

How do diverse stakeholder groups perceive the activities of non-government organisations (NGOs) working with disadvantaged children in Siem Reap, Cambodia?

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ABSTRACT

Despite approximately two decades passing since the end of conflict in Cambodia, one third of Khmer remain in multi-dimensional poverty. Many non-government organisations (NGOs) work to help Khmer address the impacts of poverty. However, limited literature exists which investigates the success of NGOs in Cambodia, especially research from the perspective of disadvantaged children, or the multiple stakeholders affected by their work. This research investigated the views of four stakeholder groups, including children, directly engaged with two NGOs delivering services in Siem Reap, Cambodia. Social constructionism provided the foundation for a case study methodology, which informed how data was collected, including via field notes, interviews, and focus groups. Once data was collected, a thematic analysis process produced six themes. These themes were: i) Culture: Common characteristics of Khmer participants; ii) Constructs of poverty; iii) Jobs, desired jobs and what do I do to get these jobs? Education!; iv) Student outcomes from NGO interventions; v) Resource limitations; and vi) Socialisation, friendships and benefits. Three theoretical discussions drawing on ideas from: Sen's *Development as freedom* (2001), postcolonialism (Allina 2021; Gandhi 1998; Loomba 2005; McEwan 2009), and Pfeffer and Salancik's *the External Control of Organizations* (2003), were then used in the re-interpretation of the research results. These re-interpretations helped demonstrate how the two NGOs addressed the unfreedom's of poverty for Khmer people, the success of which, is partly explained by both NGOs being Indigenous-controlled. This included the Indigenous control of Global North donations/resources (for the majority). Both of these factors (Indigenous control of NGOs and resources/donations) allowed the organisations to respond to local needs and provide services that met this agenda.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Signed: Matthew Ankers

Date: 24th October 2022

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GLOSSARY OF KEY TERMS

Child

The United Nations (UN) Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (1989) Article 1 states that a child is any human under the age of 18 years unless the law of the state applicable to the child recognises adulthood at an earlier age (Cambodian Children’s Fund 2014; UN 1989). For the purposes of this thesis, any reference to 'child, children, youth or young person' will assume the definition found in Article 1 in the Convention of the Rights of the Child (1989) with one caveat:

A child is considered any person of approximately 18 years or younger.

The distinction is adopted as a disadvantaged child may not have precise knowledge of their date of birth, or may be enrolled in education that is appropriate for their learning level, but not necessarily their age.

Colonisation, postcolonial, neocolonialism and postcolonialism

The terms *colonisation*, *postcolonial*, *neocolonialism* and *postcolonialism* share similar identifiers, and as a consequence, clarification is needed. The term *colonisation/colonialism* refers to a nation’s expansion, occupation and settlement of foreign territories in the form of colonies, often despite the presence of an Indigenous people (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner 2006; Allina 2021; Loomba 2005). In relation to the terms *postcolonial* and *neocolonial*, Loomba (2005) notes that a former colony may be both *postcolonial* in the sense that it is formerly independent from the colonial power, but also neocolonial in its continued dependence on the former colonial power. For clarity, postcolonial references any period of independence after colonisation, whereas continued dependence of former colonies on the coloniser, or continued exploitation of former colonies by colonisers, is the concept of *neocolonialism* (Loomba 2005). Finally, any reference to *postcolonial(ism)* that lacks a hyphen between ‘post’ and ‘colonial’ indicates a reference to theory.

Developing country

The term 'developing country' is considered problematic among academics and international agencies as it implies a deficit between the developed and the undeveloped (Schafer, Haslam & Beaudet 2021). The term also sets an undertone, or expectation that undeveloped countries need to achieve ‘developed’ status (with the aid of a developed nation to achieve it of course!) (Schafer, Haslam & Beaudet 2021). The negative and problematic associations of the term are acknowledged in this thesis. However, in some chapters, such as the literature review, its use was necessary (for example, to search for literature) due to the

prominence of the term in published material. Where possible, the distinction 'Global North/Global South' has been used to acknowledge the divide between countries with considerable wealth and influence, and those without these things. Where 'developing country' has been used, attempts have been made to limit any implied deficit in the use of the term, which is used as a neutral descriptor only.

Specifically, the term 'developing country' references any country where a population's needs, in whatever form, are inadequately met (though arguably no country addresses all its population's needs perfectly). This includes basic human needs such as shelter, food, clothing and security. It also includes infrastructure needs such as employment (income and conditions), health, sanitation and transport (including people, goods, food and information). Another consideration is government and institutional structures whose policies and/or actions block, restrict, repress, or which are inefficient in the supply of, granting access to various services (Schafer, Haslam, & Beaudet 2021).

Global North/Global South

Global North/Global South represents one of several naming conventions used to separate countries into those that have considerable financial, material, political and industrial capacity, and those that do not (Allina 2021). Other naming conventions include first world/third world and developed/developing, both of which suggest a superior/deficit dualism, and as such are problematic in their use (Schafer, Haslam & Beaudet 2021). The North-South distinction has its origins in a report by the Brandt Commission on the state of the world from 1980, and 1983; this report divided the globe between an affluent North, and a poor South rather than US/Russian influenced states (the original distinctions for first world/third world) (Dodds 2014; Willis 2011). This distinction has its own issue as several wealthy 'developed' countries exist in the geographic South (such as Australia, New Zealand and Singapore), as much as there are poorer 'developing' nations in the geographic North (for example, Afghanistan or North Korea) (Allina 2021; Willis 2011). Despite this, the deficit implied by other naming conventions is reduced when using the Global North/Global South distinction, and hence has been adopted in this thesis to define differences in financial, material, industrial and political capacity between nations. One additional naming convention is Majority world/Minority world where the Majority represents the greater global population living in the 'Global South', compared to the smaller population living in the 'Global North' (the Minority) (Willis 2011). The term is purposeful in its assignment of the deficit to 'the haves' (Minority world), as that deficit in terminology is so frequently given to 'the have nots'. This terminology was considered for use in this thesis. However, when used, it quickly

became cumbersome and confusing to read, and so a stylistic choice was made to use Global North/Global South instead.

Intervention, service, program

Used in this thesis interchangeably to reference any training, education, apprenticeship or activity provided by NGOs (non-government organisations) where the objective is to improve capability for those who access an organisation's services.

Khmer

Indigenous people of Cambodia.

Khmer Rouge

The name given to the Cambodian communist movement that took control of Cambodia in 1975 and killed approximately 1.5 to 2 million Cambodians during its four-year reign (Chapman 2013; Cook & Gong 2011; Tully 2005).

Non-government organisations (NGOs)

A concise and accurate definition of an NGO is difficult given the broad nature in which they exist, but NGOs in their simplest understanding are organisations that exist independently of a nation's government. NGOs are sometimes also described as private organisations. More broadly, the work of NGOs focuses on various causes such as humanitarian aid, community advocacy, empowerment, poverty alleviation, and training and education (Ferguson & Heidemann 2009; UN & CS 1999; Veltmeyer 2021). NGOs may advocate for change in government policy on behalf of the disadvantaged and marginalised to increase their civil rights, or provide a voice to the 'voiceless', this includes advocating for the environment (Brown, Ebrahim & Batliwala 2012; Howell 2013). NGOs can be religious or nonsectarian, and can have varying structures including size, missions and governance, as well as different levels of funding and access to resources (Ferguson & Heidemann 2009; UN & CS 1999). NGOs will also have different levels of effectiveness in their capacity to develop, implement and/or deliver services based on the available funding, resources, and/or competency of those running the service (Ferguson & Heidemann 2009; UN & CS 1999).

NGOs may be local (and/or grassroots), national, regional, or internationally based or operated, and be for profit or not-for-profit (Ferguson & Heidemann 2009; UN & CS 1999). International NGOs may partner with local 'on-the-ground' NGOs or those with similar outlooks/missions, to achieve their goals (Save the Children n.d.). NGOs may also have broad and wide-ranging goals such as all children receiving a primary education, to more targeted initiatives aimed at specific local needs (Thomas de Benitez 2003). Finally,

concerns exist around NGOs who receive funding from governments/nation states, as 'requirements' or 'conditions' placed on funding (sometimes called aid conditionality) can impact an organisation's independence (Howell 2013; Temple 2014; Wallace 2004). Given the diverse nature by which NGOs exist and operate, a broad definition was adopted in this thesis, specifically: An NGO is an organisation that is 'non-government' and works with, or on the behalf of, a defined 'stakeholder' group towards the betterment of that group.

Poverty

Poverty, in essence, is material deprivation and an inability to increase one's access to material goods, due to various inhibiting factors (UNICEF 2016). However, the circumstances that cause poverty are often complex and multifaceted, which also makes it hard to both quantify and address. In 2015, the World Bank attempted to quantify poverty using individual monetary measures with two thresholds – extreme poverty and absolute poverty. The World Bank set its financial measure for 'extreme poverty' as a household who received less than US\$1.90 per individual, per day; absolute poverty is living at or above the US\$1.90 per person, per day but still struggling to survive (Schafer, Haslam & Beaudet 2021; UNICEF 2016). The World Bank's measure approximates the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of several of the world's poorest countries, adjusted against the Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) of those countries (the buying power of a dollar), to establish the cost associated with the basic needs of survival (Schafer, Haslam & Beaudet 2017; UNICEF 2016). Desai (2017) notes of the PPP that people in poorer countries are thought to be able to do more with their lower wages, as the cost of goods and services in the local market are priced to reflect what people can afford. However, the PPP does not consider goods and services outside of the local market, which might also be needed, or even desired (Desai 2017).

Another criticism of the World Bank's monetary measure of poverty is the lack of quantification of what US\$1.90 means to a struggling family (Schafer, Haslam & Beaudet 2017; Spicker 2007). Further, monetary measures do not consider those households or individuals who exist just beyond the World Bank's definitions, but still arguably live in very challenging circumstances (Spicker 2007; UNICEF 2016; Van Krieken et al. 2006). This is especially the case if, for example, a person becomes sick or infirm (Sen 2001). On a related theme, Van Krieken et al. (2006) note how poverty as a concept may be a subjective one, with multiple factors that contribute, define and influence it. Likewise, Narayan et al. (2000) suggest that what a person or society considers to be poor, differs between country and culture, and monetary income may be subjective in its relationship to poverty. Despite the noted limitations of these definitions, monetary measures can still provide a useful yardstick

in understanding if levels of poverty are increasing, decreasing or stable (Schafer, Haslam & Beaudet 2017; Spicker 2007). However, caution must be used even in this instance, as a single measure can be distorted if, for example, there is a sudden increase in a country's income which only benefits a few, rather than the majority (Schafer, Haslam & Beaudet 2017). Schafer, Haslam and Beaudet (2017) provide the example of Equatorial Guinea whose GDP increased significantly in the 1990s with the discovery of oil deposits, while other development indicators, such as education and life expectancy, remained low (Schafer Haslam & Beaudet 2017). Hence, reliance on any one indicator of poverty is problematic and a greater scope is needed when investigating a given population.

One attempt to overcome the limitations of a single measure of poverty was introduced by the United Nation Development Program (UNDP) (UNDP 2015) which established the Human Development Index (HDI). The HDI measure considers a country's educational achievement, life expectancy and Gross Domestic Income (GDI) to gauge status and is based on the work of Amartya Sen. The HDI represents one of several multi-indicator measures, such as the Multidimensional Poverty Index or the Multiple Overlapping Deprivation Tool (UNICEF 2016) used to gauge the status of a country's population. The measure of HDI provides greater depth than the World Bank's income measure as it looks beyond the financial to the developmental by examining national educational achievements and life expectancy (UNDP 2015). However, like single indicators, multiple indicators can also have fundamental issues. For example, impoverished countries may have incomplete census data regarding their population's health and education status, but that data stills act as the basis from which to gauge the country's status, which is problematic as those who are missed in the census are probably those most in need (Spicker 2007).

The outlined issue with objective measuring instruments, coupled with the subjective nature of 'poverty' as a concept, makes it hard to define with a single, clean definition. However, there are identifiable circumstances that contribute to, and/or interfere with, a person's ability to move out of poverty, including (but not limited to) work (including availability and adequate income), financial capacity (savings or assets), social/cultural factors (such as discrimination, gender, or exclusion), and education (including the time and resources to undertake one) (Franchet 1996; UNICEF 2016; Van Krieken et al. 2006). Specifically on education, Baum (2008) notes how the increase in knowledge from gaining an education leads to better outcomes as ultimately it improves insight into what is possible, whereas continued poverty can entrench the status quo. Similarly, improved education can help people better understand their political rights and/or navigate institutional systems (UNICEF 2016). This includes understanding the availability of, and/or how to access, different

services, which if absent can perpetuate or even increase poverty (UNICEF 2016). A third driver of poverty can be environmental factors such as natural disasters, war, or even geography (barren ground or changing weather patterns for example) (UNICEF 2016). Hence, the definition of poverty used in this thesis is broad and refers to a person's (or group's) inability to address basic needs (let alone higher needs); these basic needs include food, work, safety, fuel, clothing and shelter. An inability to address these basic needs is linked to limited existing resources, and factors which inhibit a person (or group) from gaining more of them, including those listed above.

Western perspective / Eurocentrism

Pokhrel (2011) provides a succinct explanation of the main ideas that inform a Western perspective, or Eurocentrism:

Eurocentrism is generally defined as a cultural phenomenon that views the histories and cultures of non-Western societies from a European or Western perspective. Europe, more specifically Western Europe or "the West," functions as a universal signifier in that it assumes the superiority of European cultural values over those of non-European societies. Pokhrel (2011, p. 321)

Similar notions are discussed by Said (1978), who argues that the 'East' or the orient is a construct developed and controlled by those in the 'West' which he defined initially as Britain and France, with the later inclusion of the United States (also considered part of the West). European cultural values identified by Pokhrel (2011, p. 321) include 'individuality, human rights, equality, democracy, free markets, secularism, and social justice', which are described as modern and rational, and all broadly informing a Western perspective. A theme specific to this thesis is the Western perspectives of the child. This perspective partially suggests that children have the right to a childhood, and that activities that prevent this, such as work or labouring, should be prohibited (Beazley & Miller 2016; Maconachie & Hilson 2016; Miller 2022). Additionally, within these rights is the right of a child to an education, which as this thesis will demonstrate, is problematic when poverty is involved (Beazley & Miller 2016; Maconachie & Hilson 2016).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- BBC** – British Broadcasting Corporation
- BILA** – (US) Bureau of International Labor Affairs
- BINGO** – Big International Non-Government Organisation
- CCC** – Cooperation Committee for Cambodia
- CDC** – Council for the Development of Cambodia
- CIA** – (US) Central Intelligence Agency
- CMEYS** – Cambodian Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport
- CMOH** – Cambodian Ministry of Health
- CMOI** – Cambodian Ministry of Interior
- CMOT** – Cambodian Ministry of Tourism
- CNIS** – Cambodian National Institute of Statistics
- CPK** – Communist Party of Kampuchea
- CPP** – Cambodian People’s Party
- CRC** – (United Nations) Convention on the Rights of the Child
- CSES** – Cambodia Socio-Economic Survey
- CSO** – Civil Society Organisation
- ECO** – (book) *The External Control of Organizations*
- GDI** – Gross Domestic Income
- GDP** – Gross Domestic Product
- GN** – Global North
- GS** – Global South

HDI – Human Development Index

IPEC – International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour

ISS – (Flinders University’s) International Student Service

JBI – Joanna Briggs Institute

MOU – Memorandum of Understanding

MPI – Multidimensional Poverty Index

NECHR – (Cambodian) National Ethics Committee for Health Research

NIPH – (Cambodian) National Institute of Public Health

NGO – Non-Government Organisation

OPHI – Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative

PICO – Population, Intervention, Comparison intervention, and Outcome

PPP – Purchasing Power Parity

SBREC – (Flinders University’s) Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee

UN – United Nations

UN & CS – United Nations and the Civil Society

UNDP – United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNICEF – United Nations Children’s Fund

UNPD – United Nations Population Division

US – United States (of America)

USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 The briefing

To begin, this study has a focus on disadvantaged children living in Siem Reap, Cambodia. This focus comes from a personal interest in the area, which commenced in 2005 when I first visited the town as part of a trip to the temples at Angkor and was overwhelmed by the number of children selling goods on the streets and/or begging. Part of being overwhelmed was not having previously witnessed poverty on this scale. However, despite these children having little, when engaged, they demonstrated considerable drive to want to better themselves, which left an impression on me. The considerable poverty in Cambodia is due, in part, to a period of unrest that began in the late 1960s with US bombings, followed by a civil war instigated by the Khmer Rouge, then Vietnamese invasion/occupation, and finally, clashes between the remaining Khmer Rouge and government forces until 1999 (Chandler 2008). During the approximately three decades of unrest, many Cambodians either fled, became displaced, or were killed (Chandler 2008). The situation did not improve quickly following these events, either. For example, the World Bank estimated that 50.2% of all Cambodians were living below the poverty line in 2003, some four years after the conflict finally ended (World Bank 2021). This scale of poverty was clear in my first trip to the country in 2005. In the years that followed, Chheang (2011) suggests that the work of non-government organisations (NGOs) helped to reduce the number of children on the streets of Siem Reap (among other accomplishments). In more recent trips to the country, my limited observations would agree with Chheang's assessment that there were indeed fewer children on the street than when I first visited, and that the scale of poverty had also appeared to decrease.

The majority of sources reporting on Cambodian poverty cite either a 2011 Cambodia Socio-Economic Survey (CSES) report, or a World Bank report from 2014 which used the 2011 CSES to calculate a poverty rate of 13.5%¹ (Asia Development Bank 2021; UNDP 2019; UNDP 2021; World Bank 2014). The same World Bank (2014) report notes that many Cambodians who were recorded as living below the poverty line in 2004 had only just moved beyond it in 2011, suggesting many were still vulnerable. A more up-to-date website, also from the World Bank (2022), states that Cambodia has recently redefined its poverty line to one based on 'cost of basic needs' which is defined as US\$2.70 per person, per day. At this new level, approximately 18% of the country is considered to be living in poverty; this figure takes into account the impact of the COVID-19

¹ This percentage is based on a calculation of the average per capita spend on goods and services per day/household size, and the cost of a food basket containing 2200 calories per day. A minimum allowance for goods and services (based on the per capita findings) is added to the cost of the food basket, and any household with consumption below the food plus goods and services line is considered poor.

pandemic (World Bank 2022). Another measure of poverty is the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) established by the UNDP and Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative (OPHI) (OPHI 2020). The MPI measures poverty in three dimensions including health, education and living standards across ten indicators (Nutrition, Child Mortality, Years of Schooling, School Attendance, Cooking Fuel, Sanitation, Drinking Water, Electricity, Housing and Assets). The MPI suggests that a person is multidimensionally poor if they are deprived in one third or more of the ten indicators. Nationally, Cambodia registered 37.2% of the population as multidimensionally poor, with the greater proportion living in rural areas (42.8% compared to 8.2% in urban areas) (OPHI 2020). Hence, when other factors associated with poverty are considered beyond an estimate of the 'cost of basic needs', the breadth of poverty in Cambodia, while having improved since the early 2000s, is still a considerable issue.

In the thesis focus area of Siem Reap, there was a higher percentage of impoverished Khmer (22%) (Beazley & Miller 2016 citing Cambodian Institute of Development Study 2011) than reported nationally (13.5%) (Asia Development Bank 2021; UNDP 2021; UNDP 2019; World Bank 2014). The increased numbers of impoverished Khmer in the region was due, in part, to the strength of the tourist market in Siem Reap, which draws disadvantaged Khmer to the area seeking better opportunities (Chheang 2010; Miller 2020; Peou & Zinn 2015; Winter 2008). As noted above, historically NGOs appear to have had some success in addressing issues for disadvantaged Cambodians, especially children (Chheang 2011). The number and range of types of NGOs in Cambodia that exist(ed) to address the various issues related to poverty, especially in the absence of adequate state-based services, is considerable (Grossberg 2013; Khieng & Dahles 2015; Khieng & Dahles 2015a; Miller 2020). For example, the Cooperation Committee for Cambodia (CCC) reported that in 2010, Cambodia had approximately 3500 local and international NGOs/CSOs (civil society organisations) registered with two government departments (CCC 2012). One of these government departments was the Cambodian Ministry of Interior (CMOI), which commenced registration of NGOs/CSOs in 1991 and was responsible for 2982 of the 3500 listed organisations. However, this figure was a consolidation of registrations from 1991 onwards, rather than a maintained/current list and only around 1350 of all NGOs/CSOs registered in 2010 were active/contactable (CCC 2012). The number of registered NGOs/CSOs is still considerable and their decline in number over the last decade has been linked, in part, to changing donor trends and multiple years of successful economic growth within Cambodia that has resulted in international aid dollars moving offshore (CCC 2012; Khieng & Dahles 2015; Khieng & Dahles 2015a).

The reduction in international funding means NGOs have had to either compete harder for what limited funding remains, or identify new ways of generating resources (Khieng & Dahles 2015; 2015a). Regardless, given the MPI's findings that 37.2% of the Khmer population remains

multidimensionally poor, and in the absence of effective state-based responses to these issues (as evidenced both by the continued poverty and number of NGOs), the ability of NGOs to maintain funding in order to aid impoverished Khmer, is vital (Grossberg 2013; Khieng & Dahles 2015; Khieng & Dahles 2015a; Miller 2020; OPHI 2020). Research on the topic of NGOs and funding in Cambodia has been covered by several authors, and in considerable depth, with some examples including Suarez and Gugerty (2016), Khieng (2014), Khieng and Dahles (2015; 2015a), and Parks (2008). However, a pilot search of literature, conducted in databases Scopus and ProQuest, to inform my original research proposal (which investigated the main research focus discussed in this opening section of: *NGOs working with disadvantaged children in Siem Reap, Cambodia*) identified only limited research from Cambodia related to the topic (Kallio & Westerlund (2016) and Grossberg (2013) initially, and then Miller (2020) in later searches). Hence, research that might help NGOs to combat the numbers identified in the MPI report, or that discuss NGO successes, failures or how services might be improved, is limited (OPHI 2020). This led to the research question:

- **How do diverse stakeholder groups perceive the activities of NGOs working with disadvantaged children in Siem Reap, Cambodia?**

The research question is designed to be exploratory and open, so that the topic can be examined with only some limited assumptions about what might be found, given the sparse literature on the subject, which makes predictions or hypothesis difficult. Moreover, the question draws on diverse stakeholder perceptions of the NGOs so that a more complete picture of their work can be considered and evaluated, with a view to making potential recommendations for the betterment of services. The 'diverse stakeholder' component of the research question was established after a thorough review of academic literature (presented in Chapter 3). In this review, I identified that research investigating the perspectives of multiple stakeholders engaged with NGO interventions with disadvantaged children (globally, not just Cambodia) was absent in published literature. Hence, from a review of academic literature on topics related to my research interest, I was able to identify other aspects of the research question, which needed further investigation. These points also established the primary research objective:

- **To establish how different stakeholder groups perceive NGO services with disadvantaged children so that a more complete picture of the benefits, impacts and effects of services can be understood and evaluated in order to make recommendations for the betterment of services.**

An investigation of multiple stakeholder views will provide insight into an NGO's work with disadvantaged children, which is arguably missed in singular perspective studies. This study is also an opportunity to better understand NGOs working in this space, so that recommendations for

the betterment of services delivered to impoverished Khmer can be made. The thesis will also consider funding in some limited detail, despite the established literature, as the reduction in international funding discussed above suggests that NGOs will need to learn to do more, with less. Hence, any new insights into NGO funding that this thesis can identify may help to address these increasing limitations.

1.2 ‘Other gaps’ but who do I ask?

The review of academic literature in Chapter 3 identifies additional features of the research topic which I believe needed further investigation. One of these features concerns socialisation, or more specifically, aspects of socialisation like play and friendship forming that were discussed as ‘pull factors’ (see section 3.3.1.2.1), which helped lure disadvantaged children to a street-frequenting existence. However, a comparable discussion of ‘pull factors’ related to the work of NGOs who delivered services to similar cohorts, regarding subjects such as play and/or friendship forming, did not exist in academic literature. Similarly, there was limited academic research into the factors that help draw disadvantaged children to NGO services (recruitment), and/or keep them there (retention) once they commenced. This led to the secondary research objective:

- **To examine, and better understand, the ‘pull factors’ of NGO services (such as play and friendship forming), including a consideration of factors that help draw children to the organisation (recruitment) and keep them there (retention).**

The literature review also highlighted that published research on the topic of ‘NGOs working with disadvantaged children in developing countries’ regarding participants’ experiences of organisational interventions, was mostly from the adult’s perspective, with only limited studies exploring the child’s perspective. This led to the tertiary thesis objective:

- **To provide a voice to children receiving services, which traditionally has been neglected.**

However, to investigate any of the identified issues, I first had to establish contact with NGOs in Cambodia, as initially I had no connections in the country. This was accomplished firstly through a work colleague of my primary supervisor, whose parents had run an NGO in Siem Reap. The parents were asked by their child if it would be okay for me to contact them, and after they agreed, a number of emails were exchanged. This resulted in the colleague parents helping me make contact with the current managing director of their former NGO who, after some discussion regarding the study, agreed to have their organisation take part. The colleague’s parents also identified another potential contact in Siem Reap who ran an NGO and, after several emails regarding the nature of the study were exchanged, also agreed to have their NGO involved. Both NGOs were local, grassroots organisations run by Khmer, for Khmer, and are referred to hereafter

(and throughout the thesis) as *NGO-1* and *NGO_2*. *NGO-1* was the larger of the two organisations with approximately 60 staff at the time of data collection, who delivered services to roughly 1100 Khmer students, while *NGO_2* had approximately 20 staff and serviced around 470 Khmer students. People from the Global North (GN) had significant involvement with both NGOs as either long-term volunteers or, in the case of *NGO-1*, with positions on the board. However, all employees and NGO managing directors were local Khmer. Both NGOs were situated in villages on the outskirts of Siem Reap city (one north, one south), and each delivered services to those villages. However, the larger of the two NGOs had branched out, at the time of data collection, to deliver services to other recognised 'slum' areas (the word used by Khmer participants to describe regions of considerable disadvantage). Both NGOs provided:

- free, primary level education, in English (*NGO-1* also offered primary level education in Khmer that followed the state curriculum)
- a children's nursery
- English language classes for older students
- Information Technology classes and vocational training in a range of skills, such as sewing at *NGO_2* or hospitality at *NGO-1* (provided in a training restaurant).

The focus on these skills was intended to help students to take advantage of jobs that were available locally, such as those in the tourism and hospitality industries. Additionally, short-term volunteers from the Global North were utilised at both NGOs for different purposes (helping to teach or to build structures for example).

