basic education, through high enrolment and low drop-out rates among people in rural areas.

6.2.5 Responses from individual practitioners of educational development

How do individual practitioners in Cambodian teacher's training schools assess their development intervention? At the individual level, most of the JOCVs mentioned in interviews that they more or less see some positive impact on Cambodian educational development. For instance, one of the informants said:

When I came to Cambodia, they had not been taught how to use experiments for science education. But now, through study meetings and workshops, I see some teachers have changed their attitudes. For instance, one of my counterparts asked me to give him equipment for an experiment, which he was supposed to use for his teaching. At first, they are not motivated. This is just one example, but I see they are changing day-by-day, little by little (Source: interview with #10, fieldwork, 2008).

As argued above, it can be said that there is some positive impact for Cambodian educational development through JICA's intervention at the TTC, such as introducing new

teaching methods. On the other hand, as a negative impact, at an individual level, all the eight teaching experts who were interviewed (who taught both Japanese language and science) mentioned that JOCV's intervention might disturb Cambodian's self-help effort. For instance, one of them who is dispatched as a science education expert said:

My Cambodian counterparts recognize me as "people who give us money." We are dispatched as teaching and management assistants, but they tend to depend on me very much. They never took the initiative of setting up a study meeting or a workshop. (Source: Interview with #6, fieldwork, 2008)

Also, another informant said:

My counterparts recognize me as a JICA officer who gives them money. So, at first it was difficult to make them understand what I came there for. Even now, they will not attend a workshop, which is a study meeting to introduce science experiments, unless I pay them a salary. (Source: Interview with # 7, Fieldwork, 2008)

As they have argued, at the individual level of development assistance in rural areas, a misunderstanding of the JOCV's intention and stereotypes about Japanese aid might have somewhat of a negative impact on Cambodian service receivers. A JICA officer mentioned this point as well. According to an informant,

You cannot say this is a negative impact brought on only by JICA, but it is more like an entire Cambodian social issue. Now, more than half of the Cambodian national budget consists of foreign aid and foreign investment. So they are taking it for granted that it will be donated. In other words, because of the great amount of aid, they are used to receiving donations. (Source: Interview with #1, fieldwork, 2008)

These are significant problematic issues concerning international educational development assistance. A UNDP study reported in 2002 the Cambodian aid-dependent situation as a "donor-driven" country (Nagasu 2005:67-71). According to the report of the Cambodian National Budget Office in 2007, one-third of the Cambodian national budget, USD 301.3 million, consists of contributions in loans and grants from bilateral and multilateral development-assistance organizations from other countries and INGOs (The NGO

Forum on Cambodia).⁸³ Also, according to the Cambodian National Official Report, the total of the development partner disbursements in 2006 (provisional) is USD 594.8 million (The Cambodia Aid-Effectiveness Report 2007:2). This plentiful amount of foreign contributions actually started soon after the Paris Peace Agreement in 1991. The official report says that USD 7 billion has been disbursed by development partners from 1992 to 2006 (*ibid.*). Such significant contributions from the countries in the global North might be a cause of such an aid-dependency, and of the corruption of Cambodian government, that it may be considered threat to Cambodian sovereignty. Thus, through this investigation, however limited it is, the evidence suggests that both at the individual and organizational or societal level, foreign aid may have a negative influence on Cambodia's capability for self-help.

6.3 Educational development assistance II: Cambodia-Japan Cooperation Center (CJCC) and Japanese-language education

Let me now focus on another aspect of JICA's educational development assistance: Japanese-language education and Japanese-style business education. First, JICA does not recognize this educational assistance as a primary element of their educational sectoral development program. However, I assessed that this perspective is significant because this might be an important point to analyze with regard to explicit and implicit motives of the Japanese educational development efforts. Therefore, I would like to focus mainly on the CJCC project which provides Japanese-language and Japanese-style business education. In addition, I would like to mention the Japanese language teaching experts, who are sent to work at Cambodian national universities in Phnom Penh.

Regarding Japanese-language education, in Cambodia there are three national

⁸³ This reference by the NGO Forum on Cambodia is reliable, because this Forum project is produced in cooperation with the Economic Institute of Cambodia, which is taking initiatives in order to strengthen the national economy.

universities that provide Japanese-language instruction for Cambodian students: 1) RUPP, Department of Japanese Language, in the Institute of Foreign Language; 2) National University of Management (NUM); 3) Royal University of Law and Economy (RULE). JOCV's teaching experts for Japanese language education have been dispatched to these universities.