On education, the Cambodian government provides free schooling for all children aged five years and older, up to the 9th Grade (CMEYS 2019). However, the cost of uniforms, books and stationery, as well as unofficial costs for services such as private tuition, course content and exam papers can place an education out of reach for many impoverished Khmer (Grossberg 2013; Miller 2020; Miller 2022). Miller (2020) makes the additional point that schools are scarce in rural areas, which can add transport to the cost of attendance, and may help explain some of the greater deprivation recorded by the MPI in rural areas (see section 1.1). Two specific indicators from the MPI that concern education are Years of Schooling (considered deprived if no eligible member of a household has completed six years of primary schooling) and School Attendance (considered deprived if any child of school age, between schooling Years 1 to 8, is not attending school) (Alkire & Santos 2014; OPHI 2020). In Cambodia, the Years of Schooling measure indicated that 21.6% of national households lacked someone with at least six years of primary education, while 10.8% of households had a child not attending school from Years 1 to 8 (OPHI 2020). Both measures were considerably higher in rural areas in comparison to urban (Years of Schooling measure in urban areas was approximately 5% versus approximately 25% in rural areas, while the School

Attendance measure in urban areas was approximately 5% versus approximately 11% in rural areas)(OPHI 2020). Hence, barriers to education in Cambodia, despite the first nine years being free, are considerable and include the multiple factors discussed which prevent Khmer from attending school, as well as the MPI figures, which indicate the number of people affected. These different considerations also provide the necessary insight to appreciate why many NGOs (including the ones who participated in this research) focus their interventions in area such as education and/or vocation skills training.

1.3 What did I investigate? How did I investigate it? Who did I ask?

To address both the main research question and identified gaps, this study investigated various stakeholder groups engaged with the participating NGOs. To help identify these groups, the research drew on concepts from the theory of social constructionism which posits that reality is relative to the eye of the beholder (Lincoln & Guba 2013). This concept was expanded to groups by suggesting that individuals with similar identifiers such as age, geography, culture and social position, share similar realities, and hence have similar understandings for phenomena within those realities (Berger & Luckmann 1991; Crotty 1998; Patton 2015). This allowed for the investigation of shared understanding of phenomena in groups with similar attributes. Social constructionism also acted as a foundation for the thesis case study methodology (Patton 2015). Specifically, the multiple realities supported by social constructionism (multiple understandings of the same shared phenomena) are also present in case study research as it acknowledges that different groups can be investigated regarding, and hence have different meanings for, the same shared case (Yin 2014). In particular, the two NGOs were explored from the perspectives of several unique stakeholder groups who were affected by the organisation's work (the phenomena of interest – see section 5.3.1), so that different understandings of the same shared case (for example, the NGOs working with disadvantaged children), could be established and explored. These unique stakeholder groups were identified as:

- the children receiving services
- NGO staff and managers who facilitate and deliver services
- international volunteers who participate in services
- former students of the NGO services.

Former students, despite no longer being recipients of the NGOs' services, were nonetheless included in the research as their contributions would help understand people's outcomes after engaging with the organisations. This, in turn, would help address the research study proposition focus of employment and education (see section 5.3.1) as the former students' contributions would

aid understanding of how the NGOs helped (or did not help) people to gain work and/or access further education.

The four stakeholder perspectives were investigated through interviews and focus groups, which drew on a semi-structured interview guide. The interview guide was developed from the literature review reported in Chapter 3, and from discussions with locals working in the field. This approach helped identify and establish themes associated with the organisations, and the people who accessed their services. Specifically, the guide explored:

- stakeholder perceptions of NGO services
- how they thought children benefited from being a part of these services
- how they thought services could be improved.

Secondly, topics in the interview guide focused on:

- exploring stakeholder perceptions of the NGOs' primary services of education and employment training (the research study propositions)
- gaps identified in academic literature regarding NGO 'pull factors' including a consideration of factors that help draw students to the organisation (recruitment) and keep them there (retention).

To aid comparison, questions in the semi-structured interview guide did not change meaning between stakeholder groups, only context relative to the person's relationship to the child receiving services. For example, children were asked about the education they *received* from the NGO, whereas NGO staff were interviewed regarding the education they *delivered*. The actual number and type of people interviewed included three current and two former NGO managers, two current and one former head teacher, twelve NGO staff, eleven former students, and eight volunteers working across the two NGOs. In addition, four focus groups were conducted, with three current students in each (n=12), as well as the recording of notes during fieldwork at the NGO facilities. Interview and focus group data was then transcribed (translated and transcribed in some instances) and thematically analysed, then cross-referenced with notes taken during fieldwork. As the research focused on multiple Cambodian stakeholder groups, it was theorised that where those groups demonstrated similar traits, these traits would be suggestive of Khmer culture and were purposefully analysed and reported on first, to help place the broader results in context.

1.4 What did I find?

After data analysis was complete, six major themes were identified. The first theme, as already indicated, was titled *Culture: Common characteristics of Khmer participants*, which presents the similar features identified, across Khmer responses. These features included a desire to

demonstrate good moral character, a modestness regarding material possessions, and the willingness to share those possessions with others, especially family. The second theme was *Constructs of poverty*, which explored how Khmer people perceived, and were affected by, poverty as well as how they discussed NGO attempts to help them overcome it. The third theme was *Jobs, desired jobs and what do I do to get these jobs? Education!* This, true to its name, examined the types of jobs participants wanted and the skills and education needed to gain those jobs (which included the benefit of learning a second language and computer skills). This theme also introduced the construct of NGOs functioning as a career path for local Khmer. The fourth theme was *Student outcomes from NGO interventions*, which focused on the achievements of NGO graduates, including the jobs they had gained and/or the higher education they now attended. The fifth theme was *Resource limitations*, which explored the effects of resourcing on organisation, including their ability to provide services to all potential children who might need them. The sixth and last theme was *Socialisation, friendships and benefits*, which explored constructs of friendship forming and the benefits for those who attended NGO services.

1.5 What helped interpret data? What did these ‘interpretations’ reveal? And addressing the ‘other gaps’

Social constructionism informed both the ontology and epistemology of the research and, as discussed, acted as the theoretical foundation for the case study methodology. The social construction of the child and childhood was also explored in the social constructionism section, to help examine, and understand issues related to the child’s inclusion in the research. Three additional theoretical discussions were then produced to aid in the re-interpretation of the research findings (after the conclusion of the thematic analysis). The first of these theoretical discussions draws on concepts from Amartya Sen’s (2001) *Development as freedom*, which considers how various freedoms and/or unfreedoms affect people’s ability to perform different functionings/capabilities. Sen’s ultimate message in *Development as freedom* is that people should have the substantive freedom to choose a life, they have reason to value. In this thesis, Sen’s concepts help clarify the unfreedoms of poverty for Khmer people, the impact of NGO interventions, and whether those interventions assisted people to develop a life they have reason to value.

Postcolonialism (Allina 2021; Gandhi 1998; Loomba 2005; McEwan 2009) is the second theoretical discussion, it considers the impact of colonisation, on the colonised (including reactions and resistances to colonisation), and can be used in the unpacking of these events (Gandhi 1998). The original intent of using postcolonialism in this thesis had been to examine the impact of French colonisation on the Khmer people. However, after researching the considerable impact of the Khmer Rouge on contemporary Cambodia, I realised that the original intended use of postcolonialism would be a challenging, if not impossible task, given the almost total destruction of

all things pertaining to education and knowledge (including any enduring French colonial knowledge). Instead, postcolonial ideas are used in the exploration of how and why Khmer use English, and to help consider its effect, and as a lens to investigate dualism in the research data. Specifically, the investigation for dualisms helped identify the contrasting levels of freedom/unfreedom between participants, Global North/Global South divides and the changing relationship with education between different generations of Khmer. The final theoretical discussion draws ideas from *The External Control of Organizations* (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003) which considers the influence of the external environment on the activities of organisations. Two ideas from this work, diversification and legitimacy, helped in understanding how NGOs in Cambodia address funding issues, and how the community and donors perceive the work of the organisations.

Finally, the 'other gaps' were addressed in the closing chapter of the thesis. Specifically, the secondary objective, which explored NGO 'pull factors' such as play and friendship forming, as well as those factors that drew students to the organisation (recruitment) and helped keep them there (retention), was presented first. Interestingly, participant responses did not identify a specific method of recruitment used by the NGOs to help recruit people to the organisations. Rather, the work of the NGOs, including positive perceptions of that work such as the perceived good quality of their education, resulted in a by-product-like effect, which attracted students to the organisations and/or encouraged them to promote the organisation to family/friends. Likewise, siblings and parents who observed an increase in the capabilities of their family member from attendance at the NGO, produced a similar by-product-like effect where sister/brothers wanted to attend themselves to gain comparable benefits, or where parents actively promoted the NGO to others in the community. Hence, a by-product of the actual work of the NGO, and/or the results of their interventions with students being witnessed by others, is a form of recruitment that helps attract, promote or even draw students to the organisations. In addition, students made friends during their time at the NGO. An unanticipated benefit of these friendships was the aid it provided to the students' work, as they now had peers to consult with, and learn from. These friendships, along with an overall positive perception of the NGO, aided retention through positive association. The tertiary research objective is also addressed in the final chapter. This section demonstrates how inclusion of the child in the research design helped identify aspects of their reality that would have been missed in a study of adults only.

1.5.1 Scope

This section provides detail regarding the scope of the thesis. This is achieved by presenting an overview of 'what this thesis does', as well as giving some considerations to 'what this thesis does not', so that the reader has a better understanding of the overall focus and extent of the research.

What this thesis does:

- **Utilises principles from social constructionism to inductively² examine the perceptions of four diverse stakeholder groups engaged with two NGOs working with disadvantaged children in Siem Reap, Cambodia.**
- **Reports the common constructs of stakeholder perceptions, which should be noted as contextually specific to 2019 when the data was collected (importantly, in a pre-COVID-19 world), and to the perspectives of those impacted by the NGOs' work.**
- **Provides an analysis of the stakeholder's common constructs against three theoretical discussions developed from:**
 - **Amartya Sen's *Development as freedom* (2001) to investigate freedoms, unfreedoms and capability change**
 - **postcolonial theory to explore how and why Khmer use English and to examine its effect, and as a lens to identify dualisms**
 - ***The External Control of Organizations* by Pfeffer and Salancik (2003) to explore environmental factors that affect NGO funding, how they respond, and community and donor perceptions of the organisations.**

What this thesis does not do:

This thesis could have been many things as the subject has multiple dimensions, but to clarify, this thesis does not provide:

- **a critique of the NGO education**
- **a review of the Cambodian government, its policies/legislation, institutions, and/or their impact on the country**
- **a review of the Millennial Development Goal or similar United Nations (UN) initiatives and how they relate to the local NGOs (much of which does not penetrate to local institutions)**
- **a review of international NGOs**
- **a critique of child labour (though elements of the topic are explored).**

1.6 Chapter overviews

Chapter 1: Introduction

The introductory chapter identifies the continued scale of poverty in Cambodia, and the many NGOs which exists to help combat it, as background for establishing the research question. An

² Research findings are generated from an analysis of the raw data; no frames or theories are used to help explain the data set (deductive research) (Green & Thorogood 2014).

overview of the research presented in this thesis is then given, before a summary of what this thesis does, and does not (do), is discussed. Finally, this chapter provides a summary of thesis chapters (this section) so that the organisation of the study is clear to the reader.

Chapter 2: Setting the scene: A Cambodian primer

Chapter 2 acts as the foundation for the study by highlighting both historical and current events of significance, including the country's recent and considerable unrest that has resulted, in part, in the establishment of many NGOs. Chapter 2 also examines Cambodian demographic data regarding population, education and employment, as well as investigating Cambodian religion and culture to provide depth and context to the thesis discussion.

Chapter 3: Literature review

Chapter 3 is a review of academic literature on the subject of NGOs working with disadvantaged children in developing countries. Included is a description of the search strategy used to identify literature, the inclusion and exclusion criteria, and the analysis process. Subjects covered within the chapter include the multiple ways in which children find themselves disadvantaged and in need of NGO services, as well as the spaces children occupy geographically due to disadvantage. Chapter 3 also explores issues experienced by NGOs who provide services in developing countries, the common types of services they offer and the ideologies that inform them. Finally, Chapter 3 presents recommendations from the literature.

Chapter 4: A social constructionist guide to reality

Chapter 4 presents four theoretical discussions that together, both guide the thesis and aid understanding of the research results. The first of these theoretical discussions is social constructionism which acts as the foundation for the thesis's case study methodology, while also informing both the ontology and epistemology of the research. The last discussion in the social constructionism section introduces the social construction of the child and childhood, to aide examination, and to help understand, issues arising from the child's inclusion in the research. Next, Chapter 4 presents the three theoretical discussions used in the re-interpretation of the research results. The first of these theoretical discussions draws on concepts from Amartya Sen's (2001) *Development as freedom*, to explore how various 'freedoms' and 'unfreedoms' affect a person's ability to perform different functions. The second theoretical discussion is postcolonialism, which considers the effect of colonisation on a country, including the rise and impact of anti-colonial movements (Gandhi 1998). The final theoretical discussion draws ideas from *The External Control of Organizations* by Pfeffer and Salancik (2003) to understand the impact of the external environment on NGOs and how they respond in kind.

Chapter 5: Thesis objectives, case study methodology, methods, and establishing the trustworthiness of the research

Chapter 5 begins by presenting limitations in current research, as identified from the review of academic literature in Chapter 3. It then establishes the research objectives, which address the identified gaps, as well as expanding on the main research question. Chapter 5 then presents the case study research design and demonstrates how this methodology fits within a social constructionist paradigm. A detailed description of the research methods is then provided; this includes the sampling and recruitment method, the data collection process, and how the collected data was analysed. Chapter 5 also outlines how ethical concerns were addressed, with a specific focus on the steps taken to mitigate impact to vulnerable groups. Finally, the chapter outlines how the research addressed credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

Chapter 6: Results Part A – common Khmer cultural constructs, viewpoints on poverty and NGO activities

Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 present a detailed analysis of participants' interviews, focus groups and fieldnotes gathered during data collection in the period April to June 2019, and on follow-up member checking in December 2019. Specifically, two major themes identified from the analysis of data are detailed in Chapter 6 (Themes 1 and 2 of 6). Firstly, Theme 1 – *Culture: Common characteristics of Khmer participants* details the shared constructs identified across Khmer responses. These constructs include a modestness regarding material possessions, a desire to demonstrate good moral character, and a collectiveness whereby people work for the betterment of the group rather than the individual. Theme 2 – *Constructs of poverty*, examines how Khmer people socially construct poverty and how they frame and understand the work of the NGOs.

Chapter 7: Results Part B – jobs, employment, and education; outcomes of interventions; NGO resources and socialisation

Chapter 7 presents Themes 3 to 6 (of 6) identified from the analysis of participant data. The first of these is Theme 3 – *Jobs, desired jobs and what do I do to get these jobs? Education!* In this theme, participants discussed the types of jobs they desired, the skills they needed to get these jobs (which included the benefit of learning a second language and computer skills) and introduced the construct of NGOs functioning as a career path for local Khmer people. The theme also explores constructs related to education, including participants' perceptions of state schools, sufficient levels of schooling, and the relationship of different generations of Khmer to education. Theme 4 – *Student outcomes from NGO interventions* focuses on graduates of NGO services and what they had achieved as a result of attendance at the NGO. Theme 5 – *Resource limitations* examines how the NGOs were resourced and discusses how limitations in resourcing impacted on NGOs' service provision, including their ability to offer services to all who might have needed them. Theme 6 – *Socialisation, friendships and benefits* explores constructs of friendship and the benefits of these for those who attended the NGOs.

Chapter 8: Let's interpret the results: A discussion section

Chapter 8 begins by summarising the different stakeholder perceptions regarding the activities of NGOs working with disadvantaged children, to answer the thesis's main research question. The thesis findings are then re-interpreted against the three theoretical discussions presented in Chapter 4. Specifically, concepts from Amartya Sen's (2001) *Development as freedom* are used to help understand the unfreedoms of poverty for Khmer people, and how the NGOs in this study aided recipients of services to increase their freedoms. Secondly, ideas from postcolonialism (Allina 2021; Gandhi 1998; Loomba 2005; McEwan 2009) are used to explore how and why Khmer use English, and as a lens to help identify dualism. Thirdly, ideas from *The External Control of Organizations* by Pfeffer and Salancik (2003) are examined to help understand how NGOs address challenges in their external environment and how those external to the organisation perceived their work. Finally, a combination of concepts including neocolonialism (Veltmeyer 2021; Wallace 2004), ideas from *The External Control of Organisations* by Pfeffer and Salancik (2003) and Sen's (2001) *Capability and Freedom* are interwoven in the last section of the chapter to demonstrate how the organisations' unique use of resources addresses two issues related to NGOs, in the development literature. This closing section also highlights the importance of Global North resources for the organisations, the importance of the local control of those resources, and the importance of Indigenous-controlled NGOs for Khmer people.

Chapter 9: Answering the research question; Addressing the primary, secondary and tertiary objectives; and study limitations

Chapter 9 begins with a review of the thesis chapters and discusses how they contribute to, and help establish, the thesis argument. The thesis argument is then presented. The chapter then presents the research findings which address the secondary and tertiary objectives of the thesis; these findings are also examined against the academic literature reviewed in Chapter 3, to help place them in context. Chapter 9 also addresses the primary objective of the thesis by presenting the research recommendations for the betterment of service which, as a direct extension of ideas presented in Chapters 6, 7 and 8, are grounded in participants' contributions to the research. Finally, Chapter 9 considers the thesis's limitations.

CHAPTER 2: SETTING THE SCENE – A CAMBODIAN PRIMER

2.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 presents a Cambodian primer, which has a focus on Angkor and the research location of Siem Reap, and begins by examining historical events of significance to the region. These events include French colonisation, the Khmer Rouge, Vietnamese occupation, and the resulting impact of decades of war which, when combined, provide understanding for the continued presence of many NGOs in the country. Chapter 2 also investigates current Cambodian demographics including population, education and employment, as well as providing an overview of Cambodian religion and culture. The accumulated knowledge presented in this chapter is designed to help 'set the scene' and act as a contextual basis for the research. It also provides the reader with a background on topics related to Cambodia, to aid understanding throughout the thesis.

2.2 Cambodian primer – ancient Angkor to French colonisation (9th century AD – 1953)

The geographic location of this study, Siem Reap, is situated close to the stone temples and shrines of Angkor, both of which are located in the northwest of modern-day Cambodia. Angkor itself was part of the ancient Khmer empire, who dominated the region between the 9th and 15th centuries AD (Fletcher et al. 2015). At its peak, the Khmer Empire stretched from Laos and Thailand in the north, to the Mekong delta in the south of Vietnam (Chapman 2013; Winter 2008), with the urban footprint of Greater Angkor covering an area of approximately 1000 km² (Evans et al. 2007).

The Khmer Empire, with the temples of Angkor as its centrepiece, was the dominant power of mainland Southeast Asia between the 11th and 15th centuries (Hughes 2009). The urban sprawl of Greater Angkor (at its peak) was such that it is considered the most extensive low density urban landscape to have existed, before modern industrialisation (Evans et al. 2007). Further, the temple of Angkor Wat, built in the early 12th century by Khmer King Suryavarman II, is listed as the largest religious structure built before the 20th century (Chapman 2013; Fletcher et al. 2015). The decline of the Khmer Empire in the 15th century has been linked to over construction, overuse of resources, and war with the neighbouring Kingdom of Siam, who sacked the city of Angkor in 1431 (Chapman 2013; Winter 2008). The Khmer ruling elite were thought to have shifted their power base to the country's south in the 15th century as the city declined, however this claim is debated by scholars (Fletcher et al. 2015). Eventually, Angkor's decline saw the glories of the former capital become overrun by forest, and the region eventually became a province of the Kingdom of Siam (modern day Thailand) as the Siamese power base increased (Chapman 2013; Winter 2008).

Chandler and Kent (2008) note that in the proceeding centuries as the Khmer king's influence and authority declined, a diffused patronage system developed that did not have the power to resist the strength of its neighbours, Siam and Vietnam. In 1863, fearful of the Kingdom of Siam and troubled by internal domestic issues, Norodom, the King of Cambodia, signed a protectorate agreement with the French (Church 2003; Kerbo 2011). During the next two decades of the French protectorate, the power base of the Cambodian kings was eroded, making them figureheads only, with the French in charge (Chandler & Kent 2008; Chapman 2012; Church 2003). It was during this period that French explorers 'rediscovered' the ancient city of Angkor (Chapman 2013; Church 2003; Winter 2008). The Angkor region remained under the control of the Siamese until 1907 when they ceded the region back to the Cambodians to avoid 'friction' along their borders with the French (Chandler 2008; Chapman 2013). The French governed the region until Cambodian independence in 1953 (Chapman 2013; Chheang 2010); during this period the French surveyed, cleared and restored many monuments at Angkor (Chapman 2013).

2.2.1 Cambodian independence to US bombing raids (1953–1970)

Following independence from French rule in 1953, Cambodia enjoyed a period of relative stability, mostly under the authoritarian rule of King Norodom Sihanouk (Chandler 2008; Tully 2005). The King came to overall power in 1952 when he dismissed his own democratic government and made himself Prime Minister of Cambodia (Chandler 2008; Tully 2005). King Sihanouk's own political party, the Sangkum Reastr Niyum, had an ideological approach of 'Buddhist socialism' and incorporated ideas from ancient Angkor to link his administration to the country's former glories (Hughes 2009, p. 26). In 1955, King Sihanouk ceded the throne to his father and ran for parliament as a private citizen (from now on known as Prince Sihanouk) to remove links between Sihanouk the monarch and Sihanouk the prime minister (Chandler 2008). During this period, the French continued restoration work at Angkor up until the time of the Vietnam War (Chapman 2013; Chheang 2010). War for the control of Cambodia's neighbour, Vietnam, originally broke out in the first half of the 1950s between the communist (China and USSR backed) Viet Minh in Hanoi, and the French colonial forces allied with the South Vietnamese in Saigon (Chandler 2008; Tully 2005). The French received military aid from the US, who were motivated by a 'Cold War' mindset to halt the 'communist advance'. However, the French ultimately withdrew from the region in 1955 after being defeated by the Viet Minh (Chandler 2008; Ekins n.d.; Tully 2005). War would again break out in Vietnam between the disaffected South Vietnamese group, the 'Viet Cong' who were backed by the North Vietnamese communists, and the US-backed South Vietnamese in Saigon (Chandler 2008; Ekins n.d.; Tully 2005).

According to Chandler (2008), Prince Sihanouk attempted to keep Cambodia neutral by playing the communist forces of the North Vietnamese off against the US-backed forces of South Vietnam. However, in the early 1960s he allowed, in secret, for the North Vietnamese communists to build

bases within Cambodian territory (part of the Ho Chi Minh Trail) to help supply the Viet Cong in South Vietnam (BBC 2017; Ekins n.d.; Kogure 2011; Tully 2005). In addition, Prince Sihanouk increased diplomatic tensions with the United States and its allies when he accepted fighter planes and heavy artillery from the communist powers of China and the USSR (Tully 2005). In partial response to Prince Sihanouk's manoeuvring of Cambodia to the left, and in an attempt to stop supplies from the north to the south of Vietnam, the United States commenced bombing of North Vietnamese bases in the southeast of Cambodia in approximately 1965 (Tully 2005). The US justified the bombing of parts of Cambodia by claiming they were 'chasing' the fleeing North Vietnamese across the border or that they were disrupting the flow of supply along the Ho Chi Minh Trail (BBC 2017; Hughes 2009; Kogure 2011; Tully 2005). The US bombing raids also ceased activity and tourism at Angkor as the conflict expanded over the Cambodian border (Chapman 2013; Church 2003; Tully 2005; Winter 2008).

2.2.2 Lon Nol and the Khmer Rouge 'Revolution' (1970–1978)

In 1970, Prince Sihanouk was ousted, in what some scholars assert was a US-backed coup, by his prime minister Lon Nol and deputy prime minister Sirik Matak (Kerbo 2011; Kogure 2011; Tully 2005). However, other scholars indicate that Prince Sihanouk's move to the left of politics, the deterioration of his authoritarian rule (he was producing and starring in his own feature film at the time of the coup) and internal dissatisfaction with his alienation of the United States, as factors in his ousting (Chandler 2008; Tully 2005). The coup was orchestrated by Deputy Prime Minister Sirik Matak, who some historians suggest forced Lon Nol to sign papers ousting Sihanouk at gun point (Chandler 2008; Tully 2005). Lon Nol, now prime minister, ordered the closure of North Vietnamese bases in Cambodia (Chandler 2008). The North Vietnamese refused to comply and were eventually removed from the area by US, South Vietnamese and Cambodian forces, which also helped re-establish Cambodian ties with Western allied countries (Kerbo 2011; Kogure 2011; Tully 2005).

In the northeast of Cambodia, the Communist Party of Kampuchea (CPK) under their leader Saloth Sar (later Pol Pot) had been recruiting farmers and urban youth dissatisfied with Prince Sihanouk's political ineptitude and corruption (Chandler 2008). In 1968, the CPK launched a civil war in the northeast and northwest of Cambodia against the rule of Prince Sihanouk. By 1970, the Khmer Rouge offensive affected approximately one fifth of the country (Chandler 2008). In a contradiction of events, the original motivation of the CPK offensive against Prince Sihanouk would culminate in an alliance with him, after the Lon Nol coup (Chandler 2008). The CPK attracted followers who were opposed to the Lon Nol regime and desired the return of Prince Sihanouk who, from his exile in China, actively encouraged his followers to join the CPK in their civil war to oust Lon Nol (Chandler 2008; Chapman 2013; Church 2003; Kogure 2011; Winter 2008). Prince Sihanouk's call

to arms helped swell the ranks of the CPK forces (hereafter referred to as the Khmer Rouge) who, by the start of 1975, controlled most of the country (Chandler 2008; Tully 2005).

In 1975, the Cambodian government under Lon Nol was overthrown by the Khmer Rouge who, in April of that year, also captured the capitol Phnom Penh (BBC 2014; Chandler 2008; Chapman 2013; Tully 2005). The Khmer Rouge would force the population out of the cities to work in communal farms. They renamed the country Kampuchea and symbolically (purposely) discarded 2000 years of Khmer history and culture by resetting their calendar to year '0' marking the start of the 'revolution' (Chapman 2013; Chandler 2008; Um 2015). The Khmer Rouge also abolished money, property ownership, free markets, formal education and religion (Chandler 2008; Chapman 2013; Tully 2005), and took control of the institute of marriage, deciding who could wed (Kogure 2011; Um 2015). 'Intellectuals' such as the educated middle class, people who knew a foreign language, or even those wearing glasses were singled out for torture and execution (BBC 2014; Chandler 2008; Tully 2005). Approximately, 1.5 to 2 million Khmer people died as a result of the political and social engineering actions of Khmer Rouge, including those who died by executions, civil war, starvation, overwork and disease (Um 2015; Chapman 2013; Cook & Gong 2011; Tully 2005).