6.3.1 Japan Center project

CJCC was established by JICA in 2004 to provide Japanese-language education, Japanese-style business education, and cross-cultural activities to the Cambodian people. The Center is located in the territory of RUPP. This location is remarkably interesting, because despite RUPP being the national public university, they accepted the establishment of an independent organization, which is not related to university education. This might be a sign of a close connection between the Cambodian government and Japanese aid. Actually, the project-formation study of CJCC started in 2000, and following the results of the study, the Cambodian government requested assistance to realize the project. Now CJCC is recognized as one of the institutes belonging to RUPP.

CJCC is one of the JICA's 'Japan Center' projects started in 1998. This project is financed by Japanese ODA, and it aims "to promote a market economy through human resources development with Japan's knowledge, and also to promote mutual understanding between Japan and other countries that are changing over to a market economy" (JICA and Pacific Consultants International 2004:1-1) These Japan Center projects are focusing on some important countries, not only Cambodia, but also in East and Central Asia and Indochina, for the benefit of the Japanese in terms of political and economic strategy. In concrete terms, JICA has so far established a Japan Center in Vietnam, Laos, Mongolia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Ukraine. According to JICA's report (2007a),

“In these countries, it is an urgent matter to foster human resources who support the real economy and the business program is expected to offer necessary knowledge and know-how for such human development in the private sector. Lectures regarding the Japanese style of management, and practical contents including corporate diagnosis, have been praised greatly by local small and medium-sized enterprises and economic organizations, and as a result, there has been a case where former students formed ‘Kaizen (improvement) Association’ to spread the Japanese style of management by themselves to a wide area” (JICA Annual Report of 2007:78).

6.3.2 Education produced by CJCC

CJCC provides three kinds of pillars: 1) a Japanese-language course; 2) a Japanese-style business course (Human-Resources Development: HRD course); and 3) a cultural-exchange program. Basically, not only Cambodian university students but also every Cambodian citizen can apply for these courses. In the Japanese-language course, the service receivers are mainly university students; so far, 924 people have completed the course. On the other hand, in the business course, the service receivers tend to be workers in private companies and civil servants; so far, 661 people have completed the course. In the cultural-exchange program, CJCC mainly conducts both Cambodian and Japanese cultural and traditional seasonal events, such as the Japanese traditional tea ceremony, Cambodian traditional dance (Apsara dance), etc. Through these educational development efforts, CJCC aims to nourish the local talent for Cambodian sustainable economic development through Japanese knowledge and cultural exchange. Now, first, I would like to focus on the Japanese-language course, and secondly, I would like to focus on the business course.

6.3.3 Japanese-language education

Japanese-language education in Cambodia was started in the 1960s. During the civil war, needless to say it has stopped, but since 1993, JICA has re-started dispatching Japanese-language teachers to Cambodian universities. Through my observation and interviews I found that Cambodian people in general have a positive image of Japan for

several reasons; i.e., first, Japan is known as the biggest donor who assists with Cambodian economic development; second, it is broadly known as the most economically and technologically ‘developed country’ in Asia; third, there are numerous Japanese volunteers and NGOs in Cambodia; and fourth, Cambodia has numerous Japanese tourists who are very visible in world-heritage attractions such as temple Angkor Watt. As for the tourism industry, the tour-guide market demands knowledge of the Japanese-language. Actually, in addition to the institutions for Japanese-language education in the national universities noted above, there are many private schools that provide Japanese language education in Phnom Penh and Siem Reap. These Japanese language schools are functioning in order to train local tour guides to speak Japanese (Japan Foundation).⁸⁴

6.3.4 Japanese-style business education

The second educational stream is a HRD course (generally recognized as a business course), which is provided in CJCC. In the HRD course, CJCC provides two types of instruction: 1) an entrepreneurship course; and 2) a corporate-management course along with several business-related seminars, e.g., a seminar on Japanese economic development⁸⁵, and a seminar on local business promotion strategies and marketing-skills development for Cambodian SMEs (Small- and Medium-sized Enterprises)⁸⁶, etc. The entrepreneurship course deals with financial planning, fundraising, business planning, marketing strategy, marketing

⁸⁴ The Japan Foundation is an independent administrative institution under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. Further information is in their homepage. [online] URL-<http://www.jpf.go.jp/e/index.html>.