The Khmer Rouge forces consisted partially of Khmer children whose families had died in US bombing raids, or in armed conflict with other Khmer (Tully 2005); this helped set a divide between the Khmer people. The leaders of Khmer Rouge forces also divided the population in a Marxist inspired ideological split by insinuating that the 'urban' dwelling Khmer (seen as the bourgeoisie) were the root cause of the 'rural' Khmers' woes (the proletariat and a significant majority of Khmer Rouge forces) (Chandler 2008; Edgell 1993; Jackson 1989; Tully 2005; Um 2015). The Khmer Rouge leaders implied that the rural poor had been exploited by an urban bourgeoisie minority, so swayed by foreign influences that they were barely recognisable as Khmer (Chandler 2008; Jackson 1989; Tully 2005). The leaders stated they would take back control of the country through a 'revolution' that would see the poor overcome exploitation by making the bourgeoisie their equal, and together they would build a future utopia (Chandler 2008; Jackson 1989; Tully 2005). However, rather than establishing a utopia of equals, the Khmer Rouge civil war and later social engineering devastated the social, cultural, economic and political structures of Cambodia to such an extent that its impact is now intergenerational (Cook & Gong 2011; Kogure 2011; Tully 2005). Further, it undermined traditional family units and removed a generation of older Cambodians including their social and cultural knowledge, their moral guidance, and leadership (Zucker 2008). Further, Zucker (2008) suggests that as a result, this lack of elder knowledge potentially inhibited recovery in some villages, as disorder reigned in the absence of guidance and direction.

2.2.3 Vietnamese invasion, occupation, and the cessation of all conflict (1978–1999)

Ongoing tensions with the Vietnamese, including border clashes and exchange of territory, resulted in the overthrow of the Khmer Rouge by an invading Vietnamese army in late December 1978 (BBC 2017; Chandler 2008; Church 2003; Tully 2005; Hughes 2009). In early 1979 the invading Vietnamese forces took Phnom Penh, which resulted in Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge retreating to the forested countryside near the Thailand border (BBC 2014; Chandler 2008; Cook & Gong 2011; Hughes 2009). The Vietnamese installed a new government (not recognised internationally) and occupied the country until 1989 (Tully 2005). Of note in this period was the elevation of Hun Sen to prime minister in 1985, who is still prime minister in 2022 (Amnesty International 2022; Chandler 2008; Hughes 2009). In the first years following the Vietnamese occupation, farms went unattended as the chaos settled and people crisscrossed the country looking for lost family members, albeit unsuccessfully in many cases as a vast number of Khmer were either dead, displaced, or had fled the country (Chandler 2008; Tully 2005). The Khmer Rouge burnt grain silos during their retreat (Tully 2005), which created further food instability. The food that was available was mostly consumed by the Vietnamese forces, resulting in still more Khmer dying from malnutrition, as well as continued deaths associated with malaria or from the cumulative effects of the turmoil (Chandler 2008). The loss of men to the years of armed conflict was also significant, with Chandler (2008) suggesting that as many as 60% of households were now headed by women. Further, Tully (2005) states that in 1979 only 45 doctors remained in the country; other professionals such as educators, engineers and agricultural experts were also absent, having either emigrated or been killed.

The Khmer Rouge continued to be a threat in Cambodia until the late 1990s, using guerrilla warfare tactics to destabilise the country (Chapman 2013; Cook & Gong 2011; Hughes 2009; Klutz 2015). An ongoing consequence of the decades of armed conflict was unexploded ordnance from US bombing raids, artillery used by all sides, and landmines used by the Khmer Rouge and government forces, which continue to kill and maim people in modern times (Chandler 2008; Hughes 2009; Plong 2017; Tully 2005). Many Cambodians also remained in refugee camps along the Thailand border until the late 1990s (Hughes 2009). Refugees were slowly repatriated through the efforts of the United Nations (UN) Transitional Authority in Cambodia, or they illegally entered Thailand in pursuit of better circumstances (Hughes 2009; Irvin-Erickson 2016). Hughes (2009) notes that a large number of repatriated Cambodians chose to settle in the country's northwest, which before the conflict had been an area of rich farmland and affluence, due to local gem mining. However, during the various conflicts, the land was scattered with landmines, used in trench warfare, and generally destroyed (Hughes 2009). This resulted in approximately 40% of returnees leaving the area again in pursuit of better prospects; refugees also avoided returning to kin networks due to the perceived shame of destitution (see the 'face' discussion in section 2.3.3) (Hughes 2009). These examples offer insight into the continued chaos and ongoing conflict in the

country until the late 1990s, which persisted despite the signing of the Paris Peace Agreements in 1991 (a UN-backed process to establish a ceasefire between the Khmer Rouge and Cambodian government forces) (Chapman 2013; Chheang 2010; Hughes 2009; Winter 2008). Moreover, the loss of approximately one quarter of all Khmer to the civil war and its aftermath, in tandem with the other, considerable impacts of the Khmer Rouge, would help produce the modern circumstances that resulted in many NGOs being established in the country (Um 2015).

2.2.4 Contemporary times

It would be 30 years before the actions of the Khmer Rouge would be brought to trial (Cook & Gong 2011). The two leading figures of the Khmer Rouge, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary were originally tried in absentia for genocide during the Vietnamese occupation, found guilty, and sentenced to death (Cook & Gong 2011; Irvin-Erickson 2016). However, the international community suggested the trials were unfair and thus the verdict went unacknowledged (Chandler 2008; Cook & Gong 2011). In 2007, a combined UN and Cambodian government trial was established to bring judicial proceedings against the Khmer Rouge (Chandler 2008; Cook & Gong 2011). The trials took years of negotiations to bring to fruition as different agendas existed between the United Nations who stressed justice for the victims through prosecution of the ex-Khmer Rouge perpetrators, and the Cambodian government, who sought to limit the trials to leaders of the Khmer Rouge to avoid further division within the country (Cook & Gong 2011). A trial of more members of the Khmer Rouge would theoretically have helped conciliate the victims, however a number of former Khmer Rouge held (and hold) positions in the Cambodian government, suggesting that the disruption to the country from additional trials would affect more than the country's moral sense, by potentially spreading to its governance as well (Cook & Gong 2011). Given the recent history of the country, there remains a desire to avoid further disruption. However, without justice, the actions of the Khmer Rouge have the potential for ongoing tension between the victims and the perpetrators.

When considered as a whole, the cumulative effects of approximately the last 150 years identity's Cambodia as a historically traumatised country, which is now re-establishing its cultural, social, and economic infrastructure (Beazley & Miller 2016; Dalis 2014; Klutz 2015; Winter 2008). In more recent times, despite ongoing clashes between government forces and the Khmer Rouge until the late 1990s, and issues surrounding the Khmer Rouge trials, there has been gradual political stability, the opening of borders, and an increase in tourism and trade (Chapman 2013; Chheang 2010; Cook & Gong 2011; Klutz 2015; Winter 2008). However, despite consistent economic growth in recent years, Cambodia is still one of Asia's poorest nations (Beazley & Miller 2016; Dalis 2014; World Bank 2022). The recent stability in the country is also potentially undermined by the authoritarian leadership of Prime Minister Hun Sen and his government, which Amnesty International (2021) and world media (Handley 2021; Holmes 2016; Murdoch 2016) mark as corrupt and brutal in their suppression of challenges to their authority. For example, in the July

2018 elections, only Prime Minister Hun Sen's Cambodian People's Party (CPP) contested the election, as the opposition was dissolved by the allegedly CPP-controlled supreme court (Human Rights Watch 2019). Government corruption has also been linked to reports of land grabs, which displace rural poor in favour of big business and investors (Hak, McAndrew & Neef 2018; Holmes 2016; Scheidel 2016).

An event linked to increased stability in the country was the placing of the temples of Angkor onto the UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) World Heritage List in 1992 (Miller 2022; UNESCO 2017). Consequently, Angkor became a popular international tourist attraction and economic driver for Cambodia and Siem Reap, the tourist town servicing the Angkor World Heritage site (Beazley & Miller 2016; Chheang 2010; Chheang 2011; Winter 2008). International tourism to the temples in 1994 was estimated at 8000 people (Winter 2008 citing CMOT 1996) rising to 2,590,262 visitors to the Angkor region in 2018 (last reported number before COVID-19 shut down international travel) (CMOT 2019). The increase in tourism, due in part to the increased political stability and Angkor's World Heritage listing, produced a rapid growth in hospitality and tourism, both in and around Siem Reap (Beazley & Miller 2016; Chheang 2010; Chheang 2011; Winter 2008). The migration of Cambodians to urban areas like Siem Reap seeking better circumstances, including those displaced from land grabs, grew alongside the tourist trade (Chheang 2010; Grossberg 2013; Miller 2020; Peou & Zinn 2015; Winter 2008). Unfortunately, Siem Reap's employment market is finite, and due to a lack of alternative revenue sources, adults and children of disadvantaged families are forced to seek income from an 'increasingly crowded informal sector' (Beazley & Miller 2016, p. 272). The informal sector includes selling goods to tourists, begging, or sometime more nefarious means of income generation (scams or petty crime for example) (Beazley & Miller 2016; Chheang 2011). NGOs exist in this space, due in part to the absence, or ineffectual nature, of state-based services, to help groups struggling with disadvantage to improve their circumstances, or even overcome them.

2.3 Demographic data of Cambodia

The UNESCO population profile for Cambodia reports that in 2019, there were 16,487,000 people living in the country (UNESCO 2022). The same UNESCO data indicates that approximately 5,127,000 members of the population were aged 14 years or younger with approximately 50% of the population under the age of 24. The disproportionate number of people in the younger population (0 to 24 years old) is reflective of the mass killings of adults, and ongoing turmoil in the country until the signing of the Paris Peace Agreements in 1991 and the eventual end of hostilities between government forces and the remaining Khmer Rouge in 1999 (Chandler 2008; Hughes 2009).

Another point of interest is the disproportionately low number of males in the 55 plus age groups, when compared to females (male/female 55 plus = 476,561/612,706; male/female 65 years and over = 287,021/490,454 (CIA 2021)). This correlates with Chandler's (2008) assertion that a significant number of males were lost in the various conflicts across the three decades. Vietnam, with a similar history of colonisation and war occurring at approximately the same time as Cambodia, demonstrates a comparable population profile, with approximately 41% of the population under 24 years (CIA 2021a). There is also a disproportionate number of males to females in the 55 plus demographic (male/female 55 plus = 4,412,111/5,016,880 (CIA 2021a)), which is also similar to Cambodia. However, in the under 55 age group there are more males in Vietnam than females (male/female 25 to 55 = 22,852,429/22,262,566). This can be explained by the end of the Vietnam War in 1975 (in comparison to the end of hostilities in 1999 in Cambodia) (CIA 2021a) and the country settling soon after, which meant men were no longer lost to conflict. This comparison of populations and gender differences provides another way of considering the impact of war on the Cambodian and Vietnamese peoples.

2.3.1 Education demographics

As discussed in Chapter 1, the Cambodian government provides free education to all children aged five years and over, for the first nine years (primary and lower secondary) (BILA 2017; CMEYS 2019; International Labour Organization and National Institute of Statistics 2013; No, Taniguchi & Hirakawa 2016). However, children may have additional cost associated with their education, such as purchasing a uniform or stationery, as well as unofficial costs like fees charged for exam papers, tutoring and bicycle parking, which impact financially on a disadvantaged student's ability to attend school, despite its 'free' status (BILA 2017; Grossberg 2013; Kluttz 2015; Miller 2020; Miller 2022). The actual number of Khmer children enrolled in primary level education in 2020 was reported by UNESCO as 88.8%. Similarly, the CSES (Cambodia Socio-Economic Survey) report from 2017 (CNIS 2018) which drew on a national sample of 3,840 households, placed the total portion of children attending primary school at 89.6%. These two sources, along with the MPI (Multidimensional Poverty Index) measure from Chapter 1, which indicated that 10.8% of school aged children (school Years 1 to 8) were not attending school, suggests that approximately 10% of Khmer children are not enrolled in some form of primary level education (CNIS 2018; OPHI 2020; UNESCO 2022).

UNESCO's Institute for Statistics (2022) data from Cambodia suggests that the 10% figure identified above represented approximately 222,938 children who were not enrolled in a Cambodian pre-primary or primary level school in 2020. Broken down by gender, this number represented 111,065 females and 111,873 males. Completion of primary school by gender was recorded as 84.57% for females and 75.26% for males, specifying that more males than females were unenrolled in, and not completing, a primary level education (CMEYS 2019; Kluttz 2015;

UNESCO 2022). No, Taniguchi and Hirakawa's (2016) longitudinal research from ten rural schools suggested no gender-based difference in dropout figures in their smaller cohort but indicated that girls dropped out less often, and later than, boys, which supports the national data. No, Taniguchi and Hirakawa (2016) also reported that dropout rates were higher in the later three years of primary education (Years 4 to 6, approximately ages 9 to 11). Data from the Cambodian Public Education Statistics and Indicators report from 2018 to 2019 (CMEYS 2019a) supports No, Taniguchi and Hirakawa's (2016) findings that Years 4 to 6 had higher dropout rates in comparison to Years 1 to 3 (Year 1 = 3.5%, Year 2 = 3.5%, Year 3 = 4.2, Year 4 = 4.4%, Year 5 = 5.0%, and Year 6 = 6.2%) (CMEYS 2019a). Data on adolescent Khmer from the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2022) estimated that 137,535 young people did not attend school in 2020; the split by gender was 55,765 females and 81,770 males. Khmer youth are also much less likely to complete higher levels of schooling, with lower secondary school recording a completion rate of 45.26%, with even fewer completing upper secondary at just 22.22% (CMEYS 2019a). Again, a higher percentage of females are listed as completing both lower secondary (50.19% vs. 40.67%) and upper secondary (24.51% vs. 20.09%) compared to males (CMEYS 2019a). Further, a population pyramid by the United Nations Population Division (2022 <https://population.un.org/wpp/Graphs/DemographicProfiles/Pyramid/116>) identified an unequal population split between males and females in this cohort (more males than females), which suggests that even fewer males are completing a tertiary level education in comparison to females. Overall, the combined data indicates that a significant percentage of Cambodian children are enrolled in early primary education but retention at higher levels decreases significantly, with males less likely to complete all tiers of education in comparison to females.

Finally, the workforce education levels of Cambodians in 2011 was recorded as 2.5% with a tertiary level education, 21% with a secondary certificate and 27% of workers with a primary education (Dalis 2014). Dalis (2014) suggests that education levels of Cambodians are rising, but slowly. A Cambodian National Institute of Statistics (CNIS) report from 2017 (CNIS 2018) recorded that, on average, 12% of 15 to 64 year-olds participating in the labour force had no, or minimal education. However, in the youngest cohort (aged 15 to 19 years) this figure was only 3.0% (CNIS 2018). The eldest group observed in the CNIS 2017 data (aged 55 to 64 years) recorded a rate of 22.2% of its workers having no or minimal education, but this figure decreased in each age bracket, thereafter, supporting the suggestion by Dalis (2014) of increasing Cambodian education levels (CNIS 2018). The pattern of increasing education in contemporary times also speaks to the increased stability within the country and highlights that the older generation were probably deprived of educational opportunity due to the country's considerable period of unrest (and associated factors such as the Khmer Rouge's decimation of education infrastructure).

2.3.2 Employment figures, types of work, and average income

The 2017 CSES report indicates that 84.3% of the working-age population (15 to 64 years) participated in the labour force (CNIS 2018). Of that 84.3%, only 0.1% of adult aged workers are listed as unemployed, but two significant points need consideration with this figure (CNIS 2018). The first point concerns the fact that recorded employment figures were based on working only one hour per week (CNIS 2018; Dalis 2014). Secondly, poverty still affects large areas of the country. Data at the time of writing indicated that roughly 18% of the population were affected by poverty, up from the 13.5% reported by the World Bank in 2014 (Asia Development Bank 2021; UNDP 2021; World Bank 2022). The increase reflects the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on tourism, manufacturing and construction in Cambodia (World Bank 2022). The Multidimensional Poverty Index discussed in Chapter 1 reports that 37.2% of Cambodians are considered multidimensionally poor (OPHI 2020), but regardless of the source, all indicators identify that a significant proportion of the population need to work whenever, wherever, and however they can for basic survival, so unemployment is not an option (CNIS 2014; Dalis 2014). Moreover, the need to work to survive is made more significant by the limited state welfare, which can be difficult to access, and only provides a disability pension, or cash transfers to pregnant woman, children and the elderly (deRiel 2017; Phnom Penh Post 2019).

The majority of Cambodia's economy is dominated by three main areas: agriculture, industry and services. Agriculture's strength can be seen in the country's population numbers, where approximately 12 million of the 16.5 million Khmer live in rural areas and are engaged in farming (CNIS 2018; UNICEF 2013). The industry sector has grown significantly since the early 2000s with a large textiles component, while the service sector grew with the upsurge of tourism (Beresford, Cucco & Prota 2016; CNIS 2014; Dalis 2014; UN-Data 2017). United Nations data (2017) on exports reports that eight of the top ten export products in 2012 were men's and women's clothing and shoes, which demonstrates the strength of the textiles industry (Beresford, Cucco & Prota 2016). The increase in the service industry is linked to the opening of borders and political stability, which has increased tourism in the country along with the associated services like hospitality (Beazley & Miller 2016; Chheang 2010; Chheang 2011; Winter 2008). The growth in the industry and service sector since the early 2000s can be correlated with per head of population GDP increases from US\$200 in the early 2000s to an estimated US\$1123 in 2014 (CNIS 2014; Dalis 2014).

2.3.2.1 Child labour

The Labour Law of Cambodia_97303 Article 177 note the minimum allowable age for wage employment as 15 years, with 'hazardous work' (definition set by ministry in charge of labour) restricted to children 18 years and older (CDC 1997). Article 177 also states that children aged 12 to 15 years may participate in light work as long as that work is not hazardous to the child's health,

mental/physical development or schooling (CDC 1997). A night-time work gap for minors is set at eleven hours (CDC 1997). The penalty applied to employers for employing minors outside of the provisions listed in Articles 173–178 is a fine equivalent to 31 to 60 days' basic wage, suggesting minimal hardship to employers who break the law (CDC 1997). Data from the 2017 CSES report (CNIS 2018) says that 17.1% of children aged 5 to 17 were involved in some form of paid work, down from 24% in 2012. The 2017 CSES (CNIS 2018) data also indicates that approximately one third of working children (36.8%) attend school with slightly more males (37.6%) than females (35.9%). The CNIS report does not indicate the percentage of children under the age of twelve years who worked (those who should not be working by law), nor does it offer specifics on the types of work done by children.

A report from BILA, the US Bureau of International Labor Affairs (BILA 2017), using 2014 UNESCO data, provides more specific data on child labour between the ages of 5 to 14 years. Specifically, 9.4% of children aged 5 to 14 were recorded as working without attending school, 9.1% worked and attended school, and 85.4% solely attended school (BILA 2017). The BILA data is similar to that gathered by the 2017 CSES report (CNIS 2018) which indicates that 82.9% of 5 to 17 year-olds attend school, with approximately 17.1% engaged in work. Research by No, Taniguchi and Hirakawa (2016) suggests there was no link between poverty, child labour and primary school dropouts in Cambodia. However, data from the 2014 CSES (CNIS 2014) suggests that of the children under 18 who had never attended school (roughly 7% of the entire cohort), a third of the females and one quarter of the males, reported needing to work to contribute to the household income. A limitation of the No, Taniguchi and Hirakawa (2016) research included using data from ten schools, a sample that was not comparable to the 12,000 plus Cambodian households surveyed in the 2014 CSES (CNIS 2014). Hence, despite No, Taniguchi and Hirakawa's (2016) suggestions, data from the CSES supports the hypothesis that school attendance and the need to work impact on each other.

A Guardian news story (Elliott 2015) reported that families in Cambodia assisted children to falsify their age to gain work in local textile factories despite national legislation forbidding children under 15 from working at anything more than 'light' jobs. Research by Beresford, Cucco and Prota (2016) confirmed this practice, suggesting that the falsification of documentation was common, enabling minors to gain work in factories. A 14-year-old interviewed by Elliott (2015) described working eight hours a day, 48 hours a week signifying that even if she gained the work legitimately it could not be categorised as 'light' as required by law for her age group (CDC 1997). Further, the girl stated that given a choice, she would rather be at school (Elliott 2015). Both Elliott (2015), and Beresford, Cucco and Prota (2016) suggest that some factory employers are aware of the minors among their workforce but 'turned a blind eye' to their presence. Elliott's (2015) report discusses how underage workers were told to take the day off when inspectors were visiting or were told to hide under

tables, suggesting the employers knew they had potential underage workers. As Beresford, Cucco and Prota (2016) state, the eradication of child labour in Cambodia, while improving, is far from complete. The causes of child labour can be associated with poverty and overwhelming family need, and is made easier through forged documentation that does not require photographs or proper certification (Beresford, Cucco & Prota 2016; Elliott 2015). These points may also relate back to the limited number of children completing upper secondary education, given the lack of local enforcement of child labour laws, which enables children to work, rather than complete their schooling.

2.3.3 Religion and culture

Theravada Buddhism origins in ancient Angkor date to the 13th century, having originally spread through local communities and villages until the 16th century, when the Khmer king adopted the religion by becoming the 'protector and patron of the Buddhist faith' (Kent & Chandler 2008, p. 4). Approximately 60,000 men served as Buddhist monks in Cambodia prior to the Khmer Rouge, who purposely abolished religion and decreed that monks be defrocked and put to work in the rice fields; in reality many were also killed or emigrated (Chandler 2008; Irvin-Erickson 2016; Ledgerwood 2008; Tully 2005). After the Vietnamese took control of the country in 1979, Theravada Buddhist monks from Vietnam ordained seven Cambodian monks (Marston 2009). Chandler and Kent (2008) suggest that the Vietnamese used the ordination in part, along with restorations of religious Wats (temples), to help legitimise the Vietnamese takeover from the Khmer Rouge. Theravada Buddhism is now recognised as the national religion with approximately 95% of the population listed as followers (CMOT 2017; Forest 2008; Kobayashi 2008) with the number of monks now similar to pre-Khmer Rouge times (Ledgerwood 2008). Soeung and Lee (2017) note that monks in Cambodia are afforded a significant place in society due to their moral and spiritual influence and are often seen as neutrals, able to mediate between conflicting parties.

Buddhist monks within Cambodia teach the public about the five Buddhist precepts that, when followed, build merit and avoid demerits to achieve 'a better rebirth' (Ledgerwood 2008, p. 149).

The five precepts are:

1. I undertake the precept to abstain from taking life.
2. I undertake the precept to abstain from taking what is not given.
3. I undertake the precept to abstain from improper sexual acts.
4. I undertake the precept to abstain from telling lies.
5. I undertake the precept to abstain from imbibing or ingesting substances which cause heedlessness.

(Edwards 2008; Ledgerwood 2008; Soeung & Lee 2017).

While the precepts are still followed by modern Cambodians, the influence has waned; practices have also changed due to the loss of knowledge caused by the Khmer Rouge who, along with decimating the Buddhist monk order, also burnt literature and/or destroyed temples (Irvin-Erickson 2016; Kobayashi 2008; Ledgerwood 2008; Soeung & Lee 2017). The influence of Buddhism on the community is also said to be impacted by television, movies, the internet, and the opening of the country to outside influences, including other religions (Ledgerwood 2008; Zucker 2008).

Ledgerwood (2008, p. 153) notes that a common saying in Cambodian is '*twer bon baan bon, twer baap, baan baap*' which translates as 'if you do good, you will receive good, if you do evil, you will receive evil'. This saying generalises the Buddhist precepts and is linked to the notion of 'merit making' in that 'doing good' builds merit in the same way that following the precepts does and contributes towards achieving a better existence and rebirth (Ledgerwood 2008). The idea of merit making and rebirth creates a form of social fatalism, as one's current status is predetermined by merit earned in a previous life, and so people are resigned to their fate as actions in a former life cannot be changed (Peou & Zinn 2015). Additionally, merit is cumulative, so living a good life in one's current existence can better one's position in rebirth (Peou & Zinn 2015). This thinking makes people more likely to persevere through trying encounters, or even poverty, as enduring one's 'predetermined' life builds merit towards a better rebirth (Peou & Zinn 2015). Merit is also linked to notions of kinship, including past, current and future generations, and merit making may be undertaken to help past generations to overcome actions committed during their lives, including those associated with the various wars (Ledgerwood 2008; Zucker 2008). An example of merit making between kinships group is parents and/or extended families sharing their resources to help widowed family members to raise their children, which in the absence of adequate state-based welfare, allows struggling family members to survive (deRiel 2017; Dommaraju & Tan 2014; Peou & Zinn 2015). Kinship links are also important, especially for the young, in gaining work (Peou & Zinn 2015). Along with doing good, merit is built through offerings to monks, to temples, including donations to help build new temples, by observing holy days, and through joining, or having a family member join, the monkhood (Ledgerwood 2008; O'Lemmon 2014).

It is believed that offering gifts to monks and temples has an immediate effect on merit by demonstrating selflessness and trustworthiness, so these acts 'give face' among peers (Ledgerwood 2008; O'Lemmon 2014). The concept of 'face' is discussed by Grossberg (2013) who notes how Cambodians avoid acts of expressive emotion such as fear, anger or complaining as these make a person lose 'face', a consequence of which is Khmer being described as 'stoic' in character. The avoidance of showing strong emotion to maintain face links to Buddhist teachings where, for example, demonstrating strong emotion is a negative consequence of being emotionally imbalanced, ignorant, and/or having inordinate desires (Hinton 2008). Strong emotions are in turn averted by recognising the influence, identifying the ignorance, and allowing it to defuse (Hinton

2008). Grossberg (2013) suggests that the possibility of losing face is why some Cambodians do not seek aid through services as it is embarrassing and demonstrates need. Hughes (2009) notes similar historical behaviour where returning refugees avoided contact with family members as they did not want to be seen as destitute, and hence lose face. Finally, Peou and Zinn (2015) indicate that while examples of Cambodia's pre-war social traditions are still present (such as merit and face), that much like Buddhism in the country, their influence has waned or been impacted by outside influences (such as movies, television and the internet).

2.3.4 Collectivism

The four-dimensional, or '4-D', model of cultural differences developed by Hofstede (1986) is based on 116,000 surveys, which asked 32 questions of employees from multinational corporations about their values. These employees represented 40 different countries, and most were surveyed twice in a four-year period to give longitudinal support to the findings (Hofstede 1986). The results of Hofstede's (1986, p. 306) investigation identified four different dimensions by which cultures can be considered (Hofstede writes that three dimensions explained '49% of the variance in means' of which one dimension was split to make four total). The first of Hofstede's dimensions, and the one of most interest to this study, is 'Individualism' versus 'Collectivism', which he explains thus:

Individualism as a characteristic of a culture opposes Collectivism ... Individualist cultures assume that any person looks primarily after his/her own interest and the interest of his/her immediate family (husband, wife, and children). Collectivist cultures assume that any person through birth and possible later events belongs to one or more tight "in-groups", from which he/she cannot detach him/herself. The "in-group" (whether extended family, clan, or organisation) protects the interest of its members, but in turn expects their permanent loyalty. A Collectivist society is tightly integrated; an Individualist society is loosely integrated. (Hofstede 1986, p. 307)

Cambodia is considered a Collectivist society, where one considers the role of the group over that of the individual self (Berkvens 2017; Rotha & Chheang 2008). Rotha and Chheang (2008, p. 9) refer to a Cambodian proverb to help demonstrate their Collectivist mindset: 'Don't throw away the meat and keep the bone', where meat represents the family and/or others of the collective, and the bone is people from the outside. The depth of Cambodian Collectivism has changed in recent times, as the Khmer Rouge, for example, stamped out Individualism and forced the populace into extreme collectives (Berkvens 2017). While, after the fall of the Khmer Rouge, the mistrust of others they paranoically pursued to root out dissidents and traitors (associated with Individualism), along with the natural mistrust between Khmer from opposing sides of the civil war, potentially worked to reduce Khmer Collectivism (Berkvens 2017; Goldstein & Herbert 2016; Um 2015). However, the decimation of the family unit caused by the civil war also meant that extended families (for example those who were left alive, those who had not fled, or those who had not

become separated during the chaos) became much more important (Berkvens 2017; Chandler 2008; Tully 2005).

The second dimension discussed by Hofstede with relevance to Cambodian society, and this thesis, is 'Power Distance' which is explained as:

... the extent to which the less powerful persons in a society accept inequality in power and consider it as normal. Inequality exists within any culture, but the degree of it that is tolerated varies between one culture and another. (1986, p. 307)

Power Distance in Cambodia is influenced, in part, by the country's patronage system, where variables such as 'age, gender, wealth, political position and religious piety' (Rotha & Chheang 2008 p. 4 citing Sok Hach 2005) determine hierarchical social position. These factors also determine the likelihood of someone being a 'patron' or a 'client' (Rotha & Chheang 2008). A patron is someone with significant wealth, status, or influence, whereas a client is someone with little wealth, status or influence who attempts to benefit from the higher status of the patron by showing respect and offering to perform services for them (Rotha & Chheang 2008). This patron-client relationship is further influenced by the predominant Buddhist culture in Cambodia, where merit earned in a previous life represents one's position in the current one (Rotha & Chheang 2008). The relationship is hence more than financial, in that the wealthy (with high merit from a previous life) are seen as morally responsible to those of less wealth (low merit in a previous life) and the less wealthy should be accepting of the wealthy person's power (Rotha & Chheang 2008). Consequently, the patron-client relationship results in poorer people being unlikely to challenge the authority of the wealthy, and the wealthy are unlikely to help those who do not follow their lead (Rotha & Chheang 2008). When these points are considered against Hofstede's (1986) second dimension, Power Distance, Cambodia can be seen as having a high Power Distance due to the hierarchal nature of the patronage system and Buddhist acceptance of the status quo (Berkvens 2017; Rotha & Chheang 2008). These points can also help explain how those in charge such as Prime Minister Hun Sen, have remained in charge for considerable periods, despite the noted high level of corruption (Amnesty International 2021).

2.4 In summary

The cumulative information presented throughout this chapter demonstrates that Cambodia is still recovering from its decades of conflict and turmoil, which transformed the traditional culture and social structures through the loss of life and the Khmer Rouge destruction of knowledge and institutions (Chandler 2008; Tully 2005). Economically, the country is recovering as its GDP has risen from US\$3.5 billion in 1996 to US\$7 billion in 2006, then to US\$25 billion in 2020 (World Bank 2022a). The distribution of increased wealth across the population is difficult to measure, but well-documented government corruption, and the silencing (sometimes violently) of its citizenry

and civil society, which have made transparency almost non-existent, suggest that the distribution might be limited (Amnesty International 2017; Holmes 2016; Murdoch 2016). This is further supported by the 2014 poverty figures of 13.5% and 18% in 2020, during which time the GDP continued to rise, but where poverty levels appear to have stagnated³ (Asia Development Bank 2021; UNDP 2021; World Bank 2022; World Bank 2022a). Hence, while overall wealth has risen, the distribution of income would appear to be inequitable. Another concern is the low levels of educational attainment, with only 22.22% of all youth finishing upper secondary school (CMEYS 2019). Low educational attainment figures are also observed in Cambodian employment data where only 8.2% of working age Cambodians (aged 15–64) were recorded as having completed upper secondary school (Year 12) (CNIS 2018).

The most significant influence on educational levels in Cambodia, and its work force, is undoubtedly the considerable unrest in the country from the late 1960s to 1999 (Chandler 2008; Tully 2005). Factors that influence the decline in children attending school as they age include needing to work to afford school (despite its supposed 'free' status), the travelling distance to institutions, leaving school to help support their families, or the care of younger siblings when parents migrate for work (Beazley & Miller 2016; BILA 2017; CNIS 2014; Grossberg 2013; Kana, Phoumin & Seiichi 2010; Klutz 2015; Miller 2020; Miller 2022). The major source of child employment in Cambodia is agriculture where children work for the family (CNIS 2014; Kana, Phoumin & Seiichi 2010; Klutz 2015), or in factories where children fake accreditation to gain work (Beresford, Cucco & Prota 2016; Elliott 2015). Research by Klutz (2015) suggests that both agricultural and domestic work interfere with schooling. However, Kana, Phoumin and Seiichi (2010) found no link between school achievement and agricultural work, suggesting that while work may interfere with a child's education, it does not necessarily hinder it. However, the 48-hour week reported by minors working in the textile industry suggests that schooling, on top of those long hours, would be almost impossible, and provides an insight into factors which might prevent youths from attending/completing school (Elliott 2015). Additionally, neither helping out round the family farm nor factory work require a lower or upper secondary level education, suggesting that the significance of remaining in school may be lost on the working child, and/or their families. Despite this, Beazley and Miller (2016) suggest that the potential opportunities attached to an education are being realised by Cambodians, and that it is the education system itself which limits opportunities due to state enforced ideological content and/or being under resourced.

³ Stagnated or become worse due to COVID-19; however the 18% recorded in 2020 was also calculated using a different method from that of the 2014 poverty level of 13.5%, indicating that comparisons between figures should be made with caution (World Bank 2022).

Another point that might help explain the low levels of education within the Cambodian workforce is a limited availability of higher skilled jobs, which results in no ambition to pursue one. However, it is more likely that highly skilled jobs are available, but not filled by Cambodians, which is considerably more insidious and speaks to neocolonialism (Allina 2021; Briggs & Sharp 2004; Khieng & Dahles 2015). Regardless, when all points are considered as a whole, it indicates that there is still considerable need within the country. Examples of these needs include improving the quality and affordability of children's education and helping adults to increase their educational and/or skill levels. Additional examples include finding solutions that will keep children in school, or solutions that help adults make sufficient income to keep children from working or staying at home to care for younger siblings when parents migrate for work. This also explains why, in the absence of government initiatives, NGOs have a significant presence and role in the country, including offering services such as primary level education for children, job training for youths, re-skilling and basic education for adults, improving infrastructure and technology, and advocating on behalf of the marginalised (examples taken from Cambodian NGOs including: Helping Hands 2017; This Life Cambodia 2017; Treak Community Village n.d.; Husk Cambodia 2015). All of these work to improve Cambodia as a whole, and explains why, when the limited research on NGOs working with disadvantaged children is considered, this thesis is interested in helping organisations to improve themselves, through exploring how stakeholders perceive the activities of NGOs.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Introduction

This review examines academic literature on the topic of NGOs working with disadvantaged children, from 1990 to approximately 2022, to establish a foundation for the thesis's main research question of:

- **How do diverse stakeholder groups perceive the activities of NGOs (non-government organisations) working with disadvantaged children in Siem Reap, Cambodia?**

The review's examination of both historical, and current academic literature on NGOs' work with disadvantage children also helps to place in context the data collected and analysed in this thesis. The second purpose of this review was to determine where research was limited, incomplete, or even missing so that this thesis would contribute original knowledge to the field. To accomplish this, the review adopted a hybrid approach to sourcing information and analysing data. In sourcing information, a rigorous systematic process was used to identify a comprehensive range of relevant literature that also aided transparency and reproducibility. The systematic approach is outlined in the search strategy of this chapter, with more detail provided in Appendices 1 to 4. The data analysis method was an open thematic approach to help establish broad themes from the retrieved literature, the process for which is detailed in the Article analysis section below (3.2.4). The findings of the review are then presented in three sections:

1. Population, problem and place
2. Intervention
3. Outcomes.

Finally, limitations in current knowledge on the topic of NGOs working with disadvantaged children in developing countries, as established from this review, are summarised in sections 1.1 and 1.2 (above), while a more detailed overview is provided in sections 5.2 and 5.2.1 (below). The listed sections also demonstrate how these limitations help inform the thesis objectives.

3.2 Search strategy

The search strategy adopted in this review draws on a series of six articles from the Joanna Briggs Institute (JBI) from 2014, which present a step-by-step guide on how to conduct a systematic literature review (see articles by: Aromataris & Pearson; Stern & McArthur; Aromataris & Riitano; Porritt, Gomersall & Lockwood; Munn, Tufanaru & Amorataris; Robertson-Malt). A systematic approach was implemented to ensure the review was both comprehensive in identifying and incorporating all articles that met the defined criteria (which also reduced bias) and transparent, by

detailing the steps taken (Aromataris & Pearson 2014; Polit & Beck 2017). The description of this systematic process begins by outlining the steps taken to conduct a pilot search of academic literature, to inform the original research proposal for this thesis (conducted in late 2016), as the results had implications for the more in-depth review presented in this chapter. Specifically, the pilot search took the main research interest of 'NGOs working with disadvantaged children in Siem Reap, Cambodia' (see section 1.1 The briefing) and considered it against a PICO framework, as described by Aromataris and Riitano (2014), to identify key concepts related to the Population, Intervention, Comparison intervention, and Outcome. As the research was considered exploratory there was no specific comparison intervention of interest, which made the C in PICO redundant. However, Problem and Place were introduced alongside Population as this made the search more context specific, and hence a better fit with the scope of the research topic. The initial key concepts were:

- Problem/Population: Disadvantaged children
- Place: Siem Reap (Cambodia)
- Intervention: NGOs' interventions
- Outcomes: Effects of intervention?

The pilot search of literature investigated these key concepts in the databases Scopus and ProQuest. The results of the search suggested there are limited studies directly related to the research topic, with only two articles investigating NGO interventions, of any kind, with children in Cambodia (Grossberg 2013; Kallio & Westerlund 2016), and three in total investigating disadvantaged children (the listed two plus Beazley & Miller 2016). An additional study was identified in early 2021 (Miller 2020). McKendry (2016) notes that when there is limited research on a topic, the author should return to the original question and reconsider the focus. Given the limited number of directly relevant studies identified in the pilot search, key concepts were broadened for the main literature review to capture a wider scope, and hence a more global understanding, of the research topic. These broader concepts were:

- Problem/Population: Disadvantaged children
- Place: Developing countries
- Intervention: NGO
- Outcomes: Effects of NGO intervention?

These key concepts were placed in a logic grid. Similar terms to the key concepts, identified in literature from the original pilot search, as well as 'brainstormed' synonyms of the key concepts, were listed in the logic grid under the relevant term (see Appendix 1 'Logic grid') (Aromataris & Riitano 2014). These terms represented the 'key words' used to explore the databases. The O of PICO was not used in the final logic grid given the broad nature of potential 'Outcomes'. The next

step involved consulting a research librarian who helped test and expand key words in the logic grid as well as offering advice on search strategies, and potential databases (Polit & Beck 2017). After consultation with the research librarian, it was concluded that relevant studies would be sourced from three scholarly databases: Web of Science, ProQuest and Scopus. The chosen databases cover a broad range of cross-disciplinary topics including social science, arts, humanities, technology, science and medicine, which allowed a comprehensive search of relevant literature.

The research librarian also recommended establishing a list of developing countries to help identify relevant literature. The list of developing countries was generated from the United Nations: World Economic Situation and Prospective 2015 (2015) and the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade list of developing countries (2015). This list was used alongside key words in the logic grid to form search strings for each database. Full database searches were originally conducted in mid 2017 to inform data collection, and again in early 2020 to update results. Full database search strings (S1 – Problem and Population, S2 – Intervention, and S3 – Place), including the Boolean operators and parentheses used to input searches into the databases, are detailed in Appendix 2 for ProQuest and Web of Science and in Appendix 3 for Scopus. Appendix 4 outlines where key words were searched, which filters were used, and includes a PRISMA-style graphic detailing the number of results (for both the 2017 and 2020 searches) at each stage of the search process (initial search, sorting for duplicates, title/abstract review, and full text review). Search alerts based on the combined search strings of S1, S2 and S3 (see Appendices 2 and 3) with filters (see Appendix 4) were also established for each database, after the 2020 review update, so that monthly notifications of new studies would be received. Finally, the reference list of identified articles were hand searched to find additional studies missed in the database searches, which helped make the review more comprehensive (Aromataris & Riitano 2014).

3.2.1 Inclusion criteria

This section drew on recommendations by Stern and McArthur (2014), as outlined in the JBI guide to systematic reviews, to establish the key details of the inclusion criteria such as defining the phenomena, the population, and the time period of interest to the study. The phenomena of interest was any article exploring NGO interventions with disadvantaged children in developing countries. The target population was children of approximately 18 years or younger (see 'Child' entry in the Glossary of key terms) who were identified as coming from, or being in, a disadvantaged situation. Articles of particular interest were those featuring NGO interventions that attempted to build the capability of the disadvantaged child.

Article date range included a consideration of the thesis's geographic focus, namely Cambodia, and the many years of conflict in the country that inhibited aid until after 1991 with the signing of the Paris Peace Agreements (United Nations 2011). Another consideration was the United Nations

Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), which is a legally binding document signed by 194 countries (Save the Children 2015) that informs and/or guides the activity of organisations working with children such as the state level advocacy work of the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) (UNICEF 2016) to on-the-ground organisations such as Save the Children (n.d.), Cambodian Children's Fund (2014) and Plan International (2017). Given these points, studies from 1990 onwards were retrieved. Finally, articles had to be peer reviewed and were searched in scholarly journals, conference papers and proceedings, or articles in press. This review also drew on grey literature from the United Nations and from large international NGOs such as Save the Children and Plan International.

3.2.2 Exclusion criteria

Exclusion criteria was guided by Porritt, Gomersall and Lockwood’s (2014, p. 48) suggestions in the JBI guide to systematic reviews, with a specific focus on the question ‘Does the study look at the phenomena stated in the review question?’. For example, articles investigating interventions with children in developed economies were not considered for inclusion. This is due to organisations within these countries being able to draw on resources from a more affluent population base and potentially more stable governments. Moreover, organisations delivering services within developed countries do not face the same challenges to facilitating interventions (Khieng & Dahles 2015). For example, NGOs, in the absence of local government run services, may be the only group on the ground delivering basic services (Desai 2014; Hayhurst 2014; Veltmeyer 2017; Walker & Early 2010). This can mean much larger cohorts and uncertain funding and/or access to resources, given the often-ambiguous nature of aid donation. Based on these points, the experiences of NGOs in developed countries were not considered comparable to those in developing countries and hence did not fit with the phenomena of interest to the study. Other research article themes excluded were health interventions as these were generally disease focused. This included investigations of cohorts with specific health problems. In such cases, the results are limited in their transferability to populations who are free of the disease. Finally, articles that lacked a comparison of their findings to related studies in the field, that lacked comparison and/or evaluation of the results, or that only described interventions without analysis, were scrutinised more thoroughly for inclusion (see descriptions of excluded articles in Appendix 4 for more details).

3.2.3 Final count

The 2020 database searches identified one additional study for review in comparison to the 2017 searches, with an overall tally of 35 articles. This included the 3 articles identified in the pilot search of Scopus and ProQuest for the research proposal, based on the original search criteria, as these were also picked up in the expanded search. A hand search of references cited in the 35 articles identified an additional 8 articles relevant to the topic, bringing the count to 43 articles.

Finally, the saved search alerts (continued until the month before thesis submission), based on the database search strings presented in Appendices 2 and 3, and filters listed in Appendix 4 identified an additional 3 articles from Scopus, 0 from ProQuest, and 2 from Web of Science bringing the final total to 48.

3.2.4 Article analysis

Analysis of retrieved articles used a thematic approach informed by Braun and Clark (2006, p. 79) who describe the method as a way of 'identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data' which '... describes your data set in (rich) detail'. Braun and Clark (2006, p. 87) outline six phases, or steps, of thematic analysis:

1. Familiarising yourself with your data
2. Generating initial codes
3. Searching for themes
4. Reviewing themes
5. Defining and naming themes
6. Producing the report.

It should be noted that Braun and Clark discuss these steps more in relation to interview/focus group transcript data, so complementary work instructing on literature reviews and coding were drawn on from Polit and Beck (2017) and Talbot and Verrinder (2010) to help inform this process.

To address steps 1 and 2 of Braun and Clark's (2006) thematic analysis approach, the study drew on Polit and Beck's (2017, p. 98) suggestions that coding begins by reading a 'subset of studies' to help identify ways to order results, which also helps with becoming familiar with the data.

Specifically, during the initial full text reading, a grid table in a word document was used to help break down each article into its main ideas (Polit & Beck 2017; Talbot & Verrinder 2010). This process helped identify commonalities between articles and generate initial codes (Braun & Clark 2006; Polit & Beck 2017; Talbot & Verrinder 2010). Once a general understanding of common ideas was established, quotes of interest were highlighted in hard copies of articles, and notes made in the margins (Braun & Clark 2006; Polit & Beck 2017; Talbot & Verrinder 2010). These notes highlighted how the quotes coincided with similar ideas identified in other studies (which became the main method of coding), how they related to the study in general, and my initial thoughts on the content of the quotes (Phases 2 and 3) (Braun & Clark 2006). Papers were also summarised on their title page as an additional method of content consideration and documentation (Grbich 1999).

Highlighted quotes were then imported into a Word document and grouped together under their respective themes, then reviewed for relevance and consistency (Phase 4) (Braun & Clark 2006;

Polit & Beck 2017; Talbot & Verrinder 2010). After the review of 28 articles (approximately two thirds) each set of quotes was reread, and then writing about their contents commenced, as well as the grouping of quotes into key themes and sub-themes (Phases 5 and 6) (Braun & Clark 2006; Talbot & Verrinder 2010). While writing about quote content, the interpretations were checked to ensure they aligned with the original article's major argument. The review of new articles, drew on the process described in Phase 3 – relevant quotes were highlighted, and notes were made on their connections to content in the greater review. After a full review of the initial articles found in the 2017 search (n=34 from databases plus n=8 from reference hand searches), a draft of the review was complete. Themes within the review were ordered using the PICO mnemonic, which originally was used to refine the research question, as this helped present a logical summary of the research content (Aromataris & Riitano 2014). Finally, the additional articles identified in the 2020 update search (n=1) and subsequent search alerts (n=4) were reviewed as outlined in Phase 3, with relevant content incorporated into the review.

3.3 Results

As discussed, the PICO mnemonic, used to refine the research question into its key concepts, was also used to order the themes identified in the thematic analysis (Aromataris & Riitano 2014). Specifically, the themes were split into three key sections:

1. Population, problem and place, which defines the cohort and the common problems associated with the children's disadvantaged status.
2. Intervention, which explores the NGOs' role, the issues encountered in the delivery of services, and ideologies that inform their work.
3. Outcomes, which explores recommendations from the literature regarding the work of NGOs with disadvantaged children.

These sections are presented sequentially below and include common sub-themes relevant to the major sections in which they appear.

3.3.1 Population, Problem and Place

The 'Population', children, is defined in the Glossary of key terms. However, in brief, a child is considered any person of approximately 18 years or younger. The 'Problem' considers the complex and numerous reasons why children find themselves disadvantaged and in need of services. While the 'Place', explores common areas in which these children frequent, or live, and how they engage geographically within that space. By outlining the Population, Problem and Place, context is established so that the Intervention and Outcome sections are understood relative to the cohort and their realities.

3.3.1.1 Why are children disadvantaged and in need of NGO services? (the Problem)

Academic literature identifies several categories of children who access NGO services, including:

- Children who are at risk due to their family's ongoing issues with poverty and/or inability to access health, education or economic services. The child and/or the family have not yet reached a tipping point but struggle daily to provide and survive (Ferguson & Heidemann 2009).
- Children who are parentless/guardianless or even heads of households due to deceased parents from disease, war, natural disaster or persecution (Droz 2006; Dutta 2018; Ferguson & Heidemann 2009; Pells 2012).
- Children abandoned by their parents or guardians due to various hardships (Dutta 2018; Ferguson & Heidemann 2009; Pells 2012).
- Children living with a chronic condition where the condition reduces the child's ability to gather resources for themselves or where it is beyond the family's ability to care for the child (Ferguson & Heidemann 2009; Kallio & Westerlund 2016; Pells 2012).
- Children working daily on the street for self-income (mainly to address basic securities such as food) or to aid the family unit (Ferguson & Heidemann 2009).
- Children living on the street who have moved on from the family due to the parents' inability to provide for them. Children may also leave their family because of domestic issues including violence, or the child may have originally been removed from their family by government or protective services and have nowhere else to go (Diwakar 2017; Droz 2006; Ferguson & Heidemann 2009; Kallio & Westerlund 2016).
- Institutionalised children, who are often former street children who struggle with the confining and corrections attitudes of institutions but end up back there due to a lack of alternatives (Ferguson & Heidemann 2009; Kallio & Westerlund 2016).

Undocumented children of illegal migrants in Malaysia whose parents had been detained, or even repatriated, which left the child abandoned to fend for themselves, was another cohort of children identified as accessing NGO services (Lumayag 2016). Children may also be part of a disadvantaged family group who have migrated to an area of perceived opportunity, such as a larger town or tourist destinations, to seek work (Beazley 2014; Beazley & Miller 2016; Dutta 2018; Franchet 1996; Kudrati, Plummer & Yousif 2008; Miller 2020). Children themselves are documented as migrating from disadvantaged rural areas to urban settings seeking better opportunities. However, limited knowledge of the new geography and social structures, means the child may struggle (Beazley 2014; Grossberg 2013; Miller 2020; O'Kane 2003). Along with the attraction of better opportunities, children may be lured to urban areas due to the glamour depicted on television or the internet (Beazley 2014). Beazley (2014) also identified children who falsified

documents in order to move to more affluent countries in the pursuit of work, which suggests that children are capable of considerable independence and resourcefulness (much like the falsification of proof of age cards to gain factory work detailed in section 2.3.2.1 Child labour). Additional issues that may cause a family to migrate include war, drought and famine, or they may migrate due to politically motivated factors such as corruption, ethnic cleansing or authoritarian land grabs (Droz 2006; Kudrati, Plummer & Yousif 2008). For example, the seizing and selling of farmland linked to government corruption in Cambodia meant that families migrated due to a lack of securities such as food (as they no longer have land to farm), or safety (no longer have a home) (Holmes 2016 citing Global Witness 2016). These examples provide an overview of the potential reasons for why children are disadvantaged, why they (and their families) migrate, and why they are in need of help from NGOs.

3.3.1.2 Street-frequenting children (the Place)

Disadvantaged children access NGO services for multiple reasons. One consistent theme in academic literature is children who accessed (or who were the target of) NGO interventions because of their connection to the street (for example, see Beazley & Miller 2016; Bordonaro 2012; Diwakar 2017; Droz 2006; Dutta 2018; Dybicz 2005; Kudrati, Plummer & Yousif 2008; McAlpine et al. 2010; McEvoy et al. 2013; Nieuwenhuys 2001; Rizzini & Butler 2003; Thomas de Benitez 2011). The street represents a place where children address issues associated with disadvantage such as finding work, food and even shelter (Thomas de Benitez 2011). Further, the street acts geographically as a location where the child socialises and builds relationships including friendships, or even new families in the absence of, or after leaving, their original one (Thomas de Benitez 2011).

3.3.1.2.1 Push and pull factors

There are multiple factors that lead to, and potentially keep, a child on the street. For example, various studies discuss the 'push' and 'pull' factors that influence a child's gravitation to the street. The 'pull factors' include the financial opportunities, food affluence, socialisation, and the use of several words to essentially describe independence including freedom, free will, and/or self-determination (Beazley & Miller 2016; Bordonaro 2012; Burr 2002; Dybicz 2005; Franchet 1996; Kudrati, Plummer & Yousif 2008; Nieuwenhuys 2001; Rizzini & Butler 2003). Rizzini and Butler (2003) note that approximately half of the children in their research said they had a contact living on the street who influenced their decision to move there. On freedom and food affluence, former street children placed in government camps reported disliking the authoritarian rules, the boredom of existence and poor-quality food, when compared to their former street-based lives (Kudrati, Plummer & Yousif 2008). The street is noted as a place of opportunity, where friendships are formed and games are played, which is not relatable to the child's former home (Nieuwenhuys 2001). Social workers interviewed by Bordonaro (2012) suggested that the freedom and the

benefits of life on the street were such that children became addicted to the lifestyle. The 'push factors' include: extreme poverty; either the threat of, or actual domestic violence within the family home; poor parenting or broken family ties; or abandonment (Beazley 2014; Bordonaro 2012; Diwakar 2017; Droz 2006; Dybicz 2005; McAlpine et al. 2010; Rizzini & Butler 2003; Thomas de Benitez 2003). Relatedly, research by McAlpine et al. (2010) found that full-time street children in Tanzania reported higher levels of abuse from their family compared to those children who spent some or all of their time at the family home. The threat of domestic violence was also listed as a reason for children not wanting to return home, as well as the fear of punishment for originally leaving (Bordonaro 2012). Finally, children in Ethiopia noted the 'push factor' of moving to the street to pursue an education, in defiance of their parents, as the parents believed the child's duty was to work for the family (Nieuwenhuy 2001).

Bordonaro (2012) notes that multiple push/pull factors normally exist together, rather than a single specific event resulting in a child's migration to the street. For instance, extreme poverty alone was not considered a driving factor for children to seek work on the street in a study from Cape Verde (Bordonaro 2012). Similar commentary from Jones (1997) suggests that an end to poverty might reduce the number of street children, but would not eliminate them completely given the potential for multiple personal and structural influences that impact on any given child's circumstance. Moreover, Bordonaro (2012) states that any focus on individual circumstance that cause poverty and disadvantage, that does not include a wider consideration of social and higher-level drivers of poverty and disadvantage, may not reflect, or properly address, all the associated issues. For example, an NGO in Uganda that worked with local women to increase their income, did not consider underlying gender inequality issues, which meant the husband, through threat of, or actual violence, ended up with the woman's income despite the NGO's best intentions (Hayhurst 2014).