⁸⁵ It was organized as a special seminar co-hosted by CJCC and the Japanese Embassy, and held in a Sunway Hotel (a high-class hotel in Phnom Penh) on the first day, and at Royal University of Law and Economy the second day. The lectures were given by a Japanese professor from a university in Japan.

⁸⁶ It was held in December 2006, at CJCC. The lectures were given by a Japanese person who was dispatched from a Japanese NPO, and who works for human resources development in Asian countries.

surveys, marketing exploration, etc., and the corporate management course provides instruction in marketing, production control, financial management, human-resources management, etc. The teachers of these courses and seminars are Japanese people who work at private Japanese companies, at a university, or at a research institute, and also Cambodians who work at private companies.

6.3.5. On explicit and implicit motives

Let me move on to the questions of the explicit and implicit motives of JICA's Japanese-language and business education. The HRD course in CJCC continuously aims to provide human-resources development for Cambodian economic-market expansion, and for building and maintaining a competitive advantage over rivals, via practical know-how and skills of business management (CJCC homepage). According to an interview with a Cambodian CJCC staff member,

We, Cambodia, joined the WTO⁸⁷, but the capacity or ability of the people is not ready to join (the Cambodian human capacity has not reached the global standard of economic development yet), so that is why CJCC conducts courses, to provide more knowledge through the experience of the Japanese. ... For the SMEs (and) also for the Royal Government of Cambodia, the important point of development (for) Cambodia is the economy, so that is why we try to help the SMEs. (Source: Interview with #3, Fieldwork, 2008)⁸⁸

About the implicit motives of the Japanese to undertake the Japan Center project, a respondent answered:

The Japan Center project is one part of the Japanese national political strategy. Those countries in which JICA established a Japan Center have an abundance of natural resources; hence, the Japanese intentionally and strategically put a Japan Center in those countries as a tactic. Cambodia has an abundance of natural resources, such as natural gas in the north, which might benefit the Japanese if Japanese industrial companies open new businesses here. (Source: Interview with #5, fieldwork, 2008)

According to the interview, it can be said that the Japan Center project in Cambodia, i.e.

⁸⁷ Cambodia joined WTO in September 2004.

⁸⁸ Parentheses in the interview offer some extra explanation and language collection by the author.

CJCC, explicitly aims to promote a market economy assisting Cambodian economic growth that should benefit Cambodia, and implicitly aims at seeking possibilities for expanding Japanese influence in the global market through political and economic strategies.

From the above information, it is clear that promoting Japanese-language education through aiding the Cambodian elites also has an implicit motive to benefit the Japanese politically and economically. When we look at the Japanese educational development assistance program from this perspective, it might be inadequate to say that this is in practice contributing to peacebuilding. Applying Galtung's (1996) theory of positive peace and structural violence, the program might be understood as contributing to structural violence in terms of natural and human resources exploitation, involving Cambodia to open up for the global capital markets, which is not contributing to building a positive peace in a long-term perspective.

How are Cambodian service receivers assessing the CJCC's education service? In the individual interviews with Cambodian university students who are taking Japanese-language courses, all of them answered that they want to go to Japan to study. They also said they would like to work in a Japanese-owned company in Cambodia. It is remarkable that two out of seven students answered that they are willing to work in the Maruhan Japan Bank⁸⁹. Following radical Cambodian economic growth⁹⁰, the Maruhan Japan Bank was established in May 2008, and as the first Japanese commercial bank in Cambodia, it started to investigate the Cambodian business market. According to both Japanese and Cambodian people living in Phnom Penh, the bank's opening became big news. As we can see from the responses of the Japanese-language students, it seems that Cambodian elite students might be highly

⁸⁹ Further information about Maruhan Japan Bank in Cambodia is available on their homepage: [online] URL-<http://www.maruhanjapanbank.com/index.php/lang-en/home>.

⁹⁰ The latest economic growth rate in Cambodia in 2007 reached 10.8 per cent. Moreover, in 2005, it reached a peak of 13.4 per cent. This fact led Maruhan Japan Bank to open a new market in Cambodia.

concerned with this Japanese intervention in the Cambodian financial market.

From the interview to a student in the HRD course, a respondent (working at a Cambodian-owned private company in Phnom Penh) answered:

Cambodian people think the Japanese are good. They give us a good salary, good pay. And in Cambodia, the Japanese appear to be excellent. If you look around the city, you will see much stuff made in Japan, such as cars, electrical appliances, and so on. So I can say the same about the CJCC education, it is good for us, we trust. ... I attended both corporate-management courses and the entrepreneur course. As a result, now I have got a better job, and also a better salary (laugh). And because now I am working in marketing with several companies, I understand more about customers and my company's weaknesses as well. (Source: Interview with # 22, fieldwork, 2008)⁹¹

Not only this student, but also a majority of the Cambodian service receivers assessed these business courses positively. In addition, as a result of this education, 20 per cent of the students who completed the course reported that they had started a new business. If we look at these Cambodian's assessment, it might be seen that the HRD course has had a positive impact only for Cambodian society.