Given the multiple negative factors that can influence a child's migration to the street, McAlpine et al. (2010) suggest the move is an act of resilience given the potential for more positive opportunities, when compared to the child's former situation. Similarly, Bordonaro (2012, p. 416) describes a child's migration to the street as 'opportunistic' rather than 'fatalistic'. Another reason why children may turn to the streets is an altruistic one, to help reduce the burden that they themselves perceive they add to the already struggling family unit (Beazley 2014; Bordonaro 2012). Alternatively, children may leave but continue to help support the family financially with money earned from street work (Beazley & Miller 2016; Bordonaro 2012; UNICEF 2006) or children may 'work' on the street during the day but return home at night (Beazley & Miller 2016; Bordonaro 2012; Dybicz 2005; UNICEF 2006; Walker & Early 2010). The conclusion drawn from the literature is that the factors that drive a child to work or live on the street are multiple and complex. The findings also suggest that children are capable of a considerable degree of agency

and independent decision-making in order to address their circumstances. The distinctions between a child who works on the street and one who lives there is a point frequently raised within the literature, and the difference is explored next.

3.3.1.2.2 Children 'of' the street versus children 'on' the street

Numerous studies recognise a distinction between children 'on' the street and children 'of' the street, noting that children 'on' the street returned to a family or guardian's home at night, after their street-frequenting activities, as opposed to those children who actually live there (Aransiola & Akinyemi 2010; Aransiola & Zarowsky 2014; Bordonaro 2012; Droz 2006; Franchet 1996; Kudrati, Plummer & Yousif 2008; Merrill et al. 2010; O'Kane 2003; UNICEF 2006). Research by O'Kane (2003) notes further distinctions between the groups, in that children 'of' the street reported friendships and rights to association as important, compared to children 'on' the street, who listed rights to a home as significant. However, separation of street children into two heterogeneous groups should be done with caution as research has identified children living on the street who still occasionally go home and children whose work on the street was transitional to them living there (Aransiola & Zarowsky 2014; Droz 2006; Kudrati, Plummer & Yousif 2008; McAlpine et al. 2010; Rizzini & Butler 2003). As a UNICEF (2006) report on the state of the world's children observed, 'street children' as a title is problematic as each child who frequents the street does so in a multitude of ways and for a multitude of reasons.

Research by Nieuwenhuys (2001) suggests that the construct of the 'street child', despite many living at home, serves as an appealing marketing tool for international charities, as it summons images of a child existing outside of the normal 'sanctity' of childhood. Moreover, the child is seen as the innocent 'victim' of circumstance, and by donating people will feel like they are helping to save the child (Droz 2006; Nieuwenhuys 2001; Thomas de Benitez 2011). McEvoy et al. (2013) refute this image by suggesting that regardless of the circumstances that brought a child to 'the street', the child is there as a result of a choice they made, denoting self-determination rather than the child as a passive victim. Another definition given to the phrase 'street children' is a geographical one '... based on the location in which the child lives' or, more appropriately, where they spend a majority of their time (Jones 1997, p. 41). Similarly, research describes how 'the street' plays a significant role in the child's identity, including the social interactions and relationships they build there, which create a sense of belonging (Conticini 2005; McEvoy et al. 2013). This suggests the complexity that the geography of 'the street' (or even geography in general) can hold for a child and why they may spend significant time there. Furthermore, socialisation has already been noted as a 'pull factor' that can influence a child's migration to the street, but the suggestion that it can also help shape identity highlights the significance of those social engagements on the street, on a child's life. This is especially true for children in Droz's (2006) research from Kenya, where children born into a life on the street, or who were abandoned

there, often grew up in 'street families' who shared ties of circumstances, rather than ties of blood or ethnicity. Several authors note the concept of street children grouping together in families, who look after the sick among their own, share resources, or who help to keep one another safe in the absence of other societal resources (Burr 2002; Conticini 2005; Diwakar 2017; Kudrati, Plummer & Yousif 2008; Rizzini & Butler 2003). Another example of how children work together and share resources is provided by Beazley and Miller (2016), whose research from Cambodia observed children forming social networks to help each other sell goods to tourists. The selling of goods to tourists is an illegal activity in certain areas of Cambodia, so children acted as lookouts for police, as well as exchanging goods amongst themselves if a tourist requested an item the child did not have (Beazley & Miller 2016). These social collectives helped the children to survive and thrive.

Finally, Thomas de Benitez (2011), who has published several works on street children, is also critical of the distinction of children 'on' versus 'of' the street and suggests that children 'out of place' is a better definition. It should be noted however that Thomas de Benitez (2003; 2011) associates the term 'out of place' specifically with street-living children, as they exist 'outside' of the normal protections of society. However, despite Thomas de Benitez's (2003) specific focus on street children, she also notes that her arguments could be adapted to other disadvantaged children. Hence, regardless of the way in which a child engages with the geography of the street, the underlying cause can be linked back to a disadvantage of some description suggesting 'disadvantaged child' might be more appropriate terminology as it encompasses a far larger group. The benefit of adopting a definition that is applicable to a larger group means that fewer children are likely to 'fall through the gaps'. It also acknowledges the similarity of circumstances that exists for disadvantaged children as a group and, as Conticini (2005) explains, the strength of friendships that children 'on' or 'of' the street develop because of their shared circumstances.

3.3.2 Interventions

An NGO is a private group who, separate from government, works for the betterment of a defined population. In the developing world, academic literature suggests that an NGO intervention may be impacted by a lack of resources, government interference or complicated donor requirements. But what role do these interventions take? This section describes three ways in which NGO interventions are delivered, it also presents three ideologies that can help understand the motivations of NGOs engaging with disadvantaged children. Finally, this section explores literature concerning NGO educational interventions, children's experience of NGO interventions, and recruitment issues.

3.3.2.1 NGOs in the developing world

Several African studies from Nigeria, Uganda and Kenya note similar issues affecting NGOs and their ability to deliver services, including increased numbers of children requiring care, limited revenue and resources, and an inability to assess and evaluate programs (Aransiola & Akinyemi

2010; Aransiola & Zarowsky 2014; Ferguson & Heidemann 2009; Hayhurst 2014). These issues were reflected in Aransiola and Akinyemi's (2010) data, where less than 10% of street children reported accessing NGO services due, in part, to the challenges faced by organisations in providing services in a resource-poor setting. A related issue is unpredictable funding, which makes the continuation of NGO programs and/or future planning, problematic (Hayhurst 2014). Williams and Yazdani (2009) suggest that short-term funding or commitments can be linked to donors not wanting 'open-ended' obligations, which is problematic as the vulnerable groups that access NGO services often need long-term input. Limited funding may also cause high child-to-staff ratios that potentially compromise the quality and the consistency of the interventions offered (Williams & Yazdani 2009). A lack of funding may also mean an NGO is restricted in the amount of people they can deliver services to, which has implications for the good will of the community, particularly if some receive services and others do not (Pells 2012). One method of potentially overcoming funding limitations is highlighted in Miller's (2020) study of a Cambodian NGO that was solely funded from tourists dining at their training restaurant (self-sustainability). However, more research is needed to understand issues such as the predictability of income (which potentially affected this NGO during COVID-19 shutdowns), and/or if they had the necessary funds to evaluate their own services.

A lack of resources may also be reflective of the environment in which NGOs work. For example, in a war ravaged or impoverished nation, the population or government may lack the means to help support the work of the NGO (Walker & Early 2010). Similarly, an impoverished government may lack the resources (or be unwilling) to provide essential services. Thus, the NGOs may be the only providers on the ground addressing the needs of the population, often despite a lack of resources (Desai 2014; Hayhurst 2014; Thomas de Benitez 2003; Walker & Early 2010). Another issue linked to governments is redundant or impractical local policies that can inhibit an NGO's ability to provide services. An example taken from Williams and Yazdani's (2009) research is a once-a-year student intake by local schools, which made placement of disadvantaged children difficult, especially if enrolment dates were missed. Another potential issue faced by NGOs in developing countries may be resistive local governments who, for example, may be embarrassed by the NGOs' ability to address issues that the government cannot (Droz 2006). This embarrassment may also be felt by the local population (Droz 2006). The local government may, in turn, use this embarrassment as political capital to push a policy agenda against an NGO's work or to distract the populace from other social issues they have not addressed (Droz 2006). An example of how a government can use an NGO as political fodder is described by Droz (2006) as the state suggesting that an organisation purposefully fails to rehabilitate its children in order to continue their funding arrangements.

A related issue to NGO funding is extraneous or multiple reporting requirements that take away from the provision of other services. Newcomer, El Baradei and Garcia's (2013) research examined the reporting and monitoring activities of twelve NGOs working with street children: six based in Colombia and six in Egypt. The twelve NGOs received funding through local foundations and agencies (including local government), from larger international partner NGOs and from private corporations. Five of the Egyptian NGOs reported having at least five different sources of funding (Newcomer, El Baradei & Garcia 2013). Many funders required some form of performance or cost-based reporting; all funders had different reporting requirements, despite the NGOs noting that most reports contained similar content (Newcomer, El Baradei & Garcia 2013). Data collection for reporting was noted by Colombian NGOs as burdensome and adding extra workload to the already over-stretched staff (Newcomer, El Baradei & Garcia 2013). Egyptian NGOs hired consultancy firms to collect and report data, suggesting their own staff did not have the capacity and/or expertise to perform this activity (Newcomer, El Baradei & Garcia 2013). The lack of universal reporting tools also impacted on local NGO activities due to excessive micromanagement, with various funders requiring different methods of reporting, and through staff being already over-stretched and time poor.

Several NGOs also felt that donor reporting requirements were not an accurate reflection of the impact of their work (Newcomer, El Baradei & Garcia 2013). Moreover, NGOs reported not having the resources to analyse and learn from their data (Newcomer, El Baradei & Garcia 2013). An inability to evaluate programs was a noted issue in the three African studies above, that was also caused by a lack of resources (Aransiola & Akinyemi 2010; Aransiola & Zarowsky 2014; Ferguson & Heidemann 2009; Hayhurst 2014). Similarly, NGOs noted the strain on resources, including time, that having staff trained in data collection techniques created (Newcomer, El Baradei & Garcia 2013). Of the NGOs that were able to analyse their own data, one identified an issue in their services, which involved dropouts linked to drug use that resulted in a redesign of services to add support for children with the noted issue (Newcomer, El Baradei & Garcia 2013). This change in services, following evaluation, suggests the importance of NGOs being able to monitor their practices. Finally, four NGOs reported that performance data was the most useful to collect as it provided an understanding of the benefits of interventions (Newcomer, El Baradei & Garcia 2013). For example, it can help an NGO understand the effectiveness of a literacy program from the number of literate children, post intervention (Newcomer, El Baradei & Garcia 2013).

3.3.2.2 What form do NGO interventions take?

An NGO's interaction with disadvantaged children can take several forms; three forms discussed by Dybicz (2005) are primary, secondary and tertiary interventions. Primary interventions are aimed at children living in absolute poverty but who are not yet living on the street (Dybicz 2005). Dybicz (2005) suggests that primary interventions focus on reducing factors that push/pull children

towards street living or further disadvantage. An example of a primary intervention is increasing the capacity of the community to support the child by providing access to health care, education and income. Ferguson and Heidemann (2009) suggest that NGOs working with expanded cohorts such as the child's parents and/or communities can help to strengthen local support networks around the child as well as influencing societal change within the community. However, community engagement may be difficult if the community sees the support of children as the NGO's job rather than adopting the responsibility themselves (Pells 2012). This suggests that the NGO must make its level of engagement clear with the community from the outset. Examples from the literature also exist of parents who purposefully abandoned their children in the hope they would be picked up by the NGO (Pells 2012). However, if supports are built up around the family as suggested above, then potentially these activities might reduce or even cease.

Secondary interventions involved helping the child while on the street to make 'legal' economic choices and income, and to educate them about drugs, gangs and sexual health with the aim of minimising criminal activity and helping the child through to adulthood (Dybicz 2005). An example of the importance of health education is provided in a study by Kudrati, Plummer and Yousif (2008) where several boys independently suggested that HIV/AIDS could only be caught by having sex with females. This information was given as the reason for why boys only had sex with other boys. Similarly, Conticini's (2005) investigation of Dhaka street children found that 70% of the 93 participants were sexually active but that only one in four had heard of HIV/AIDS and that fewer regularly used condoms. These misunderstandings signify the importance of NGOs providing sexual education to help children avoid infections. Education on making money through legal means is also important so that children operate within the protective framework of the state, where such protections exist, rather than operating outside of those protections (Thomas de Benitez 2003; 2011).

Tertiary intervention involved covering the basic needs of the child such as drop-in shelters, food kitchens and the provision of basic health care (Dybicz 2005). Research by Sarvani (2015) from Hyderabad and Vijayawada in India offers an example of a tertiary intervention design in the form of 'drop-in' centres. These centres offered services such as counselling, basic health care, non-formal education and clean water to street-frequenting children, for immediate to short-term assistance. Of interest in Sarvani's (2015) research was the better health outcomes achieved by the NGO drop-in shelters, in comparison to government run centres, through provision of more nutritious food, cleaner facilities, and basic health education. Problematic NGO programs noted by Dybicz (2005) included residential/rehabilitation-based interventions as they were considered to be resource intensive, and as the child is generally taken away from their community, re-integration can be difficult. In support of Dybicz's research, Kudrati, Plummer and Yousif (2008) note the considerable cost associated with NGOs who provided private residencies for disadvantaged

children, while Williams and Yazdani (2009) note how residential care distanced children from their families. NGOs were also noted as being reluctant to provide accommodation to disadvantaged children as they did not want to become 'free hotels' (Williams & Yazdani 2009, p. 11). Finally, the literature provides numerous examples of NGOs offering services in circumstances where they would otherwise not exist. These services included primary education, basic health care, or similar interventions that address basic needs (Asadullah & Chaudhury 2013; Hayhurst 2014; Walker & Early 2010; Williams & Yazdani 2009). Uniquely, Kallio and Westerlund (2016) highlight an NGO in Cambodia that was helping to preserve traditional music and dance, in the absence of state-run programs. The NGO conducted programs that taught the arts to vulnerable children, which vicariously helped preserve, and pass on, cultural traditions.

3.3.2.3 Educational interventions

A common intervention offered by NGOs was education, which is delivered in three main ways: formal, informal, and vocational studies. Formal education involved a primary and/or higher-level education in the absence of state-based alternatives, or when disadvantaged children lacked the resources (including official documentation) to attend an equivalent (Dejaeghere, Wiger & Willemsen 2016; Lumayag 2016; Walker & Early 2010). Formal educational interventions were often linked to the state curriculum and/or attempted to prepare students for entrance into a state school system (Ferguson & Heidemann 2009; Gibson 2016; Lumayag 2016). Common education provided by NGOs, in addition to formal curriculums, were lessons on social awareness and moral values, hygiene, arts, language, religion, and computer literacy classes (Gibson 2016; Lumayag 2016). A second type of intervention is informal education. Informal education was mostly aimed at street-based children and included lessons in reading and writing as well as hygiene, health, sex education and legal rights (Dutta 2018; Dybicz 2005; Ferguson & Heidemann 2009; Hirai & Hiyane 2021; Remington 1993). The third type of educational intervention concerned employability skills training. Generally, employability skills training involved schooling in a given trade via a vocational education (Burr 2002; Dejaeghere, Wiger & Willemsen 2016; Ferguson & Heidemann 2009; Krishna & Agarwal 2017; Miller 2020). For example, Burr (2002) reports that, at the request of students, an NGO ran an informal program in mechanics that led to jobs for students in local garages. The other type of employability skills training involved lessons in how to search and apply for jobs, including how to become more employable (Brunila & Ryyanen 2017; Dejaeghere, Wiger & Willemsen 2016; Ferguson & Heidemann 2009). NGOs may also help children to attend school by assisting with fees, uniforms, additional tutoring, and scholarships so that children can attend higher education such as university (Ferguson & Heidemann 2009; Hirai & Hiyane 2021; Krishna & Agarwal 2017). A further benefit of NGOs providing free education was the perception of reduced poverty for the families receiving it, as they were less focused on finding funds for their child's schooling (Piquemal & Sime 2013).

A study by Kim (2017) of students' perceived learning needs, from three charitable classrooms in Vietnam, reported that students found their education in English (74.8%) the most beneficial followed by ethics (13.5%), informatics (9.7%) and life skills (7.5%). Unfortunately, Kim's (2017) study did not report why students valued English so highly; however the author did discuss why the students' support for life skills was low, as they felt embarrassed talking about sex and mental health. Interestingly, the teachers listed lessons in life skills as the most important as they wanted to help students to make good decisions in the future, and to be good citizens (Kim 2017). Participants in Ferguson and Heidemann's (2009) study suggested that receiving an NGO education resulted in a general improvement in academic outcomes. Further, some service providers suggested that NGOs delivered a better education than local state-run schools (Ferguson & Heidemann 2009). Another benefit of NGO-run services was the delivery of primary education that focused on gender equality, which increased the number of females who attended high school (Asadullah & Chaudhury 2013). Attending an NGO education also helped to prevent some disadvantaged children's migration to the street and/or increased their self-belief (Henley et al. 2010). For example, Morgan's (2016, p. 180) study of street children engaged with an informal NGO education that was delivered in the form of street theatre; it reports that the intervention had helped children to reassess their future and want 'to do something with their life'. Similarly, research by Ferguson and Heidemann (2009) suggests that NGO interventions increased children's self-esteem and motivation to excel in life. Finally, research by Dutta (2018), Kim (2017) and Lumayag (2016) provide limited information regarding the common jobs that disadvantaged students aspire to (which some authors link to a child's increased self-belief from gaining an education) as doctors, teachers, mechanics and police officers.

Factors that contribute to a child's inability to attend a state-based education include the cost, despite it being free in many countries, as additional expenses such as books and uniforms place an education beyond the means of those living in poverty (Dejaeghere, Wiger & Willemsen 2016; Gibson 2016; Henley et al. 2010; Miller 2020). Similarly, cultural 'conventions' that force students to make payments to teachers for various reason (costs of their travel or tuition for example) can exist outside of state sanctioned expenses and make a 'free' education even more unattainable (Mason & Galloway 2021; Miller 2022). Children may also need to work to support themselves, or to help support their family, which makes education a distant priority (Dejaeghere, Wiger & Willemsen 2016; Gibson 2016; Henley et al. 2010). Listed reasons for why street children stopped attending a street-based NGO education in Conticini's (2005, p. 79) research were a '... lack of interest, work commitments, not having friends in class, being tired from the day's/night's work ...'. This 'lack of interest' in education highlighted by Conticini may also link to a perceived lack of choice. For example, a young male in Gibson's (2016) study suggested he dropped out of higher education as the work that was available to him locally did not require one, and even if he pursued it, he would still end up in the same job.

Another factor that inhibited children's engagement with education was family influence, as parents or guardians were either not aware or not convinced of the benefits of education due to a lack of education themselves (Dutta 2018; Gibson 2016; Piquemal & Sime 2013). Further, this attitude may have been learnt from the parent's own mother and/or father, which suggests the problem is intergenerational (Gibson 2016; Piquemal & Sime 2013). Both Remington (1993) and Gibson (2016) note that NGO staff struggled to convince some parents of the longer-term benefits of education such as increased employment opportunities and better health (health literacy). However, Piquemal and Sime (2013) identified parents who had no formal education themselves but who nevertheless understood the benefits of education for their children. Other problems associated with gaining an education listed by Gibson (2016) were overcrowded classrooms, nowhere to study in overcrowded housing, and illiterate parents who could not help with homework.

3.3.2.4 Ideologies of NGOs working with disadvantaged children

The literature identifies three common ideologies related to the work of NGOs delivering services with disadvantaged children including reactive, protective and rights-based ideals. A reactive ideology suggests that children are delinquents or a social problem that needs fixing (Thomas de Benitez 2003). A protective ideology suggests that children should be drawn back into the 'mainstream' and engaged in activities that are perceived as best for them, such as receiving an education, rather than working (Thomas de Benitez 2003). Finally, a rights-based ideology suggests that children are social actors capable of self-determination; however society ultimately discriminates against the child and their rights (Thomas de Benitez 2003; 2011). These ideals are outlined below.

3.3.2.4.1 Deviances and corrections

Bordonaro's (2012) research suggests tension exists between a child's agency and autonomy, and adult structures and restrictions placed on children for their perceived best interest. This tension takes a concerning form when providers of aid and/or interventions perceive their role (or the given society may perceive the provider's role) as correcting 'undesirable' habits of children who frequent the streets, including habits they pick up from peers (Bordonaro 2012; Franchet 1996; Kudrati, Plummer & Yousif 2008). These habits are perceived as deviant in that they do not fit the mould of 'normal child behaviours' as prescribed in a given society (Bordonaro 2012). Further, the very presence of street-frequenting children may represent a perceived failure of a given society to address local issues, or the local political narrative may demonise the group as a way of distracting from other contentious issues (Droz 2006). The wider community may in turn see the role of the NGO as guiding the deviant child back to conformity. The list of deviant behaviours of street-frequenting children (either perceived or actual) reported in the literature included truanting, engaging in sexual activity at a young age, being 'rude' and disrespectful, smoking, drinking

(and/or drugs), begging, prostitution, petty crimes, gang activity, being 'unwashed' (and bathing in fountains), sleeping in the open and being loud (Bordonaro 2012; Jones 1997; Thomas de Benitez 2003).

An example of the public's attitudes to the perceived deviant behaviour of street-frequenting children was the suggestion that they posed a threat to the peace of the community (Aransiola & Akinyemi 2010). Similarly, street-frequenting children interviewed by Rizzini and Butler (2003) were aware of the community's attitudes towards them as they related that people feared them or thought they were thieves. Another example from Droz (2006 citing Kibwana 1996; Thomas 1997; 2000) notes that despite Nairobi having a known corrupt police force, and that the city was a centre for illicit activity causing high levels of criminality, Nairobians still associated the city's unsavoury issues with street dwellers. The very word 'street child' alludes to deviant behaviour and/or of a child acting differently than would otherwise be culturally prescribed (Nieuwenhuys 2001).

However, as noted above, the circumstances in which a child frequents the street are varied, and the child may still live in a family home, but their 'disadvantage' results in them seeking food, income, or even social engagement on the street.

The association of deviant behaviour with disadvantaged children is potentially linked more to those who live on the street than those who frequent it. For example, Merrill et al.'s (2010) study from Manila notes that children who lived full time on the street had a higher association with prostitution and drug use, compared to those who still had some connection with the family home. Activities such as drug use and prostitution may in turn be associated with, or increase the risk of, mental health issues among street children (Omari et al. 2021). Thomas de Benitez (2003) notes that habits that street children adopt for survival such as drug use, prostitution and theft, may also be the actions that alienate them from society. However, a given society may associate deviance with street children regardless of whether they have acted in a deviant way or not, with the child's only offence being that they are visible on the street and existing outside of social norms (Thomas de Benitez 2011). As UNICEF (2006) notes, the term 'street children' is prone to stigmatisation. Hence, these attitudes would also theoretically include those children who return home after frequenting the street as it would be difficult to distinguish between groups. Regardless, the association of deviance and even criminality with vulnerable groups, irrespective of their status, and in the absence of evidence, should be made with caution given the very real chance of further alienating an already disadvantaged group.

Finally, deviance is often associated with a corrections based approach to the perceived problem. As outlined, street-frequenting children are often perceived as the embodiment of a range of negative social issues and their removal from the street is the paramount issue to address (Aransiola & Zarowsky 2014; Droz 2006; Jones 1997; O'Kane 2003; Thomas de Benitez 2003). An example of a corrections attitude is provided by Kudrati, Plummer and Yousif's (2008) study of

street children who were regularly arrested under Sudanese juvenile law for 'vagrancy'. Vagrancy suggests that street-frequenting children were prone to delinquency, regardless of whether they had committed a 'delinquent' act or not. Thomas de Benitez (2003) notes that the state may use the juvenile justice system as a means of clearing youth from the streets. For example, vagrancy is noted as a criminal offence in several studies and is used in many countries to arrest street-frequenting children (Droz 2006; Franchet 1996; Jones 1997; Kudrati, Plummer & Yousif 2008; Thomas de Benitez 2003). The association of delinquency with street-frequenting children is seen to increase fear and exclusion, as well as the chance that the child will be involved with corrective systems (police or penal) (Thomas de Benitez 2011). This attitude towards disadvantaged children further impacts on them negatively, and pushes them away from the mainstream of society.

3.3.2.4.2 Protection, Western ideals, and basic needs

Researchers highlight how some NGOs treat children as 'passive victims' of circumstance, with limited capacity for autonomy, agency and free will (Bordonaro 2012; Jones 1997; Thomas de Benitez 2011). The very real consequence associated with presenting children as 'passive victims' or even just victims is having them be seen only as helpless objects that need saving, rather than autonomous individuals capable of self-determination (Thomas de Benitez 2011). International organisations are similarly criticised for using pictures of vulnerable looking children to portray an image of the 'innocent victim' that needs saving in order to boost fundraising (Thomas de Benitez 2003). Contrastingly, Bordonaro (2012, p. 421 citing Bordonaro 2011) notes that the resourcefulness and independence in survival demonstrated by street children in Cape Verde 'upset an image of passive, innocent victims waiting to be saved'. An attitude similar to a 'victim' outlook is displayed by idealist driven services such as NGOs adopting 'Western perspectives of the child' (see Glossary of key terms) rather than tailoring services to local circumstances and needs (Beazley & Miller 2016; Maconachie & Hilson 2016; Miller 2022; Nieuwenhuys 2001; Pells 2012). An example from Siem Reap concerned NGOs and tourist operators who campaigned against tourist buying goods off children as they suggested it inhibited the child's education (Beazley & Miller 2016; Miller 2022). The authors criticised these organisations for being influenced by Western perspectives as they failed to consider *why* the child sold goods, or consider the acceptance of the practice in Khmer society (Beazley & Miller 2016; Miller 2022). Many complex reasons exist for why a child labours. One example is explored by Maconachie and Hilson (2016) who interviewed youth miners in Sierra Leone. Mining is classified by the International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC 2017) in the 'worst forms of child labour' category as it is dangerous, performed underground and/or in confined spaces and interferes with the child's ability to attend school. Interviews with the youth miners however, suggested that while they did work in potentially hazardous circumstances, they were also attending school and that their work provided the money they needed to do so, as their families could not otherwise afford the expense (Maconachie & Hilson 2016). This indicates the complex

relationship between poverty, child labour and education (Maconachie & Hilson 2016; Miller 2022) and while a 'Western perspective' might potentially represent a child's best interests, the child may be working, begging or labouring for a reason, and that reason needs consideration.