However, this project for promoting Japanese business education is actually part of a larger politically important strategy for Japan. Actually, it is basically initiated by the Japanese government in order to benefit the Japanese.

The HRD courses are one of the economical and political strategies by which the Japanese seek their own benefit. This project, promoting Japanese-style business with a Japanese work ethic to other countries, is initiated by the Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry of Japan (METI). For this purpose, the Japan Center was established as for strategic institute. (Source: interview with #5, fieldwork, 2008)

Needless to say, promoting the Japanese language in other countries is also a Japanese national political strategy for promoting economic interests. As for the Japanese government's motives for promoting the Japanese language, a respondent said;

At its base, expanding the Japanese language to other countries is one of the Japanese

⁹¹ The sentence was retranslated by the author, following the interview transcripts, for better understanding.

political strategies. The promotion of overseas Japanese language education started after the end of World War II as a strategy of the Japan Foundation. It has aimed to increase the numbers of pro-Japanese (in the sense of Cambodian elites who are friendly to Japan) among local elites who are estimated to be of political or diplomatic importance for Japan in the long run. (Source: pre-interview conference with #2, Fieldwork, 2008)

Thus, it is obvious that both Japanese-language education and Japanese-style business education have both explicit and implicit motives. These implicit motives mentioned here might have a negative influence on the post-war Cambodian society in the long run. These CJCC projects might be a means – as part of a larger puzzle- of exploitation by the global North. Also, it might accelerate the already existing inequality between the urban rich and the rural poor in Cambodia, which might become a cause of another conflict. This perspective opens up for a debate I cannot pursue further here, the issue of globalization of Cambodia in terms of economic and social changes and political transition since the end of war in late 1980s. Hirst and Thompson (1999:2) have argued that the world economy, i.e. investment, and financial flows, is far from being genuinely ‘global’, it seems still dominated by three major economic powers; the Triad of Europe, North America, and Japan. Also, they have argued these major powers therefore have the capacity to dominate global politics and to coordinate a global-economic system, exerting powerful governance pressures over financial markets and other economic tendencies (*ibid.*). In this perspective of the global economy and superpower dominance, aid can be an obstacle of local and national development in the global South. Webster (1991:171) has argued such “neo-colonialism aid” works on behalf of the capitalist industrialized centre, which might be an obstacle for development in the global South, because it could cause exploitation of local resources in the global South. Therefore, it most likely cannot be said that aid for educational development by JICA contributes positive peace in Cambodia.

In addition, the CJCC project has a problem of urban-centered development. Webster (1991:157) has argued that aid beneficiaries tend to be urban-centered, e.g. for the bureaucrats,

entrepreneurs, politicians, and industrial workers, etc., because the system of aid transfer is still very much dominated by the commercial interests of the donor economies. This is a typical issue of the centralization of aid contribution, which leads to economic disparity between the urban rich and the rural and urban poor. If we look at the per capita consumption in recent time, between 1994 and 2004, even with such a huge amount of foreign aid, the consumption of the poorest part of the population has risen only 8 per cent, while the richest have increased their consumption by 45 per cent (Sothath 2007:2). This data clearly shows the disparity and centralization of foreign-aid distribution.

In Cambodia, the heavily dollarized economy, and the rise in food prices of domestic and main food-trading partners⁹² have led to huge inflation, which is negatively affecting rural economic poor in particular (Ginting and Bird 2009:2–5:12). Such a current tendency of inflation is leading to further disparity between urban rich and rural poor in Cambodian society. In such a situation, if the educational-development effort contributes only to limited the urban rich populations, the disparity is strengthened, and it will be a cause of structural violence.

6.3.6 The relationship between Japanese and Cambodian individual practitioners

At the individual practitioners' level of development assistance, it is notable to discuss the relation between local people and practitioners from the global North. Concerning the relationship between the Cambodian and Japanese staff in JICA and CJCC, a Japanese officer said:

I have been working in development assistance in practical fields for about 20 years, so I know Japanese development officers. The reason why communication between local staff and Japanese staff does not go well is always the fault of the Japanese. Especially dispatched Japanese, what they call, experts in JICA's projects, tend to be arrogant against local people in the practical field. (Source: Interview with #5, Fieldwork, 2008)

⁹² Vietnam and Thailand are two main trading partners of Cambodian food industries.