The complexity of poverty and child labour is explored further in a vignette by Walker and Early (2010) from Sierra Leone, which describes a boy fishing under rocks despite the potential danger of becoming trapped. The boy said he sold the fish to earn money to eat as his grandmother was unable to provide for him. The situation was exacerbated by limited food supply in the city that increased the cost, and hence the risk the child took to earn enough income to secure food (Walker & Early 2010). Basic securities such as food may become an issue for NGOs if, for example, they blindly focus on the 'rights of the child' such as receiving an education, over the child eating (Nieuwenhuys 2001). Potential consequences of prioritising education over basic needs are noted in Riley's (2013) investigation of Malawi orphans where hunger associated with inadequate food security caused poor concentration at school, disinterest in play and sleep disturbance. From an NGO in West Bengal perspective, identifying and meeting as many 'needs' as possible was often key to a student continuing their education (Thornton 2006). However, a note of caution is given by O'Kane (2003) who found that even if the NGO provided for basic needs, child labourers may see it as an insult to their ability to provide for themselves, suggesting respect of the child's agency is also important. Poverty's impact on a family's ability to address their basic needs may also mean a child is forced to work rather than attend school, which also prevents attendance at an education (Nieuwenhuys 2001). Other factors impacting on a child's ability to address basic needs may include the general impoverishment of the space the child occupies, such as a poor household or village lacking water for agriculture, or the absence of one or both parents (Riley 2013). Similarly, children in Dejaeghere, Wiger and Willemsen's (2016) study reported limited educational opportunities due to the loss of one or both parents, which impacted their capacity to afford books, transport and school fees.

Williams and Yazdani (2009) note that interventions informed by 'global values' may also fail due to local resistance. An example is the aspirations that NGOs can inspire in children through their discourse of 'rights' like the 'right to an education'; however, the promotion of these rights may cause complications for, or with, a child's family if the child is needed to help sustain the family's income (Nieuwenhuys 2001). This point is similarly raised in research by O'Kane (2003), when one participant noted how their parents would not allow them to study, as they wanted them to work, with the parent even withholding food if the child did not comply. The NGO may act with the perceived best interests of the child in mind, but as discussed, the complexity of situations may produce unforeseen complications. Another criticism raised by Thomas de Benitez (2003) is that a blind focus on the re-integration of a child into the education system may not consider the actual quality of the education, nor the underlying structural issues that initially prevented school

attendance. In summary, the reasons why a child does not attend school may be tied to the child's ability to address basic needs, which in turn may have parental, structural and societal underpinnings that need consideration, rather than assumptions about what the child should be.

3.3.2.5 Children's experiences of NGOs

Research exploring children's experiences of NGO interventions is limited; a handful of examples are given below but this is an area that needs attention. A majority of former Sudanese street children who were recipients of private interventions suggested that the formal, vocational and Koran education they received was the best part of the institute's service (Kudrati, Plummer & Yousif 2008). Similarly, two children in Dejaeghere, Wiger and Willemsen's (2016) study reported a positive self-outlook after completing an NGO trade and education intervention as following completion both went on to be employed and earn an income. These two examples suggest that education and training are valued by the child, especially when a positive outcome is achieved as part of the intervention. Conversely, children in another study reported feeling anxious for being singled out for assistance while their siblings and parents went unassisted (Nieuwenhuys 2001). Finally, Nieuwenhuys (2001) suggested that children were happy to discuss the NGO, despite the possibility of consequences, as they had never previously been asked their opinion regarding services. This suggests that the children receiving services had little input into NGO intervention, and that further research on the child's perspective is needed (Nieuwenhuys 2001).

3.3.2.6 Recruitment and retention

Studies by Almeida and de Carvalho (2002) and Jones (1997) report methods of NGO recruitment, however a critique of their approaches is not offered. For example, Jones's (1997) article reports on an NGO that first established confidence and interest from street children regarding their program in the hope that the child would eventually enrol in the service, rather than be recruited. However, an assessment of the success of this approach is not offered by the author. Recruitment is also discussed in research by Grossberg (2013) in Cambodia. The NGO in this study connected with street youth by providing classes on a shared topic of interest, namely hip hop music and dance. The NGO relied on 'word of mouth' to attract youths as the popularity of the program regularly drew 300 students a month. These classes were conducted by former street children as well, suggesting a level of shared circumstances helped with recruitment (Grossberg 2013). Grossberg (2013) reports that the NGO used the interest in the hip hop program to expose youths to other classes in language, mathematics and computers, as well as providing lessons in health, hygiene, drugs and sexual health.

The only other method of recruitment discussed in relation to NGOs was that of people gaining knowledge of organisation through informal social networks such as recommendations from close relatives who had attended, or heard about, the NGO from others, or through NGO staff who shared similar backgrounds (geographical/community similar to the hip hop teachers mentioned

above) to the disadvantaged youth (Hirai & Hiyane 2021; Miller 2020). An example of what influences children to remain in NGO services is discussed in a study by Dejaeghere, Wiger and Willemsen (2016), where one youth reported a negative experience and an intent to quit the organisation. However, the student's peers encouraged her to stay, which resulted in the establishment of her own business, based on the education she received at the NGO. This example highlights the role that peers can play in the retention of children in service. Similarly, older siblings may intervene on the behalf of their struggling younger siblings to assist them to stay with the NGO intervention, suggesting that family can also play an important role in retention (Dejaeghere, Wiger & Willemsen 2016). Research regarding shared interest to attract youth to services, as well as understanding how peers and/or family influence children to engage with an NGO (and stay there) is limited within the literature. This indicates an area requiring further investigation, to help understand what draws children to services, and what keeps them engaged, once there.

3.3.3 Outcomes

Outcomes examines recommendations from the literature regarding how NGO services might be better implemented. This includes a strong focus on incorporating the child's voice, or at the least, a consideration of the child's need, when developing services on their behalf. Recommendations also notes the need for long-term services that builds support around the child, which includes an emphasis on the benefits of the child staying in contact with the family, and adapting services to local needs and conditions.

3.3.3.1 Recommendations from the literature

Aransiola & Akinyemi (2010) suggest that the success of a given NGO program can be measured by the attitudes of the children engaged in the service. Similarly, the input of the child may be pivotal in achieving successful interventions (Franchet 1996). Williams and Yazdani (2009, p. 11) suggest this is achievable by building curriculum around a child's 'needs and lifestyle'. A method of gaining a child's input is reported in O'Kane's (2003) study of an Indian NGO that developed a street children's council. Children's councils and unions are methods by which disadvantaged children may strengthen their voice and, in turn, their rights by pushing for social change through the strength of a combined voice (O'Kane 2003; Thomas de Benitez 2003). Of note from O'Kane's (2003) research was the children's desire to be treated with dignity and respect, as routinely the cohort was not.

Incorporating a child's voice in planning and decision-making is part of a 'rights-based approach', which suggests the child's basic human rights are impacted and allowing them to participate helps address discrimination (Thomas de Benitez 2003). However, as Pells (2012) notes, despite the best intentions of NGOs to include children in service planning, barriers in the form of available program resources, state structures, or even poor planning, can limit the child's actual

input/contribution. On this point, a rights-based approach also acknowledges that structural change is needed to prevent, or change, the circumstances that place children in disadvantaged, or that contribute to the underlying discrimination (Pells 2012; Thomas de Benitez 2003). Williams and Yazdani (2009) suggest that NGOs engaging with children should understand the moral obligation entrusted to them by the local population, and that engagement is potentially for many years, especially in the absence of government services. Moreover, long-term input is considered crucial given the child is a developing entity (Kudrati, Plummer & Yousif 2008; Williams & Yazdani 2009). Premature cessation of services may also mean that the child returns to their previous life, or becomes mistrustful of the NGO, especially if the NGO promises much but fails to deliver (Williams & Yazdani 2009).

The importance of family for street children is explored by Merrill et al.'s (2010) research from Manila, which found that children who kept some contact with the family home had reduced associations with drug use and prostitution, had brighter outlooks and were more likely to attend school. Based on this, Merrill et al. (2010) recommend that children maintain family ties, where possible, unless the child left due to abuse or similar negative circumstances. However, this may be a contradiction as other research suggests the children who live on the street full time associate more abuse with the family home, compared to children who spent some, or no time living on the street (McAlpine et al. 2010). Hence, the child's former family home needs a level of scrutiny before blindly placing the child back there. Long-term services, though, with family input, when it is safe for the child to do so, would appear to have beneficial implications for the children concerned. On family, Thornton's (2006) research from West Bengal investigated an NGO who ran an 'adopt a granny' program. This program helped support elder family members with basic securities such as food and clothes that freed them from struggling to support themselves, so they could contribute economically to the family through work or babysitting. This in turn freed younger family members to work (Thornton 2006). The NGO in Thornton's (2016) research also ran crèches where children were looked after and educated, partly by the elder family members or by other employed mothers, which freed other children's mothers to work and provide more income for the family.

As noted earlier, research suggests that NGO interventions should consider the basic needs of the child before attempting higher level concerns such as an education (Pells 2012; Thomas de Benitez 2003). Moreover, Franchet (1996) suggests a careful analysis of local realities will help increase opportunities for disadvantaged children rather than implementing a one size fits all approach. Specific points offered by Franchet (1996) to achieve better service delivery include:

- networking among, and between, service providers in analysis of situations, program development and evaluation, that avoids duplication of services where possible
- empowering children by incorporating them in planning and decision-making

- identifying problems and needs, and the resources and interventions needed to address them including the continued evaluation of interventions.

Several authors (Dybicz 2005; Franchet 1996; O'Kane 2003; Williams & Yazdani 2009) identify the importance of including the child in decision-making as it increases agency and addresses discrimination. Also, as Pells (2012) notes, what an NGO perceives as a priority may not be shared by the group receiving the intervention, meaning input from aid recipients can help avoid simple misunderstandings, while also acknowledging their rights and self-determination. Finally, Newcomer, El Baradei and Garcia (2013) suggest that donors play an active role in helping their beneficiaries to learn from their collected data and not limit reporting to a justification for funding. Further, they suggest that reporting requirements be leaner, mission driven, and that donors should train the NGO staff in data collection and interpretation to help take pressure off the NGO (Newcomer, El Baradei & Garcia 2013).

3.3.4 Limitations

The database searches highlight that a significant proportion of recent research was conducted in urban areas such as towns or cities, suggesting this review is more applicable to urban geographies. This can be seen in the heavy emphasis placed on street-frequenting children, who are a substantial focus of research in this area. The multiple ways in which a child exists in need, however, is down to a disadvantage of some kind, and because disadvantage does not respect geographic boundaries, means the review may be relevant to a wider cohort. For example, several studies note the migration of children and/or families from rural to urban areas, indicating that cohorts investigated in one geography may also be representative of others. Finally, the descriptions of children who access services are limited to those found within the reviewed articles and cannot hope to cover the multiple ways in which children are disadvantaged and in need of assistance.

CHAPTER 4: A SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONIST GUIDE TO REALITY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents four theoretical discussions which together address two important aspects of the research. The first important aspect concerns the establishment of the methodological foundations which, in this thesis, are informed by the theoretical ideas of social constructionism, as outlined in *The Social Construction of Reality* by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966). The second important aspect involves establishing the theoretical discussions that will be used in the re-interpretation of the research findings. The first of these theoretical discussions draws on concepts from *Development as freedom* by Amartya Sen (2001) and considers how various 'freedoms' and 'unfreedoms' impact on a person's ability to perform different functions, and choose. The second theoretical discussion is postcolonialism (Allina 2021; Gandhi 1998; Loomba 2005; McEwan 2009), which considers the impact of colonisation, on the colonised. The examination of postcolonialism in this chapter also draws on historical knowledge regarding the French colonisation of Cambodia to help illustrate theoretical concepts, and further develop the context of the research setting. The final theoretical discussion draws ideas from *The External Control of Organizations* by Jeffrey Pfeffer and Gerald Salancik (2003) to better understand how external environments influence organisations, especially in relation to funding, and how they might respond in kind.

4.2 Social constructionism introduction

The Social Construction of Reality by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann (1966), which draws on theoretical influences such as Marx's critique of ideology and Schultz's social phenomenology, argues that all knowledge is socially constructed (Best 2008; Weinberg 2008). The authors' work has been widely influential as it presents a way of investigating the 'everyday' and/or 'mundane' knowledge that people ascribe to their lives, that was not readily available elsewhere (Berger & Luckmann 1991; Best 2008). This thesis's investigation of the 'everyday meaning' that people ascribe to the phenomenon of NGOs (non-government organisations) working with disadvantaged children made the ideas of Berger and Luckmann (1966) a solid basis for the study. In addition to Berger and Luckmann's work, this thesis draws on social constructionist authors such as Weinberg (2014; 2008) and Best (2008), as well as broader research discussion by Lincoln and Guba (2013; 2008), Crotty (1998) and Patton (2015) to inform its discussion. A critique of the positivist interpretation of reality is also used throughout this section as a point of comparison, and to aid explanation of social constructionist concepts. Finally, the social construction of the child and childhood is introduced and explored to aid examination, and to help understand, any issues arising from the inclusion of children in the research.

4.2.1 Everyday reality and social constructs

A premise of Berger and Luckmann's (1991, p. 37) work is that for ordinary people 'the reality of everyday life is taken for granted as reality' as 'it is simply there' and rarely requires further confirmation as continuous routine engagements with this reality constantly reconfirms it. This reconfirmation of reality is described by Berger and Luckmann (1991, p. 33) as '... a world that originates in their thoughts and actions, and is maintained as real by these'. The authors do however make a clear distinction between 'ordinary people', who have limited cause to question the nature of their reality, and 'academics' who routinely do (Berger & Luckmann 1991). This distinction is important as the majority of Berger and Luckmann's work is concerned with 'ordinary people' and the meanings they attribute to their everyday 'taken-for-granted' existence (and not the academic). The 'meanings' that ordinary people attribute within their everyday existence can be further broken down into objects, processes or phenomena. All of these are considered to be 'socially constructed' as a person's knowledge of them is generated from engagement with their world, and with other people, within a network of social relations (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner 2006; Berger & Luckmann 1991; Crotty 1998; Patton 2015). Essentially, these social constructs provide meaning for the totality of which a person will either think about, or take action towards, hence they represent a person's reality. Consequently, when this proposition is reversed, it indicates that reality is socially constructed (Berger & Luckmann 1991).

Contrastingly, most scientific investigations are informed by a positivist orientation, which proposes that reality exists regardless of a human conscious being aware/engaged with it (Lincoln & Guba 2008; Norum 2008). Positivist thinking originated in Europe alongside the scientific method and is focused on rationality, logic and reason (Norum 2008). In positivism, 'objects' are knowable through rigorous experimentation and observations that ultimately reveal the objects' true 'universal' nature (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner 2006; Burr 2015; Green & Thorogood 2014; Koch 1999; Lincoln & Guba 2013; Norum 2008). Objects in a constructionist reality, like a positivist's reality, theoretically exist outside of human engagement with them, as it is through engagement that *meaning* is generated, rather than meaning producing engageable objects. Unlike a positivist's reality, however, in constructionism it is humans that give subjective meaning to objects in the natural world, rather than meaning waiting to be objectively discovered (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner 2006; Patton 2015). As Crotty (1998, p. 43) notes, objects in the natural world '... maybe pregnant with potential meaning, but actual meaning emerges only when consciousness engages with them'. Further, Crotty (1998) suggests that objects and phenomena may be inherently 'meaningless', but their existence generates meaning when humans engage with them. Crotty (1998) draws on the field of phenomenology and its notion of intentionality to explain the connection between objects in the natural world and human consciousness. Intentionality posits that the conscious is drawn towards objects (in the natural world), that consciousness is the act of thinking about an object, and in turn objects are shaped by these conscious acts (Berger &

Luckmann 1991; Crotty 1998; Dowling 2007). So, objects exist prior to conscious engagement, but are only given meaning when the two meet. This means the subjective and objective exists in the human world as a dualism (Crotty 1998) and any effort to uncover and observe an objective reality will inevitably be filtered through the subjective human inquirer (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner 2006; Lincoln & Guba 2013). Indeed, constructionism argues that positivist knowledge, while useful in its dedication to precise measurements, is still socially constructed knowledge (Best 2008).

4.2.2 Pre-existing meaning, common-sense knowledge, and fluidity

Another consideration in social constructionism is understanding where the pre-existing meanings that people apply to objects, originate from. Berger and Luckmann (1991) note that countless objects within a person's reality have designated subjective meanings before a person becomes conscious of them. A person's knowledge of these objects develops from social engagements, which utilises a shared language learnt from other social actors like parents, siblings and teachers (Berger & Luckmann 1991; Harris 2006). Social actors who pass on knowledge to the next generation, learnt from similar figures in their own social lives, help perpetuate social knowledge of objects between generations (Crotty 1998). Contextually, knowledge of objects is also informed by the culture, history, politics, social settings, and the geography in which that knowledge is socially produced. Berger and Luckmann (1991) note this as common-sense knowledge, which is the common understanding shared between actors inhabiting a given time and place, within a shared social network. Common-sense knowledge can also be described as the taken-for-granted understandings that people apply to their everyday reality (Berger & Luckmann 1991). Moreover, Berger and Luckmann (1991, p. 37) state there is an 'ongoing correspondence' between actors and meanings within the same social network that produces an evolving 'common sense about its reality' that changes over time. Hence, the knowledge of objects that is passed on through generations will also evolve between generations, as meanings are re-contextualised and negotiated between new social actors (this also helps make older explanations for objects relevant to the newer generation) (Berger & Luckmann 1991).

A consequence of objects existing independently from human-constructed notions of them (they exist regardless of the human meaning assigned to them), is that human constructs of objects are not absolute (Patton 2015). As explained by Lincoln and Guba (2013), reality is relative to the observer and the social lens through which they define it, so multiple constructs of the same natural object can exist, which results in competing definitions for that object (Patton 2015; Weinberg 2008). Lincoln and Guba (2008, p. 270) suggest this as an 'antifoundational' stance as it rejects notions of universal truths as found in a positivist paradigm. A criticism of applying universal truths to phenomena in a positivist paradigm is the fallibility (fluidity) of truths that constantly evolve with the existence of new evidence (Weinberg 2008). The constructionist rejection of universal truths and acceptance of multiple realities also makes its reality fluid rather than fixed (Crotty 1998;

Lincoln & Guba 2008). This fluidity extends to phenomena within a given person's reality as the meaning we give objects can evolve over time. Moreover, it implies that any attached meaning for a given object can also be challenged (Weinberg 2014). However, despite objects lacking confirmable and fixed meaning, the meaning that a person attaches to an object is still perceived as real, as are the actions associated with that object. This idea is succinctly expressed in the classic 'Thomas theorem' that states 'what is perceived as real, is real in its consequences' (Cuff, Sharrock & Francis 1992; Patton 2015). Put another way, if you challenge a person's constructed explanation of an object, you are also challenging their accepted version of reality, which may meet with resistance. The implications for any emancipatory recommendations resulting from this research are that any attempt to disrupt the status quo will require consideration, evidence, and care in its application.

4.2.3 Ontological relativity

The world view that the meaning attached to an object is dependent on the observer has ontological implications. Ontology is the philosophical study of the nature of reality and existence; it asks questions about how reality is perceived, experienced, and defined within a research study (Abercrombie, Turner & Hill 2006; Denzin & Lincoln 2008). Reality within social constructionism, and hence within this study also, is relative to the social lens of the person (or like group of people) observing it (Patton 2015). Consequently, if you change the observer, you also change the reality (Burr 2015; Crotty 1998; Lincoln & Guba 2013; Norum 2008). Berger and Luckmann (1991) provide the example of a crime that would hold a different reality for the criminal, in comparison to the criminologist. It is these different perceptions of reality that is of interest to this research. However, much of this discussion focuses on the social lens of the individual, while this study is interested in 'diverse stakeholder groups' and how they 'perceive the activities of NGOs working with disadvantaged children'. Hence, this study takes the additional step of drawing on Berger and Luckmann (1991) concept of common-sense understandings (see section 4.2.2) to suggest that shared meaning can be identified across populations who share similar social, demographic, temporal, and geographic situations.

Crotty (1998) suggests these shared common-sense understandings represent the influence of a person's 'culture' and that people who share a 'culture' can present identifiably similar understandings for objects in that reality. Specifically, this study is interested in understanding the common-sense meanings that different stakeholder groups with similar shared realities, attach to the (multiple) phenomena of NGO services with disadvantaged children. An over simplified analogy, drawing on the Berger and Luckmann (1991) example above, might be a researcher's investigation of a criminal gang's perception of a crime, relative to the victims (groups who share a reality of a phenomenon). However, the research also acknowledges Berger and Luckmann's (1991) point that individual meanings will differ within groups, and that influences will exist outside

of the group's 'culture' that produce responses that differ from the status quo (Crotty 1998). Further, this research also acknowledges that individuals can generate new meanings for phenomena within their realities, rather than being strictly confined by the meanings of their 'culture' (Berger & Luckmann 1991; Crotty 1998). Hence these points have the potential to skew the data, but are also seen as encouraging as they may provide alternative ways of understanding the meanings that people attach to phenomena within their reality.

Reality being relative to the observer also implies that reality is relative to the space in which the observer resides, and the time in which they exist, signifying that the context in which the research takes place is important (Berger & Luckmann 1991; Burr 2015; Lincoln & Guba 2008; Norum 2008; Patton 2015). Establishing the circumstances in which data is produced, such as the socio-historical-political backdrop, helps understand the 'cultural' influences posited by Crotty (1998) that in turn benefits the interpretation of data. As Nichols (2015) notes, the topics and themes that make up language data will be context specific to the arena in which they are produced, as is the knowledge produced in this study. To this end, I have produced:

- a Cambodian primer and overview of demographic data in Chapter 2
- a detailed exploration of academic literature regarding NGO work (globally) with disadvantaged children in developing countries in Chapter 3
- a review of postcolonialism using historical knowledge of the French colonisation of Cambodia (this Chapter)
- an analysis of Khmer interviews and focus group responses for shared constructs, presented in Chapter 6.

These resources have all been purposefully brought together to provide context to the research. The examination of Khmer people, history and culture in Chapters 2, 3, and 4 also acts as a frame to aid in the analysis of collected data, and hopefully provide insight to the reviewed content. Despite these steps, Nichols (2015) suggest that context is difficult to establish in qualitative research, especially when compared to quantitative studies where context is rigidly defined, so when manipulated it produces precise and reproducible empirical observations. Hence, contextual knowledge in qualitative research can help understand the circumstances in which knowledge is produced but is problematic in establishing causation (Nichols 2015). This makes the generalisation of the produced knowledge, challenging (Cheek et al. 1996). As Berger and Luckmann (1991) note, there is a considerable difficulty attached to imposing reproducible parameters on the subjective interactions between two people in a social setting. However, an investigation of the multiple realities engaged with NGO services will also offer unique insight into a complex and dynamic human environment, which can add to the overall understanding in the field, while also being transferable to similar cohorts, in similar settings (Norum 2008).

4.2.4 Epistemologically subjective

As constructionism is interested in the meaning people attribute to the phenomena of their everyday realities, as established through interaction within a social network, the produced knowledge is both descriptive and inherently subjective (Burr 2015; Lincoln & Guba 2008; Patton 2015). An understanding of knowledge, of how what is known comes to be known, and established as true, is the philosophical branch of epistemology (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner 2006; Lincoln & Guba 2008; Taylor 2006). Patton (2015, p. 122) states that social constructionism is 'epistemologically subjectivist' in that the researcher, in the course of investigating a person's social world, is acting as a participant within a social network, and hence together they co-construct new subjective knowledge (Norum 2008). This stands in contradiction to a quantifiable and fixed world view where a person's response to a given question could be minutely observed and measured through experimentation, to uncover the objective truth, rather than allowing for the answer to be subjective and contextually fluid (Norum 2008; Patton 2015). Hence, the use of constructionism in this thesis makes the collected knowledge (data) that informs it, subjective. Moreover, the study purposefully uses a qualitative case study methodology to best address how knowledge is generated within a social constructionist paradigm. Specifically, data is produced in this thesis through the researcher's engagement with the research participants, who together co-construct new understandings for the common-sense meanings that the research participants attribute to phenomena within their everyday reality. As the researcher, however, I also acknowledge my position as the 'outsider' in that I exist outside of the normal day-to-day reality of the researched cohort (Australian vs. Cambodian) and that I possess a world view different from many of the research participants. Section 5.8.1 Credibility (see Chapter 5) outlines the steps taken to produce an 'honourable reproduction' of Khmer people's contributions to the research results (Chapters 6 and 7), such as member checking and using participant quotes, though I also acknowledge that I cannot hope to capture and portray the research data from the perspective of an 'insider'. Moreover, I have purposefully acknowledged throughout the thesis that much of Chapters 8 represents my 're-interpretation' of the research findings against the theoretical discussion presented in this chapter, to keep my level of influence clear. Finally, the above discussion also highlights that the knowledge produced in this thesis will always be contextually specific to the engaging world views, the time and space in which those interactions took place, and of the outsider looking in (Denzin & Lincoln 2008a), which again impacts the generalisability of the research.

4.2.5 Social Construction of the Child and Childhood

The final discussion in the social constructionism section, explores the social construction of the child and childhood to help identify, and understand, issues related to the inclusion of children in the research. This section starts by introducing James and Prout (2015) foundational work on

childhood titled 'Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood' which introduces childhood as a social construct, and makes several key observations regarding this premise, including:

- 1. An acknowledgement that childhood is separate to biological immaturity (positivists). Biological immaturity is still acknowledged as universal to all human, but childhood is separate and unique to the biological process, and is instead seen as a construct resulting from social and cultural processes (Prout & James 2015).**
- 2. These constructs can be investigated and given meaning, so that the early years of childhood can be understood, relative to the time, space and society of interest in which the child resides. A consequence of this insight is that childhood as a phenomenon, cannot be universal (Prout & James 2015).**
- 3. Childhood, and children as social actors, are worthy of study in their own right, and not just as by-products of adult research, or because some may perceive them as incomplete adults who will have questionable contributions (Prout & James 2015).**
- 4. Children are active in the construction and re-negotiation of meaning generated in social interactions (Prout & James 2015).**

These observations also match with the wider discussion of Social Constructionism presented throughout this section, in acknowledging that children also participate in the construction of social knowledge, and that concepts such as childhood and even children are relative to a time, place and the social worlds of the people involved (Rogers 2003). Historically, notions of childhood have been informed by developmental theories, which suggested that the journey from childhood to adulthood is a progression from dependency to independence, and simplicity to complexity (James & Prout 2015). Hidden within these developmental theories, however, are the ideals of universalism, in that every childhood journey has similar milestones, towards the eventual stage of adulthood (James & Prout 2015). Traditionally, a lack of children in research has been associated with these notions of the child existing in 'pre-adulthood', which suggests they lack the rationality and complexity needed to participate in serious adult institutions, and their activities (Norozi & Moen 2016; James & Prout 2015).

One of the first challenges to the universal positivist's understanding of children, came from the work of French historian Philippe Airès (1962) who studied European medieval art, the evolution of the European school systems, and the family, and concluded that the concept of childhood is a relatively modern phenomenon. Airès (1962) noted that until approximately the 15th to 16th century, that children in Europe between the ages of 5 to 7, after having been weaned, were absorbed into adulthood and considered part of the adult world (Jenks 2005; Clarke 2004; Rogers 2003). The societal change in Europe regarding the concept of childhood, noted by Airès (1962) in the 15th to

16th century, came partly from a shift in attitude towards education, especially within the Christian church from a movement called 'the moralist'. The Moralists advocated on behalf of, and were also responsible for, the education of more children from lower and middle-class families. The education provided by the religious orders was influential in reminding parents that children were part of 'god's creation' and that as parents, they were responsible for the proper raising and care of that creation (Airès 1962). This reminder helped create a societal distinction between the child, and the adults who were responsible for them, which also encouraged more care in the preparation of the child before they entered adulthood (Clarke 2004; Airès 1962). Moreover, this lengthened the time, in which the child spent developing beyond the weaning stage, and before entering adulthood (Clarke 2004; Airès 1962).