As for the Cambodians, a Cambodian participant in the Japanese-language education, which used to be assisted by JICA said that:

Basically, the assistance by the Japanese people is quite positive for us, but because of the cultural differences there are some difficulties between individuals. For instance, some Cambodian students complained to me about a Japanese teacher's clothes and behavior. The Japanese are more influenced by western countries, so some Cambodian students cannot accept such a cultural difference. Also, Japanese people, including teachers, are sometimes arrogant, especially young people who do not have very much experience working with Cambodians. They are behaving like this: "It is common sense. Why can't you understand?" to the Cambodian staff (Source: Interview with #25. fieldwork, 2008).

As the interview shows, in the practical field of development, a donor's behavior, such as arrogance or lack of local knowledge, can have a negative influence on cross-cultural communication at the individual level. This might not only be JICA's issue, it may also apply to the behavior of the majority of donors from the global North. "If culture does not receive enough attention, it will not be possible to understand how formal political structures and institutions work" (Jonne and Verkoren 2005:10). Especially in the post-conflict situation, improving trustworthiness of institution is important in order to establish trust between individuals, groups, and parties (Verkoren 2005:297). In order to achieve positive peace, cultural dimension is significant. "Cultural positive peace would substitute legitimation of peace for the legitimation of violence in language, in science, in schools and universities . . . building a positive peace culture (Galtung 1996:34). Therefore, individual development practitioners at schools should be open and be sensitive about their attitudes.

6.3.7 Strategy of the infrastructure construction of CJCC

In addition, it is also notable to mention the construction of the CJCC building. As mentioned above, Japanese ODA and Japanese private companies are tightly connected, in particular, in the development consultants in JICA's development implementations (Søderberg and Berg 1996:78–79). In short, there are two large engineering consulting companies that dominate the

development consulting market in Japan: 1) Nippon Koei; and 2) Pacific Consultants. Each of them has a large budget and an enormous number of employees (both in Japan and overseas). The building of the CJCC is actually consulted and constructed by the Japanese private company, Pacific Consultants (JICA and Pacific Consultants International 2004). In other words, the construction of the CJCC was also beneficial to the Japanese market economy. It can be said that the construction of the CJCC is also part of a larger scheme aimed at expanding the liberal economic market in Cambodia. In this endeavor, Japanese private companies and Japanese ODA are highly connected.

6.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I examined how Japanese ODA with a particular focus on JICA's educational development assistance, can contribute to structural violence through explicit and implicit motives. Considering the STEMSAP project, I found that the science and mathematics educational-development effort has been implicitly distributed to support Japanese foreign-affiliated private companies by providing scientific logical knowledge to Cambodian people who are expected to become the human resources for a highly skilled labor force.

When examining the Japan Center project and Japanese-language education, I discovered that their service explicitly aims to strengthen Cambodian market economy for sustainable development. On the other hand, it implicitly aims to create Japanese-friendly Cambodian elite, whom are expected to become politically important in the longer run. I have argued that both of these projects – when seen from the theoretical and analytical lenses I have chosen – many contribute to structural violence, through a urban-focused development assistance that privileges the existing elite and opens up for limited new mobility, reproducing or perhaps even increasing the existing economic disparity between the urban rich and the

rural and urban poor and making a sustainable peace building more difficult. Also, the more general issue of development assistance was also investigated. Very massive development aid might cause structural violence of various sorts, such as arrogant attitudes of the practitioners, undermine the Cambodians' self-help efforts, increase corruption and aid dependency in the authorities. If we look at individual level, practitioners' arrogance, combined with lacking cross-cultural understanding, might also be understood as a cause of structural violence that is not compatible with Cambodia's local culture and the complex and fragile post-war situation.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUDING REMARKS

7.0 Introduction

This study has focused on Japanese ODA's educational development assistance in post-genocide Cambodia. In this final short chapter, I will first present a brief summary of the study, this also includes addressing in brief how the research questions were answered. Finally, I would like to briefly outline some challenges and recommendations for a further and more comprehensive study.

7.1 A brief summary of the study

In the last half century, modern history of Cambodia has been dramatic and conflict ridden. I have in the early part of this thesis described and analyzed the political events and conditions that deprived numerous people of their lives and destroyed their communities. Of a long chain of successive periods of turmoil and violent conflict, I have put particular emphasis on the civil war (1975–1979), when Pol Pot's communistic policies resulted in genocide and approximately 1.7 million people were killed for reasons that were mainly ideological. I have emphasised that a great number of victims of the genocide included the country's educated people—intellectuals, doctors, lawyers, school teachers and university professors, and even students. The very consequential fact that around 80 per cent of educated Cambodians lost their lives, forms the background for understanding the urgency for international assistance after the war had ended, and why large-scale assistance to educational development became so important. The post-war aid provided from the global North and other nations, Japan included, were assumed to assist Cambodian peace building and post-war reconstruction efforts, these two concepts have often been used interchangeably by the international donors,

overlooking the distinctions between the two concepts that I have highlighted in chapter two.

Besides of employing defence-force, police, and civilian personnel for logistic- and national election- support of the DDR intervention led by UNTAC, Japan, as one of the huge aid donors from the global North, has a policy that emphasises peace building and post-war reconstruction in many ways. Japanese ODA is known among other Western countries because of their large efforts of financial disbursement. In terms of educational sectoral development assistance, I have found that JICA has two aspects: 1) science education; and 2) Japanese-style business ethics and Japanese-language education. JICA's own policies articulate that such assistance programmes are part of its philanthropic peace building efforts. However, I have attempted to argue, based on theoretical and analytical concepts from development theory and peace studies that several controversial yet important questions can be raised about how the Japanese assistance in the education sector, might be underpinned by a set of implicit concerns and motives, which might in fact be characterised through the concepts of structural violence, aid dependency, economic and educational disparity between the urban rich and the rural and urban poor, and of corruption. All these issues understood through a political economy approach to how international aid operates in a fragile post-war situation. The specific research questions that have informed my study were as follows.

7.2 Responses to the research questions

- What are the explicit and implicit motives of JICA's educational development assistance as discerned in providing science, Japanese language and business ethics education services?

→Is Japanese aid for education promoting positive peace or indirectly functioning as structural violence?

Here, I would like to show how these questions were answered.

7.2.1 The findings of the explicit and implicit motives

In analysing and examining my primary data, it has become clear that these development projects have not only explicit (articulated at the levels of policies and strategies), but also implicit motives, that may be in contradiction to the explicit motives. Explicitly, JICA rationalizes the aims of their educational-development assistance as building peace via human-resources development for Cambodia. On the other hand, my own investigations through interviews and also through others studies of who aid operates in Cambodia, suggests there is also a less obvious implicit motive; these projects do in more indirect ways, promote Japanese commercial and economic interests also. The development assistance in science education, do promote development of human resources, that may be of high importance for promoting a liberal-economic marketing the country. Such an economic development, I have argued, will actually assist the Japanese private companies that are already investing commercially and those who plan to invest in Cambodia's natural resource-based sectors, and also in other non-primary sectors - all made very attractive by the low labour-costs and little protection of workers rights. Very concretely, I have found that the Japanese-language and business education will increase and benefit an elite, who through their access to these educational benefits, are very likely to be politically positive to Japan. They can for good reasons, be expected to be politically and economically important for Japan in the longer run. Based on such considerations, I think it is reasonable to say, that JICA's educational-development assistance is implicitly motivated by the promotion of political and economic benefits for the donor Japan.

7.2.2 Positive peace or structural violence?

Based on the above summary of my arguments, I have held that these implicit motives of

Japanese aid indirectly function in ways that can be understood analytically as structural violence. Regardless of whether JICA's policy makers acknowledge it or not, JICA's educational-development assistance indirectly contributes to increased market access of Japanese private companies, also in sectors that exploitation of natural- and human-resources are rampant. Also, such the urban-concentrated education services that Japan finances, might function to contribute to an increase in economic and social disparities between urban rich and rural and urban poor. In addition, the large amount of aid expenditure might, I have pinpointed, result in a deep aid-dependency that undermines Cambodians own self-help efforts, also through widespread corruption. Moreover, the top-down and culturally insensitive attitudes of many individual practitioners may also cause problems. As the theoretical framework of postwar reconstruction suggests, those providing development assistance to a war-torn society should be careful and sensitive in how to tackle cultural values and differences, in order to avoid post-war violence. The accumulative result of many aid practitioners that are careless in their ways of approaching national and local cultures and oblivious to the fragility of the situation of the post-war society, might also indirectly cause structural violence in Cambodia.