Airès (1962) demonstrated these developments through the exploration of European medieval media including art works and institutional documentation. For example, Airès points to early medieval art (12th century) where children were depicted as adult in miniature (Clarke 2004; Rogers 2003). Whereas, by the time of the 16th century, children in European art had taken on more childlike features and were more ubiquitous within art (Airès 1962). Airès (1962) reasoned that this difference was partly due to alternative understandings of age in earlier medieval periods, where peoples age was divided into infant (0 to 7), youth (from 7 up to 40) or old (40+) (Ulanowicz n.d.). Age categorisations started to change, along with societal developments, such as observed in the example above where an education resulted in longer childhoods, with concepts like adolescent and teenager emerging even later, around the time of the second World War (Jenks 2005). Airès (1962) also reasons that a decreased in infant mortality linked to more sophisticated medical practices in modern times, changed parental attitudes towards children. Early medieval time saw less investment in, and attachment to, children as they were more likely to die in early childhood. However, as more children survived, parental attitudes changed including the preparation time and affection directed towards them (Airès 1962; Ulanowicz n.d.). Airès (1962) demonstrates how these societal changes were depiction in art from the 16th century onwards, as art started to focus more on the family, and memorial art dedicated to a child passing, which suggested an increased in affection towards the child. Airès work is not without its critics who highlight the use of art as problematic as well as the assertion that childhood did not exist in medieval times (notably Pollock [1983] cited by Clarke [2004], Jenks [2005] and Prout & James [2015] who argued that medieval childhood had a different understanding to modern notions of it, but that it was still a form of childhood).

The importance of Airès work is the acknowledgements that notions of childhood change overtime, and that these changes occur at a societal level. Hence, notions of childhood are fluid and represent a social construct that changes with time, space, culture and the social group of interest (Clarke 2004; Rogers 2003). Another consideration is a given societies expectation of the child, for

example in chapter 3, the literature highlighted three ways in which the child might be perceived including reactively (a social problem which needs fixing), protectively (engaged in activities which adult perceived as best for the child, such as an education) or rights based (children are social actors capable of self-determination) (see section 3.3.2.4) (Rogers 2003). A protective approach, while potentially having the best interest of the child in mind, are generally based on an adult's perspective, as children are seen (similar to above) as less mature, less experienced, and not able to make sound judgements regarding what is in their own best interest (Norozi & Moen 2016; James & Prout 2015; Burr & Montgomery 2003). Conversely, Prout and James (2015, p. 7) advocate for the independent investigation of children's social worlds, which they deem as '...worthy of study in their own right, independent of the perspectives and concerns of adults'. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), while being criticised by some for:

- **being too general in places (and not considering local circumstances)**
- **not considering different notions of childhood (as similarly discussed in this section) and, moreover, promoting a version of childhood favored in the Global North**

does, in article 12, acknowledge a child's participation rights, by stating that children '...have the right to say what they think should happen when adults are making decisions that affect them and to have their opinions taken into account' (UNICEF 2023; Montgomery 2018; Burr & Montgomery 2003). This acknowledgement helps give legitimacy to the right's-based notion that children are social actor, capable of self-determination, which also supports Prout and James (2015) suggestion that children are worthy of study, in their own right.

4.3 Sen's *Development as freedom*

Poverty and material deprivation limit a person's ability to engage effectively with society; this phenomenon is more broadly referred to as social exclusion (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner 2006; Wilkinson & Marmot 2003). Specifically, social exclusion occurs, in part, from a lack of resources and having to expend all of one's energy into activities that generate resources to address basic needs, which then inhibits higher order considerations such as being able to engage effectively in society (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner 2006; Keleher & MacDougall 2022; Wilkinson & Marmot 2003). This exclusion is also self-perpetuating as it inhibits access to the social structures such as state-based services, or employment training, housing and education that might help break the cycle of exclusion (assuming these social institutions exist in a given state) (Wilkinson & Marmot 2003). Social exclusion is also discussed as a social determinant of health, as the inability to engage effectively with society means people do not have appropriate access to housing, health care, transport or education (Wilkinson & Marmot 2003). Hence, social exclusion can also lead to poorer health outcomes and potentially even premature death (Wilkinson & Marmot 2003).

Amartya Sen's (2001) *Development as freedom* outlines three concepts including 'functionings', 'capabilities' and 'unfreedoms/freedoms' to help understand the connection between poverty and social exclusion. Functionings are described by Sen (2001, p. 75) as the various 'things a person may value doing or being', which can be as simple as eating or as complex as wanting to be a 'good citizen'. Capabilities refers to a person's ability to achieve different functionings, which is further influenced by their level of freedom or unfreedom (Sen 2001). Unfreedoms, while not given as specifics lists by Sen, can still be identified from his discussion on the topic as limited or no access to: food, health care, sanitation, and/or clean water, which in turn cause unnecessary disease and illness (additional unfreedoms). Sen (2001) also highlights the unfreedoms of limited or no education, employment or social security. Finally, Sen discusses societal attitudes towards marginalised groups which inhibit them from engaging fully in society as unfreedoms, as well as the unfreedom of people having limited political, civil or human rights (Schafer, Haslam & Beaudet 2017; Sen 2001). Freedoms/unfreedoms are also divided into *processes* and *opportunities*. Processes are upstream considerations such as government policies or societal attitudes which impact on people's political, civil or human rights (Schafer, Haslam & Beaudet 2017; Sen 2001), while opportunities are the 'actual opportunities that people have' based on their individual, social and environmental circumstances (Sen 2001, p. 17). Freedoms are the opposite of unfreedoms; at a process level, freedoms are found in those policies and attitudes that allow people to increase and practise their capabilities (Schafer, Haslam & Beaudet 2017; Sen 2001). While at an opportunity level, having access to food, shelter, clean drinking water, sanitation and financial assistance facilitates access to higher opportunities such as education and employment, all of which are freedoms (Schafer, Haslam & Beaudet 2017; Sen 2001). Sen suggests that a person's capabilities (plural) themselves can be considered a freedom as they represent an ability to perform different functionings, which may be absent in the presence of extreme unfreedoms. For example, Sen provides the analogy of:

... an affluent person who fasts may have the same functioning achievement in terms of eating or nourishment as a destitute person who is forced to starve, but the first person does have a different "capability set" than the second (the first can choose to eat well and be well nourished in a way the second cannot). (Sen 2001, p. 75)

Hence, the destitute person is inhibited by the unfreedom of limited, or no food and/or similar unfreedoms restricting their ability to access nourishment and eat, whereas the affluent person has the freedom to choose to both eat, and fast. Thirlwall (2014, p. 27) reflecting on the work of Denis Goulet, an economist, and Sen, describes freedom as a person's ability to choose 'their own destiny' with the concept's opposite, unfreedom, being that which inhibits a person's ability to choose (their own destiny).

Like the destitute person in the example above, the families in this research were impacted by unfreedoms, which affected their ability to address both basic, and higher needs. This

understanding is captured in Sen's (2001, p. 87) description of poverty as '... the deprivation of basic capabilities ...' in that it inhibits a person's ability to perform basic, everyday functions, such as eating. However, Sen makes the point (using income as his example) that the impact of deprivation on capability is also relative to the setting as different and changing circumstances afford people different levels of freedom/unfreedom, which in turn affects their ability to perform various functions (Alexander 2008). Drawing again on the example of food, a destitute person on a low income in the Global North may struggle to afford food (and hence eat) due to the cost of items (an unfreedom); this is despite earning a wage that would otherwise buy a considerable amount of food in the Global South (Sen 2001). Conversely, a farmer from the Global South with no income (also an unfreedom) but a high yield crop, may have no money but can still eat (a freedom) (Schafer, Haslam & Beaudet 2017; Sen 2001).

As demonstrated, the influence of income on a person's ability to eat is relative to the context. However, despite Sen's use of income to emphasise the importance of context, he is reluctant to use it as a sole measure of poverty as is commonly used by institutions such as the World Bank (Sen 2001; UNICEF 2016). The reasoning for this can be demonstrated by expanding on the same basic scenario used above. For example, it can be suggested that despite the destitute person from the Global North having a low income, they may still have access to some level of free, state-based education (a freedom) due to the increased availability and distribution of resources in Global North countries (assuming universal education is a priority). Consequently, in a crisis such as becoming acutely unwell, the destitute person from the Global North may have the literacy (the function) needed to navigate their country's health systems and gain care. However, the farmer from the Global South, due to a more limited availability of state-based resources, potentially has limited opportunity to access a state-funded education (an unfreedom); hence, if they suffer a similar crisis such as becoming acutely unwell, they may lack the literacy (the function) needed to navigate the health system and gain care (Sen 2001). Further, in the Global South, the quality of the health care may be questionable, such that even if the farmer did access the necessary care, it may be insufficient to address their needs (such as found in Cambodia [Grundy-Warr & Lin 2020; Handley 2020]).

To summarise, the destitute person from the Global North struggles with food security because of their low income, and the relatively high cost of food, which causes a deprivation of basic capability due to the distraction of hunger and the need to address it; while the farmer in the Global South would potentially struggle if they became ill, as limited education may restrict their ability to navigate health systems and gain the required care. Further, when combined with poor-quality health infrastructure, it may severely impact their chances at recovery. This results in a deprivation of basic capability similar to, if not worse than, that experienced by the destitute person in the Global North. However, only one of the discussed examples is based on income, that of the

destitute person from the Global North, which is not the general scenario when income is used as a measure of poverty (Sen 2001; UNICEF 2016). It also suggests, as argued by Sen, that a single measure, such as income, is an ineffective measure of the true scope of poverty. This is especially true for the farmer's scenarios where the cause of the deprivation of basic capability is based on education, geography, and higher order determinants such as a state's willingness to invest its available resources in social opportunities (such as education, health care or similar social welfare services) (Sen 2001). Hence, a consideration of context (the setting, and as similarly discussed in section 4.2.3, Ontological relativity), as well as the different aspects of a person's life, can provide a better understanding of poverty and its relative impact, in comparison to a single measure, applied without nuance.

Despite Sen's (2001) aversion to income as the primary measure of poverty, he does acknowledge that it can increase a person's ability to perform different functions. Sen also notes that people may need access to contemporary equipment and technology (with late 1990s examples such as video cassette recorders used, that were relevant when the book was written) in order to take part in society. This is especially true with contemporary connectivity, as important information is often delivered via the internet, and/or via people socialising online, through social media platforms. A lack of access to modern equipment may further exclude people from engaging effectively/meaningfully in society (potentially even more so now than at the time of Sen's writing). Overall, Sen's discussion of poverty highlights several ways in which it contributes to social exclusion as well as inhibiting a person's ability to choose. It also provides a reason for why Sen considers that having the ability to choose is an important function to achieve. Moreover, Sen's ultimate message in *Development as freedom* is that people should have the 'substantive freedom – the capabilities – to choose a life that one has reason to value' (2001, p. 74). This represents a step beyond just functioning, as it includes the ability to choose and pursue a life one values and enjoys.

In an attempt to address Sen's ultimate message, this research explored whether the NGOs' intervention influenced a recipient's ability to perform new or different capabilities, mainly in relation to their education and/or employability. However, it was not within the scope of the study to examine if people had achieved a life they value (explanation provided below). Sen (2001, p. 293) is critical of only focusing on an education's ability to increase a person's employment capabilities, which he states is a 'human capital' approach that prioritises 'augmenting production possibilities' rather than leading to a people living a life 'they have reason to value'. Despite this, Sen also notes that a 'human capital' approach is similar to a 'human capability' approach (term used by Sen in reference to his own work) in that:

The two perspectives cannot but be related, since both are concerned with the role of human beings, and in particular with the actual abilities that they achieve and acquire. But the yardstick of assessment concentrates on different achievements. (Sen 2001, p. 293)

The measure of 'human capital' is, for example, the ability of an education to increase a person's commodifiable output. Whereas 'human capability' acknowledges the ability of an education to also improve factors like literacy, communication or the ability to seek knowledge, all of which promote the freedom of a person to investigate a life they have reason to value (Sen 2001).

More broadly, Sen (2001, p. 295) argues that the differences between the two understandings can also impact on public policy. For example, increasing human capital can result in 'economic prosperity' which 'helps people to have wider options and to lead more fulfilling lives' (Sen 2001, p. 295). However, a human capability approach that focuses on 'more education, better health care, finer medical attention, and other factors that causally influence the effective freedoms that people actually enjoy' (Sen 2001, p. 295) is suggested by Sen as providing people with more than '... wider options' and '... more fulfilling lives', by having 'freer and more fruitful lives'. At this stage in the development of Cambodia, the government's restrictions on civil and political rights (Amnesty International 2021; Human Rights Watch 2021) suggest they are not concerned with enacting Sen's human capability approach. Moreover, civil society, NGOs or media who have questioned the Cambodian government's rule have been shut down, driven out or even arrested (Amnesty International 2021; Human Rights Watch 2021), and those that remain are understandably reluctant to speak out, suggesting that advocacy for something resembling Sen's approach is not likely to happen anytime soon. Consequently, this research focuses more on NGOs in a 'raising human capital' capacity, but will also report on any capability change that people value (as a result of NGO interventions) when/if encountered in participant responses.

4.3.1 Freedom, human development and social opportunity

Writing on the topic of slavery, Sen (2001, p. 113) states that 'the loss of freedom in the absence of employment choice ... can itself be a major deprivation'. Though the example of slavery is extreme, the point it highlights, of lacking the freedom to choose one's type of employment, can be applied to multiple settings. These settings may include:

- debt bondage, where a person lacks choice of employer/job until they work off their debt
- communist regimes such as the Khmer Rouge where a few 'leaders' dictated the communal employment of the many
- child labour where poverty, for example, leaves the child with no choice but to work to survive (Sen 2001).

In the case of the child, working can inhibit other freedoms, especially higher order ones such as the freedom to gain an education (Sen 2001). Poverty can also inhibit an adult's work choices as

they may be focused purely on survival and take whatever economic opportunities are available, rather than having the freedom to choose. In turn, and as acknowledged in the setting of 'child labour' above, being only able to focus on survival limits a person's freedom to engage in additional, higher order activities that might increase their employability, such as vocational training (Miller 2020; Sen 2001). Hence, not only does poverty cause deprivation of capability, but it also results in deprivation of potential capability (Northover 2014).

Sen (2001, p. 144) suggests that investment in education and health, which he more broadly terms human development, creates 'social opportunities' which: '... makes a direct contribution to the expansion of human capabilities and the quality of life'. Investment in human development, through social institutions such as schools and hospitals, can increase a population's quality of life and their ability to engage socially and economically. These institutions create opportunities for 'social inclusion', a social justice concept based on the idea of increasing opportunities for disadvantaged people to help them engage socially (Keleher & MacDougall 2022a). For example, access to education can increase a person's ability to investigate, understand and engage with different social structures, whereas a person's health can dictate the level of engagement with those structures (a bedbound and acutely unwell person's level of social engagement will be limited in comparison to a person free of disease) (Schafer, Haslam & Beaudet 2017). In fact, any human development initiative of the state, NGO or civil society that helps increase a person's freedom in one area, may help '... to foster freedom in others (in enhancing freedom from hunger, illness, and relative deprivation)' (Sen 2001, p.194). Moreover, increasing access to education for the community can also aid social change and improve economic development, which may also benefit those not receiving an education (Miller 2020; Sen 2001). A thought-provoking example of this is provided by Sen (2001) who, in discussion of the rise of East and Southeast Asian economies in the late 1990s, notes that:

... it is becoming increasingly clear that it is not only the openness of the economies – and greater reliance on domestic and international trade – that led to such rapid economic transition in these economies. The groundwork was laid also by positive social changes, such as land reforms, the spread of education and literacy and better health care. What we are looking at here is not so much the social consequences of economic reforms, but the economic consequences of social reforms. Sen (2001 p.259)

Sen's observation that strong economic development is a consequence of strong social reform provides a convincing argument for investment in human development.

Education is normally provided through social institutions such as schools; Sen (2001) suggests that as individuals, we exist in a world of institutions, the quality and accessibility of which can contribute to a person's level of freedom. For example, free state-based schooling can help disadvantaged populations to access education as much as 'user-pays' schooling can inhibit it. The quality of the education is also important, as misinformation may be taught to help maintain

the status quo (the impact of which may cause other unfreedoms), or poorly trained teachers might not deliver content that is beneficial to students (Sen 2001). Sen (2001) suggests that the role of institutions is such that:

Our opportunities and prospects depend crucially on what institutions exist and how they function. Not only do institutions contribute to our freedoms, their roles can be sensibly evaluated in the light of their contributions to our freedom. Sen (2001, p. 142)

Unfortunately, when available institutions are deficient (such as Cambodian health care; see, for example, Grundy-Warr & Lin 2020; Handley 2020), purposefully restrictive ('user-pays' for example), or completely absent, a level of unfreedom will exist for the local populace (Miller 2020; Sen 2001). NGOs may exist in these spaces, where the state's response is absent or ineffective, to help address these deficiencies (Miller 2020; Veltmeyer 2017; Willis 2011). The NGOs' presence and interventions may even create social opportunities for people engaging with them, through education, skill training or basic health care, for example, that increase freedoms and foster social inclusion.

Finally in this section, the important connection that Sen makes between the market mechanism and social opportunities is examined. Specifically, Sen (2001, p. 142) describes the fundamentals of a market mechanism as 'a basic arrangement through which people can interact with each other and undertake mutually advantageous activities'. Put another way, people engage socially in activities that benefit each other – they engage in mutual transactions that in some way satisfy both parties wants, or needs. Sen (2001, p. 256) draws on a quote from Adam Smith (1776) in his work *The Wealth of Nations* that helps illustrate the exchange: 'It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest.' The end of the quote '... their regard to their own interest' refers to an exchange of the product produced by the butcher's labour, for capital (for example, money or favours) that the butcher then uses to address his/her own wants and needs. Smith's quote is discussed at length by Sen, as he refutes other economists'² claims that self-interest is the only driving force behind exchange (transactions). Rather, Sen (2001) argues that:

... the butcher may predict that exchanging meat for money not only benefits him, but also the consumer (the buyer of meat), so that the relationship can be expected to work on both sides and is thus sustainable. Sen (2001, p. 257)

Hence, the butcher's reasoning for using their labour to produce goods for transactions can have a purpose beyond satisfying their own needs, through the understanding that the product helps feed

² Specifically, Sen makes reference to 'See Hiromitsu Ishi, "Trends in the Allocation of Public Expenditure in Light of Human Resource Development – Overview in Japan" (Asian Development Bank, 1995)'.

others. Further, Sen suggests that a balanced approach is needed when attempting to understand people's motivations in a market transaction, as self-interest will normally be balanced by other governing factors such as societal norms, values, ethics, responsibilities and culture. However, it is possible to be primarily motivated by self-interest, which can lead to manipulation or distortions in exchanges that purposely favour one side of a transaction, more than the other (Sen 2001). Despite this, Sen suggests that markets are important as they facilitate transaction between people, so they can buy and sell goods (or labour) and potentially gain an income or, at the least, trade goods and services in exchange for other commodities that address their wants and/or, more importantly, needs. Hence, increasing a person's ability to produce transactional goods increases their overall resource base and ability to perform other transactions, which also increases their ability to engage socially. This includes the provision of training to improve skills so that the transaction of a person's labour is more employable/valuable (Sen 2001). The importance of investing in human development is again highlighted here, as that investment helps facilitate transactions, within a market economy, that in turn can help people overcome their shortcomings in other areas of need.

4.4 Postcolonialism

The third theory investigated in this chapter is postcolonialism. Postcolonialism examines the consequences of European colonisation, on the colonised, to better understand the impact of these events. The term colonialism references a period from approximately the 16th century to the 20th century when European powers extended their influence into the Americas, Africa, Australia and Asia (Allina 2021). This expansion caused considerable disruption to the Indigenous peoples and their lands (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner 2006; Allina 2021). The involvement of the French in this period, in the region of Indochina (modern day Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos) or more specifically, what would become Cambodia, began with an invitation from the king, but formalised into true colonisation over time (Chandler 1997; Chandler 2008). The history of these events (the French colonisation of Cambodia) is explored in this section, against concepts from postcolonialism, to aid understanding of ideas related to the theory, while also providing greater context to the research setting, overall.

4.4.1 What does postcolonialism mean?

The term postcolonialism, in its simplest interpretation, refers to a period after colonisation (McEwan 2009; Rizvi, Lingard & Lavia 2006). However, the need for a theory based on this definition is not immediately clear. To begin, it helps to understand that colonisation was a disastrous experience for the colonised people (for examples see Allina 2021; Braun et al. 2013; Da Costa 2010; Denzin & Lincoln 2008; Green, Sonn & Matsebula 2007). Moreover, the change from colony to independent state did little to negate the effects of the original invasion (Rizvi, Lingard & Lavia 2006). Nor, as Fanon (1991) notes, does it necessarily change the dependent

nature of the relationship between the former colony and coloniser (neocolonialism). Hence, postcolonialism encompasses more than the period after colonisation, it is also concerned with the act of colonisation, how that act impacted and continues to impact on the former colonies, including any exploitation that remains after colonisation (Gandhi 1998; Loomba 2005; McEwan 2009; McEwan 2014).

4.4.2 Colonisation and othering

The French colonisation of Cambodia occurred from 1863 to 1953. Cambodia's colonisation differed from that of other Southeast Asian countries as King Norodom invited the French in as protectors due to his tenuous grip on power (Chandler 1997; Chandler 2008). This avoided bloodshed and civic turmoil, but King Norodom was also unaware of the longer-term impact of French protection, which eventually removed his administrative and economic powers (Chandler 1997; Chandler 2008; Tully 2005; Um 2015). Colonisers accomplished these feats by developing legal, military and institutional structures and systems that work to separate Indigenous peoples from their land and/or the colonisers from Indigenous peoples (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner 2006; Allina 2021). For example, in Cambodia the French employed a majority Vietnamese and Chinese workforce in its institutions and bureaucracies, creating a European and Asian hierarchy of privilege over, and separation from, the Khmer (Um 2015). This also made/makes colonisation a process of 'othering' as some groups are privileged over, and separated from, the 'other' based on distinctions such as ethnicity (Green, Sonn & Matsebula 2007; Ladson-Billings & Donnor 2008). An example of this 'othering' was the French 'rediscovery' of Angkor that 'revealed' Cambodia's historical past (Chandler 1997). The documenting and recording of an Indigenous people's history by a colonial power presents the coloniser's version of that people's history, which assists in 'othering' by highlighting distinctions between groups (Green, Sonn & Matsebula 2007; Said 1995). As Chandler (1997) notes, the Khmer were not trained as scholars to aid in the documentation of their own history.

Despite the annexing of the Cambodian king's power, little animosity existed in the early years of colonisation as the French kept Khmer institutions, religion and the monarchy intact (now symbolic) and left the majority of the Khmer undisturbed (Chandler 1997; Tully 2005). This was primarily due to the French seeing the region's only importance as acting as a barrier to Siamese and British incursion into Indochina, a consequence of which limited interest and/or development in the country (Um 2015). Religion also appears to have been largely unaffected, with the French choosing to use Buddhist influence, much like their use of the monarchy, to help maintain control of the population (Kent & Chandler 2008). Maintaining control through the traditional power structures meant minimal cost to the French (Um 2015). Moreover, acceptance of the status quo, a by-product of Buddhist teaching, potentially made Khmer more accepting of their circumstances, which further aided conformity (Chandler 1997; Tully 2005; Um 2015). However, this also meant

that the normal union of colonisation and conversion to Christianity did not occur (Loomba 2005; Um 2015). French missionaries did travel to the country but failed to convert the Khmer, with the majority remaining Buddhist (Forrest 2008; Phan 2011; Smith-Hefner 1994). Failure to convert the Khmer to Christianity is linked to both French disinterest and Khmer self-identity, which observes little difference between Khmer culture and Buddhist teaching (Smith-Hefner 1994). This lack of conversion is also evident in modern times with the majority of the population still self-identifying as Buddhist (specifically Theravada Buddhist) (CMOT 2020; Forest 2008; Kent & Chandler 2008; Kobayashi 2008).

During the 19th and early 20th centuries the process of *othering* Indigenous groups was underpinned by the ideology of social Darwinism, which distorted Darwin's theory of evolution by applying it to levels of human development and society (Allina 2021; McEwan 2009). Indigenous groups were seen as less evolved humans, while Europeans saw themselves as further along the evolutionary track (Allina 2021). This attitude was evident in the French colonial views of Cambodians as a failed race (Um 2015). Other colonial attitudes included seeing the Indigenous people as childlike, immature or uncivilised, and it was a 'service' of colonialism to 'civilise the natives' (Gandhi 1998). The 'civilising' of Indigenous peoples was adopted by colonisers as a development project, or as a charity of service to educate and develop the 'natives' above their current barbarism (Gandhi 1998). The influence behind 'civilising the natives' came from the European 'Enlightenment' where notions of universality held that all humans were essentially similar and capable of 'improving' themselves, but with a caveat that certain types of knowledge were superior (Gandhi 1998; McEwan 2009). Specifically, Europeans saw their values, customs and knowledge as superior to those of the colonised, indicating the actual anti-universality of their actions (Gandhi 1998; McEwan 2009; Pokhrel 2011). Moreover, before colonisation, Indigenous groups had complex 'cultures, languages, governing structures, epistemologies and religions' (Braun et al. 2013, p. 118) that were distorted, disrupted or outright destroyed due to these colonial notions of superiority.

Proponents of postcolonial theory posit that colonial discourse is identifiable in Western notions of superiority. This is especially true when works about, and by, the colonisers are compared against those they have produced about the colonised, as these discourses exist in 'rigid oppositions' (Gandhi 1998). A number of examples of these discourse oppositions are provided by Gandhi (1998, p. 66) as '... maturity/immaturity, civilisation/barbarism, developed/developing, progressive/primitive'. Said (1995) notes similarly the opposition of the East and West, or more importantly Western representations of the (exotic) East, which also highlights that the concepts of East and West are human-made constructs. Moreover, Said (1995) notes how the constructs of the East and West impact on, and support the existence of, the other. Put another way, the concept of the West cannot exist without an East from which to distinguish itself. The link between

Western representations of the East, and the resulting opposition of us/them, superior/inferior are, at their core, a basis of 'othering'. These oppositions also act as a discursive form of power for the West, as it establishes itself as superior, while also controlling the construct of the 'other' (McEwan 2009). An example of this, above, is the French recording of Khmer history. Specifically, the construction of knowledge, who produces it and the reasons/motivations for why it is produced, can work towards the domination of some, over the actions, ways of knowing and being, of others.