7.3 Recommendation for further studies

This study has mainly focused on JICA's motives for their educational-development efforts. This research opened a number of new questions which need a more detailed analysis of impacts, involving both qualitative and quantitative methods. For instance, how do JICA's implicit motives actually affect Cambodian rural society? How does JICA's educational-development assistance, in interplay with other intentional development efforts, influence for good and for bad the Cambodian elite? To what extent do the assistance efforts in Cambodia create employment, qualified and non-qualified labour and market access for

Japanese commercial actors? These are interesting, but controversial issues that future impact studies can provide much needed insights into. It is my hope that my preliminary study of indirect causes of structural violence in Cambodia, in such a post-war fragile situation, may make foreign aid agencies, including JICA, more careful and sensitive to a nation's quest for achieving enduring and positive peace.

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APPENDIX I
A list of interview informants

ID No.	Organization	Position	Sex	Nationality	Date of Interview/Meeting
#1	JICA	JICA Officer	F	Japanese	13/06/2008 14/07/2008
#2	JICA	JICA Officer	M	Japanese	13/06/2008 (No Record)
#3	JICA/CJCC	Director of CJCC	F	Cambodian	19/06/2008
#4	JICA/CJCC	CJCC Officer	F	Cambodian	19 /06/2008
#5	JICA/CJCC	JICA Officer	M	Japanese	19/06/2008
#6	JICA/ working at RTTC in Kandar province	JOCV: teaching expert of Science education	F	Japanese	20/06/2008
#7	JICA./ working at RTTC in Prei Ven province	JOCV: teaching expert of Science education	F	Japanese	20/06/2008
#8	JICA/ working at RTTC in Takeo province	JOCV: teaching expert of Science education	M	Japanese	20 /06/2008
#9	JICA/ working at PTTC in Prei Ven province	JOCV: teaching expert of Science education	M	Japanese	20/06/2008
#10	JICA/ working at PTTC in Takeo province	JOCV: teaching expert of Science education	F	Japanese	20/06/2008
#11	NIE	Science Education Advisor in NIE	M	Japanese	16/06/2008 27/06/2008
#12	NIE	Science Education Advisor in NIE	M	Japanese	16/06/2008
#13	JICA/ working at RULE	JOCV: Japanese Language teacher	F	Japanese	17/07/2008
#14	JICA/ working at RULE	JOCV: Japanese Language teacher	F	Japanese	17/07/2008

#15	RUPP/ILA	Japanese Language teacher	M	Japanese	15/06/2008 (No Record)
#16	JICA/ working at NUM	JOCV: Japanese Language teacher	F	Japanese	27/06/2008
#17	RULE	Student of Japanese Language course	M	Cambodian	25/06/2008
#18	RULE	Student of Japanese Language course	M	Cambodian	25/06/2008
#19	RULE	Student of Japanese Language course	F	Cambodian	25/06/2008
#20	RULE	Student of Japanese Language course	F	Cambodian	25/06/2008
#21	CJCC	Student of Japanese Language course	F	Cambodian	19/06/2008
#22	CJCC	Student of HRD course	M	Cambodian	19/06/2008
#23	NUM	Student of Japanese Language course	F	Cambodian	27/06/2008
#24	NUM	Student of Japanese Language course	M	Cambodian	27/06/2008
#25	RUPP/ ILA	Director of ILA	F	Cambodian	25/06/2008

APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW GUIDE



Dear Sir/Madam,

This is strictly an academic exercise being carried out by the under signed student in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Master Philosophy in Peace and Conflict Transformation at the Centre for Peace Studies in University of Tromsø, in Norway. I would be very glad if you could respond to the following questions, and each response will be highly appreciated. I only use all information that will be gathered from you for my project of thesis, and all information will be treated with all confidentiality.

I appreciate understanding and cooperating of you.

Your sincerely,

Date:

Name: Chihiro Yabe

.....

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APPENDIX III

Interview checklist to JICA officers and CJCC decision makers

Checklist	Detail questions to be asked
Policy	What is your organization's main policy of educational development in Cambodia
Time	When is the project started?
Aims/goals	<p>What is your organization's project goal in educational sector?</p> <p>What are your organization's overall aims in Cambodia?</p> <p>How is the educational sector important on your organization?</p> <p>Through the educational development, what does your organization expects Cambodian society to change?</p>
Relation to-peacebuilding	<p>How do you evaluate of your contribution for educational reconstruction in Cambodia?</p> <p>How do you think the project contributes for peace-building in Cambodia?</p> <p>What kind of positive impacts do you expect for educational reconstruction?</p>
Outcomes/Results	<p>What do you think the most actual effective result by 2007 in educational sector?</p> <p>What are the ongoing challenges (or difficulties) of the project? (if you think you have)</p> <p>How do you think the collateral contributions and impacts of your project?</p> <p>What are the considerable collateral problems that you suppose to occur in Cambodian society? (If you think you have)</p>

<p>Number of staffs.</p>	<p>How many project staffs are there? (Japanese Cambodian:)</p> <p>How many teachers do you have?</p> <p>How many students are there?</p>
<p>Internal strength and weakness</p>	<p>What is the project's vantage (strength) compare to other donors?</p> <p>Is the project's financial budget enough?</p> <p>Is the number of staff in the project enough?</p> <p>Are the quality and local knowledge of Japanese teachers enough?</p> <p>Are there any challenges difficulties of cross cultural issues?</p>
<p>External opportunities and threats</p>	<p>What is the project's biggest contribution of the social development in Cambodia?</p> <p>How do you think the project affects the Cambodian people?</p> <p>Do you think that your intervention somewhat influenced of Cambodian people and social structure? >If yes, how?</p> <p>Are (were) there any factors that makes Cambodian society worse? i.e) expansion of the difference between poor and rich.</p>
<p>Motives</p>	<p>How the cooperation system started?</p> <p>Who suggested the project first? >Is the project started from Cambodian government's demand?</p>

	<p>What is the main reason for starting the project?</p> <p>What is the mutual (Cambodia and Japan) benefit of the project?</p> <p>What is benefit for Japan of the project in the perspective of international politics or economy?</p> <p>What is your organization's benefit of the project?</p>
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APPENDIX IV

Interview checklist to JOCV Japanese Volunteer teachers

a) Background information

Age

Sex

A. Male

B. Female

Nationality

How long have you been in Cambodia?

What are you teaching in Cambodia?

How long have you been teaching?

How many students do you have now?

How many alumni do you have?

b) Aims and Goals

What is your aim of teaching?

What is your school's overall aim in educational development project Cambodia?

How do you think the educational sector important on your school?

Through the educational development, what do you think JICA expects Cambodian society to change?

How do you evaluate of your contribution for educational reconstruction in Cambodia?

How do you think the project contributes for peace-building in Cambodia?

What kind of positive influence do you expect for higher educational reconstruction do you

expect?

c) Results

What do your alumni mainly do?

What do your students mainly do? If they are students, what do they mainly study?

What do you think the most actual effective result by 2007 in the course which you are participating?

Are there any students who dropped out during the course? How many?

What are the ongoing challenges of your teaching?

Do you think your participating educational project contribute another sector? i.e. social economic development, human rights, decrease poverty etc.

What are the considerable indirect problems that you suppose to occur in Cambodian society? (If you think you have)

What are the main changes in your school?

d) About Development intervention

What do you think JICA's benefit of teaching Science/ Japanese/ Business?

Are there any problem related with cultural differences?

>If yes, what are those?

How do you compete with the cultural difference?

What is the challenge of working in Cambodia?

Are there any remaining problems that JICA/and, its teachers have thought about?

APPENDIX V

Interview checklist to Cambodian students (service receivers)

a) Background information

Which course are (were) you taking?

- A) Japanese language course B) Business course C) Both D) Others

Age

Sex A. Male B. Female

Nationality

Which province are you from?

Your Occupation: a) university student b) other student c) public servant
d) worker in private company. e) others.....

If you are a student, which school are you in?

If you are a university student, what is your major?

How many family members do you have?

Which do you think your family's social class? A) lower class B) Middle class C)upper class

b) Motivation

How did you know the course?

Why did you decided to take the course?

What did you expect the course before you started?

What is your aim of this class?

c) Results

Do you think you have changed by the course?

>If so, how? >If not, what did you expect?

If you are Alumni, how are you using the knowledge that you have learned from the course?

If you are still taking the course, how do you expect to use the knowledge that you have learned from the course?

d) Evaluation

Do you think the class is valuable for you?

>If so, how? >If not, why?

How do you think about your teacher's behaviour?

What do you think about Japan? Or Japanese people?

Has that image changed after you took the Japanese (language or business) course?

How do you think about foreign countries' development assistance?

Are you satisfied with the class?

>If so, how? >If not, why?