4.4.3 Control and attitudes

The control of Indigenous people was also accomplished more subtly through provision of a Western education (which is also a form of assimilation), that was again motivated by a moral pursuit of 'saving them' and 'civilising the natives' (Allina 2021). In later colonial times (approximately the late 19th century onwards), control took the form of 'modernisation' (Allina 2021). Modernisation had similar ideals to those discussed above, of raising Indigenous people to the perceived superior standards of the West, through social engineering and/or via structural and institutional 'improvements' (Allina 2021). However, the French appeared to have limited interest in 'modernising' the Khmer. For example, a perceived prerequisite of modernisation was the conversion of locals to Christianity, but conversion had limited success in Cambodia and suggests why the French chose to fill administrative positions in Cambodia with Vietnamese people, who had converted to Christianity (Um 2015). In addition, the French colonials saw the Khmer as a defective race whose 'laziness' (among other imagined deficits) made the French uninterested in educating them (Um 2015 citing Martin 1994). This uninterest was demonstrated in the French expenditure on education in Cambodia, which was the lowest in French Indochina, with the majority of their effort focused on Vietnam (which aided educated Vietnamese to gain work in French bureaucracies) (Um 2015). The majority of those who received an education through French schools in Cambodia were children of French colonial officials or children of Vietnamese and Chinese bureaucrats (Um 2015). Cambodians mostly received education during the colonial period through Buddhist schools, which Um (2015) notes as incubators for the Cambodian anticolonial movement. This anticolonial movement came to a head in 1953 when King Sihanouk's campaign for Cambodian independence was finally achieved (Tully 2005; United Nations Development Program 2020). The actual modernisation of Cambodia did not occur until after independence, again due to the efforts of Sihanouk, rather than the French, which proceeded rapidly in urban areas (Um 2015). The rapid modernisation of urban areas, over rural increased discontent among rural Khmer towards the perceived bourgeoisie of the urban Khmer (Um 2015).

To better understand the impact of colonisation, it must be understood that it does not affect each country, or even all people within a given country, in the same way. For example, in the Americas, the Indigenous populations were decimated from exposure to European diseases, armed conflict and loss of traditional lands (Allina 2021; Loomba 2005; Young 2001). Contrastingly, some groups

in Asia kept a level of control over the encroaching interests of colonial powers by either playing competing interests against one another, or by having the military power to resist (Allina 2021). The full colonisation of Cambodia only occurred after the death of King Norodom, as he maintained a level of influence while alive. King Sisowath, who came to power after Norodom, was a figurehead only, placed there by the French, who then assumed full control (Chandler 2008). French control brought significant changes, including the abolition of cultural debt bondage, tightening of taxation reporting and collection, the commencement of many public works (within urban centres), and the introduction of land ownership that had previously been communally owned by the Khmer crown (Chandler 2008; Jacobsen 2014). Hence, French control brought considerable changes to the traditional systems of governance. All French 'improvements' were paid for via taxation drawn from Khmer agriculture and commerce (Chandler 2008), which suggests why the French were motivated to improve the tax system, as it provided them with lavish lifestyles while impoverishing the Khmer. In fact, Chandler (2008) notes that in the 1920s, outside of Phnom Penh, electricity and running water were almost non-existent as French colonials addressed their own comforts, while neglecting the rest of the country.

Um (2015) argues that revolutionary thoughts in Cambodia were fuelled by colonisation, both during, and after independence. During the colonial period she highlights events such as the privileging of French, Vietnamese and Chinese people over the Indigenous Khmer in roles of bureaucratic importance, and racialised policies which further marginalised the Khmer, as helping to sow discontent (Um 2015). While after independence, Um (2015) argues that the increasing ineptitude of rule during the 'Sihanouk' period (see section 2.2.2) coupled with the bombing of Cambodia during the Vietnam War as factors which aided revolutionary thought. Moreover, the US war in Vietnam was arguably another impact of the French colonisation of Indochina. For example, the US-Vietnam war had originally been a war between the French colonial forces and the Viet Minh; however when the French lost, the Americans took over (Chandler 2008). The then bombing of rural Cambodia by the Americans during the war, produced the circumstances that helped the ascendancy of the Khmer Rouge (Um 2015).

Fanon (1991 cited in Gandhi 1998) suggests that national sentiment can be used to unite people and create a shared identity against the tyranny of a colonial power. The Khmer Rouge used Khmer discontent with the impact of foreign power on their lives to fuel nationalism and inspire the people to rise up against the oppressors (Um 2015). These oppressors included the 'American imperialists' responsible for bombing Khmer lands (Um 2015). However, the pursuit of a nationalist agenda can also lead to intolerance and racism (such as that which has developed among the Khmer towards the Vietnamese), even when used by liberation movements to motivate locals, against colonial homogenisation (Gandhi 1998). Nationalism after colonisation though, may assist in the healing process as the former colony focuses on self-identity, in response to the process of

colonial homogenisation (Gandhi 1998). Nationalism can also be used as a form of protection against the encroachment of the West, as a former colony looks inward to recover from colonisation, and resists outside intrusion (Gandhi 1998). Of course, the West is seen as anti-nationalist as inner-looking nationalist states are resistant to outside trade (globalisation) and the wider 'benefits' of Westernisation (Gandhi 1998).

4.4.4 Neocolonialism and exploitation

By the mid 20th century, most of the world's colonies became independent in the aftermath of World War II, however postcolonial theory suggests the exploitation of many former colonies continues (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner 2006; Allina 2021; McEwan 2009). This exploitation is enacted in various ways including how financial aid is organised. Temple (2014 p. 774) explains this practice as 'aid conditionality' where the aid donor demands certain actions be undertaken by recipients, in exchange for their help. Not all aid conditionality exchanges are exploitative, as some demands are imposed to benefit the people, through reforms to government practices (Temple 2014). However, some aid conditionality is exploitative, and it is purposefully designed to provide economic benefit to the former coloniser, at the expense of the formerly colonised (Temple 2014; Veltmeyer 2021). Aid conditionality is also present in nation-state funding of NGOs. For example, several larger international NGOs (sometimes referred to as big international NGOs or BINGOs for short) increasingly draw on conditional/agenda driven donor funding from nation states, which can compromise the BINGO's own agenda (Desai 2014; Khieng & Dahles 2015; Mitchell 2014; Temple 2014; Veltmeyer 2021; Wallace 2004; Willis 2011). At their worst, exploitative agendas have NGOs acting as 'trojan horses' for global capitalism in developing countries, by instilling the 'virtues' of capitalism in locals (O'Loughlin 2014; Temple 2014; Veltmeyer 2021; Wallace 2003). Further, NGOs may even make locals work on self-improvement to alleviate their poverty (which suggests they are the cause of their own circumstances), rather than encouraging them to group together and form social movements that fight for social change, as this may impact on the embedded power dynamics that favours exploitation and capitalism (Veltmeyer 2021).

Wallace (2004) notes that NGO funding requirements often change in line with new development trends in the Global North, whose prioritisation can overrule much, including the funding of initiatives designed by locals, for locals (in the Global South). In fact, much strategic planning is carried out by BINGOs in the Global North, who then require their partners in the Global South to alter their activities, if they wish to maintain funding (Khieng & Dahles 2015; Mitchell 2014; Wallace 2004). More insidious perhaps are plans hatched in collaboration with local partners in the Global South, which are altered as they move through bureaucracies in the Global North, to meet funding requirements (Mitchell 2014; Wallace 2004). Wallace (2004), citing unnamed researchers from South Africa and Uganda, emphasises their criticisms regarding certain elements of the aid funding supply chains, which they label as colonial in nature. These criticisms include the inherent racism

of the Global North in pushing its agenda on the Global South, which pays minimal respect to 'local skills and knowledge' (Wallace 2004, p. 215). Further, Wallace suggests Said's notion of the 'other' is present in these funding relations, or when 'locals' hired to run NGOs in the Global South, turn out to be 'white' South Africans or similar Global North expatriates.

These trends are also demonstrated in the practice of sending 'experts' to former colonies to help Indigenous people achieve Western standards of development that keep them dependent on aid (Allina 2021; Briggs & Sharp 2004; Khieng & Dahles 2015). This is done in place of training up locals or drawing on local expertise and knowledge to address identified issues. An insidious underlying idea here is the superiority of Global North knowledge over Indigenous (Briggs & Sharp 2004). Desai (2017) suggests dependence is also perpetuated through production of high value goods in Global North nations that are traded to nations in the Global South, who lack similar production capability, in exchange for low-cost raw materials and agricultural goods. These practices by former colonial powers are recognised as forms of neocolonialism (McEwan 2009). Neocolonialism suggests that despite formal independence from colonial powers, former colonies are still informally colonised (read exploited) through modes of dependence including knowledge, production and trade disadvantages (Allina 2021; McEwan 2009; Young 2001). An example of neocolonialism is Cambodia's textile industry, where large Global North corporations have reduced production cost through exploitation of workers from the Global South, in the production of high-cost items for low wages (Alves 2016; Beresford, Cucco & Prota 2016).

4.4.5 Diaspora, hybridity and colonisation's consequences

The impact of colonisation is also felt by later generations, who may not have lived during colonial rule, but through socialisation from one generation to the next, are nonetheless affected (Braun et al. 2013). Colonisation is further instilled through leftover education systems, methods of governance and colonially educated locals who continue the discourse of colonisation long after independence (Allina 2021; Gandhi 1998). These processes continue to disrupt and destroy Indigenous cultural knowledges and practices, while making the replacement of colonial knowledge, with traditional, difficult (Braun et al. 2013; Gandhi 1998). Postcolonialism uses the concept of 'diaspora' to describe both the physical displacement of people (for example, from their traditional lands) and the disruption to Indigenous spaces, as well as the 'idea of cultural dislocation' caused by the intrusion of colonial powers (Gandhi 1998, n.p.; Loomba 2015). A related concept in postcolonialism is 'hybridity' which is the 'new' that emerges from the encounter of coloniser and colonised, which McEwan (2009, p. 66) describes as being 'neither one thing nor the other'. Put another way, as the two distinct cultures learn to communicate, and as one ultimately impacts on the other, a new 'hybridity' is produced from the encounter, which is different from the two original and individual cultural identities, that existed before colonisation (Gandhi 1998; Loomba 2015).

Gandhi (1998) notes that it is a hybridity of identity that is left after independence, as traditional identities impacted by the colonial diaspora (colonials moving from their traditional lands and displacing Indigenous people from theirs) mutate into a novel entity that is a mix of traditional, colonial, and the new. The new may include changes in the behaviour of the colonised, brought on by attempts to resist colonial will (Gandhi 1998). Postcolonial theory is used, in part, as a critique of hybridity to unpack that which belongs to the colonial narrative (Gandhi 1998; Loomba 2005). As noted, the effects of colonisation are intergenerational and as the French only withdrew from Cambodia in 1953, the hybridity left over in institutional systems, cultural practices or similar could be considerable. However, Young (2001) notes, similar to Gandhi above, that postcolonialism is also concerned with the wider impacts of colonisation, including colonial induced liberation movements and the consequences of those movements. Specifically, as Um (2015) notes, the Khmer Rouge revolution was not conceived in a vacuum but rather because of, and as a response to, colonisation and its wider impacts.

The consequences of the Khmer Rouge liberation movement were extensive and impacted on both the cultural, and colonial knowledge of all Cambodians. For example, the Khmer Rouge adopted a 'virulent nationalism' that rejected anything 'tainted by colonial association' such as the educated (regardless of any actual connection to colonial powers) (Um 2015 n.p.). This virulence is demonstrated in the death of 75% of teachers, 96% of all tertiary students and 67% of primary and secondary students during the reign of the Khmer Rouge (Clayton 1998 citing the Ministry of Education of the State of Cambodia). The Khmer Rouge annihilation of all things education also extended to the material, with the demolition of 90% of all school buildings, library books that were removed and burnt, and the destruction of all school scientific equipment (Clayton 1998). Hence, the colonial education system, including those Khmer who gained an education through it, was all but wiped out. At the same time, Khmer cultural knowledge (or even knowledge in general), irrespective of any potential distortions arising from colonisation, was also decimated by the Khmer Rouge and their killing of approximately one quarter of the population, as these Khmer were no longer able to pass their knowledge to the next generation (Chandler 2008; Um 2015; Zucker 2008). Thus, the hybrid knowledge that arose from the merging of the French and Khmer cultures, as well as any traditional cultural knowledge left after the French-induced diaspora, was either destroyed completely or at best left severely fragmented, due to the actions of the Khmer Rouge.

The anti-colonial sentiments of the Khmer Rouge leaders coupled with their negative/destructive attitudes towards education and colonisation in general, were also contradictory to their French (read colonial) education. For example, Saloth Sar (later known as Pol Pot, leader of the Khmer Rouge) was numbered among Khmer students selected to travel to France to gain a university education (Brinkley 2011). Brinkley (2011, p. 27) notes that communism was '... fashionable in Europe at the time' and French educated Khmer nationals such as Saloth Sar, were indoctrinated

to the point of starting/joining movements informed by its ideal, on their return to Cambodia. Hence, the intervention of a university education provided by a colonial power led a number of Khmer students to embrace communist ideologies, which ultimately inspired the revolution, and resulted in the civil war (Goldstein & Hiebert 2016; Loomba 2015; Um 2015). Therefore, this study posits that the Khmer Rouge's actions and attitudes towards colonial powers and education are in contradiction of the historical events which led them to revolution in the first instance. It also demonstrates the unforeseen consequences of colonial intrusion, in this example, via the introduction of colonial knowledge, and the hybridity of actions that can result thereafter (Loomba 2015). Moreover, this demonstrates the complexity of the diaspora and hybridity informing the Khmer colonial narrative.

Potentially the most severe consequence arising from Khmer exposure to colonial ideas played out in the violence and genocide enacted by the Khmer Rouge (Goldstein & Herbert 2016; Loomba 2015). These actions began as a perceived need to remove the old order through a revolution that would create a utopian collective of equals (Goldstein & Herbert 2016; Um 2015). The creation of a utopian collective meant the removal of 'individualism' (Goldstein & Herbert 2016). The Khmer Rouge instigated this removal by purposefully targeting people such as officials, the educated, the priesthood or anyone who might resist homogeneity into the collective (Clayton 1998; Goldstein & Herbert 2016; Um 2015). The fanatical mindset needed to start a civil war, based on a given ideology, provides the insight needed to understand why the removal of 'individualism' ended so violently for those affected. It was the same fanaticism which caused an inability to tolerate challenges to, or conceive failure of, the revolution. Rather, the Khmer Rouge leadership conducted inter-organisational purges to remove those who might disrupt the revolution (Chandler 2008; Goldstein & Herbert 2016; Um 2015). Guilt was established in these purges through confession gained via torture, and the 'traitor' to the collective/revolution was executed ('purged') (Goldstein & Herbert 2016). The impact on these actions resulted in paranoia and mistrust, a disregard for human life, and a potential reluctance to challenge authority (Goldstein & Herbert 2016; Um 2015).

To summarise this section, one of colonisation outcomes in Cambodia was the provision of a colonial education (through colonial ties that continued, after independence), which exposed a number of Khmer students to colonial knowledge that ultimately produced the future leaders of the Khmer Rouge. The Khmer Rouge leaders, on a wave of rural Khmer anticolonial sentiment caused by the US bombing of Cambodia (who were there as a result of French colonisation) coupled with a perceived mistreatment by the bourgeois urban Khmer, swelled their ranks and started a civil war that destroyed a considerable amount of Khmer knowledge. This knowledge included the hybridity produced in tandem with the French, as well as the Khmer cultural knowledge that remained after the French-induced diaspora. Hence, a postcolonial critique of the French impact on contemporary

Khmer people would be a demonstrably hard undertaking, due to the sheer amount of knowledge, in general, that was destroyed by the Khmer Rouge either through the loss of life or through destruction of books, institutions (both Khmer and French) and families. However, because the Khmer Rouge are, at their core, a result of French colonisation, a postcolonial critique of the Khmer Rouge and their impact, can also be considered a critique of one of the French impacts on Cambodia.

4.4.6 Constructionism, postcolonialism and positionality

Postcolonialism critique of European constructions of the 'self' and 'other' is an important link to the constructionist focus of this study (Loomba 2005). As Loomba (2005) notes, the construction of a European 'self' is dependent on the construct of the 'other' from which to distinguish itself, and suggests the existence of at least two realities, or two ways of knowing that act as a dualism (Loomba 2005). Importantly, constructionism identifies that the colonised in the position of the 'other' will also have their own construct of the coloniser, which places the European 'self' in the position of the 'other'. This is constructionism's relative positioning, where the meaning attached to a phenomenon is dependent on the person observing it (Patton 2015). So, the constructs of a self/other are relative to the position of the observers, and how that observer constructs their self, and the observed 'other'. Additionally, constructionism acknowledges that actions of the 'self' within a shared social space such as coloniser/colonised will impact on the 'other', as much as the actions of the 'other' will impact on the 'self', creating meanings between these actors that evolve over time and space (Berger & Luckmann 1991). The first point links constructionism with postcolonialism through the observation that the coloniser and colonised affect and impact on the other, which causes a new hybridity, or new socially constructed meanings to emerge (McEwan 2009). The second point acknowledges constructionism's temporal observation that meaning is relative to a time and place, which links to postcolonial theory's acknowledgement that the impacts of colonisation are relative and can exist well after the act of colonisation (Ganim 2013). For example, a person living through a struggle for colonial independence will have a different relationship with colonisation from that of a child growing up in postcolonial times. Consequently, the current Cambodian narrative may be influenced both directly and indirectly by the considerable disruptions of the Khmer Rouge and/or what remains of colonisation's impact, relative to the person and their relationships to the relevant events.

As indicated, the considerable chaos, disruption and even destruction to culture and the social unit of the family, along with the continued poverty within the country, suggests that clear and quantifiable postcolonial themes may be difficult to identify in Khmer data. However, it will be possible to examine the responses of each group using a postcolonialist lens to seek examples of dualism. These dualisms may exist as us/them, self/other (Gandhi 1998) or as Said's (1995) West/East dynamic. They may also exist as coloniser/colonised or Khmer Rouge/Khmer in

participant narratives. The use of dualism as an identifier may also aid in the comparison of viewpoints between NGO staff who provide services and the Khmer who receive them. Moreover, it can help understand how different groups construct, and impact on, the other (hybridity). McEwan (2009, p. 123) uses the term 'binaries' with reference to the European Enlightenment concept of 'self/other', when discussing dualisms, and demonstrates how binaries can be found in more common identifiers such as 'male/female', 'developed/undeveloped', 'civilised/uncivilised' and 'good/evil'. Of note is the positive and negative of the binary that has the socially privileged quality on the Left, and the socially less privileged, or even deviant quality on the Right (McEwan 2009).

NGO dualisms can be identified in O'Loughlin (2014, pp. 104, 106) work, who gives the example of the charitable Western aid worker who is conceived as the 'hero' who helps the 'passive victim'. In a broader critique of Western NGO discourse, O'Loughlin (2014, pp. 104, 106) uses the dualisms of the 'humanitarian' and the 'sufferer'. Kapoor (2004, p. 629) identifies development narrative dualisms in the form of 'we' or the providers of services who 'aid; develop; civilise; or empower' the 'them' or recipients of services who are identified as the 'beneficiaries; target-groups; partners; or clients'. This thesis notes similarly the dualism of the NGO who, as the 'provider of services', has an advantage over the Khmer as 'the receiver of services'. This occurs as ultimately, the NGO acts as the gatekeeper to their resources by controlling who they allow to access them. However, this study prefers to adopt the postcolonialist/constructionist position outlined earlier, that engaging groups impact on each other, rather than those with power only impacting on those without (McEwan 2009). For example, NGOs deliver services to address identified needs in the community. This helps establish a consumer base, as consumers may not engage if there is no foreseeable benefit to them, and because an NGO requires a consumer base to fulfil its purpose, the relationship must be reciprocal, if potentially unequal (see section 4.5.2 Legitimacy). Accordingly, each group is given equal weight within the research. Further, this acknowledges the agency of those receiving services and their ability to influence those perceived to be in a position of power.

4.5 The external control of organizations

Pfeffer and Salancik (2003, p. 1) suggest that 'Organizations are inescapably bound up with the conditions of their environment'. This is due to organisations rarely having the capacity to be self-sustaining, and instead having to look externally to secure the various resources needed to fulfil their purpose. Hence, organisations must source, and maintain access to, resources from their external environment (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003). The external environment is composed of other organisations (both public and private), governments (including their policies and regulations as well as various institutions), supply chains and even the general public (consumers, stakeholder groups and shareholders, for example) (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003). Problems within this system

arise due to the supply of resources not being dependable, which includes considerations beyond the physical availability of a resource (Froelich 1999; Khieng & Dahles 2015; Pfeffer & Salancik 2003). For example, access to a resource may become problematic if government policy changes how, and who to, a resource can be traded, meaning that while a resource may still be physically available, access is inhibited due to changes in the law. Similarly, an external agent may place conditions on the trading of a resource, or on how it must be used (termed 'Discretion' by Pfeffer and Salancik), in order for an organisation to access it. However, these conditions may prove problematic for an organisation to meet, which inhibits the dependability of access to the required resource (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003).

Pfeffer and Salancik (2003, p. xii) state that a consequence of organisations being reliant on their external environment to gain resources is that they become 'embedded in networks of interdependencies and social relationships'. Interdependent networks of organisations trade resources such as financial, physical and informational, back and forth between each other, so that each individual organisation is able to secure the resources needed to fulfil its purpose (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003). Hence, in addition to being interdependent, organisations are also resource-dependent on sources external to themselves (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003). Resource dependence is also not static, as organisations will attempt to overcome resource limitations through new or modified methods of gathering resources (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003). These new methods of accessing resources will, in turn cause changes in the external environment that impact on the organisation in new ways (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003).

Organisational outcomes also reflect interdependent influences, in that an end product will represent the accumulated influences of different actors, during the course of time it takes to achieve the final outcome (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003). As already discussed, these influences occur because an organisation rarely has the ability to be self-sustaining in the resources it needs to conduct its business (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003). Instead, it must negotiate with external actors to access the needed resources who, in turn, influence the eventual outcome (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003). Social actors external to the organisation will also make demands which are unrelated to resource gathering (think government policy, shareholders or regulators, for example) (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003). The degree to which a single organisation responds to all demands will vary, and a given response to an external demand may have consequences for others. For example, to meet the demands of an external supplier, an organisation may risk violating government policy, which results in the demands of the supplier being ignored or renegotiated to comply with policy. Alternatively, an organisation may choose to ignore government policy to meet supplier demands, but then risks issues with state judicial systems or similar. It is due to conflicting demands from external actors that Pfeffer and Salancik (2003, p. 43) suggest that '... organisations cannot survive by responding completely to every environmental demand'; rather, they make the point that

the '... issue then becomes the extent to which organisations can and should respond to various environmental demands' (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003, p. 43).

The likelihood of an organisation responding to an external demand, and by how much, can be considered against the amount of influence that the external actor making the demand has over the organisation, which indicates that power also plays a role. For example, the more reliant an organisation is on an external supplier for a resource and/or how critical that resource is to the organisation's function, the more power (read influence) the provider of that resource will have over the recipient organisation (Davis & Cobb 2010; Froelich 1999; Khieng & Dahles 2015; Khieng & Dahles 2015a; Mitchell 2014; Pfeffer & Salancik 2003). Conversely, the greater the control an organisation can achieve over a necessary, external resource, the more stable the organisation is, and the less likely it is to respond fully to external demands linked to that resource (Khieng & Dahles 2015a; Pfeffer & Salancik 2003). The amount of influence an external supplier has on the activities of an organisation may also be limited if there are multiple external vendors offering the same resource, which an organisation can draw on to meet its needs (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003). Though, as previously discussed, drawing on a new supplier may affect relations with the old supplier, as every action has a consequence. Consideration must also be given to the number of competing organisations drawing on the same resource. From the accessed resources, an organisation must also produce an outcome with a ready market. This ensures that the organisation has an ongoing purpose as well as the means to produce the capital needed to re-access the resources required to produce its outcome (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003).

4.5.1 Diversification

Diversifying output is one strategy used to overcome reliance when a specific set of resources is used to produce a single outcome (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003). However, by its very nature, diversification produces additional external influences that must be negotiated. Hence, while it helps to reduce the risk of being singularly focused by spreading the load, it also creates additional work (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003). Diversification as a strategy is used by NGOs to identify, and use, multiple sources of funding to be less reliant on one type/provider. Moreover, and similar to corporations, NGOs utilise diversified funding as a way of overcoming (inter)dependence and asymmetrical relationships (by having multiple relationships instead) (Mitchell 2014; Pfeffer & Salancik 2003). Hence, the diversification of funding sources for NGOs means the demands of any one group is reduced (or can be ignored) as the NGO is not solely reliant on that group to exist (Khieng & Dahles 2015; Mitchell 2014; Pfeffer & Salancik 2003). As noted, however, diversification does not reduce the impact of the external environment on the organisation, rather it broadens the number of external actors who need to be accommodated, relative to the level of diversification (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003).

Froelich (1999) notes that not-for-profit diversification may include the selling of services or goods to clients, especially when other revenue sources become scarce. However, this also relies on having a product with a ready market for consumption (Froelich 1999). NGOs who can generate funds through their own commercial activities reduce their reliance on their external environment, which also creates a buffer if another income source should fail (Froelich 1999; Khieng & Dahles 2015; Khieng & Dahles 2015a; Pfeffer & Salancik 2003). A study by Khieng and Dahles (2015), which used elements of Pfeffer and Salancik work to investigate the impact of strategies used by Cambodian NGOs to reduce their reliance on external funders, makes the point that funding from external sources in developing countries is majority sourced from donors outside the country, which adds an additional layer of complication. NGOs are also advised to self-generate funds from commercial activities, as it helps maintain their own missions, while improving local ownership (Khieng & Dahles 2015; Mitchell 2014).

4.5.2 Legitimacy

Pfeffer and Salancik (2003) suggest that one consequence of organisations being embedded within a larger social system is that they are also reliant on that system for support (and existence). Hence, an organisation's activities must align with, or add value to, the larger social system. Pfeffer and Salancik (2003, p. 194) term this concept legitimacy and indicate that it is a 'conferred status' which is granted by those external to the organisation. For example, for an NGO to survive and operate, they must provide a service which is deemed of value to the engaged community, as well as being perceived as worthy of support from donors. Not all members of a given society will necessarily align with the activities of an organisation, but if a subset of individuals find value in the organisation's activities, then that organisation has the required legitimacy to carry out its agenda (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003). Un-aligned organisational activities that do not meet, or actively oppose, societal norms may meet with resistance (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003). Those NGOs who are successful in fundraising and/or engaging with the community demonstrate a legitimate status, whereas those that fail may lack legitimacy (Froelich 1999).

4.6 Social Constructionism flows through the strip

Social constructionism's ontology, which suggests that reality is relative to the social lens of the person (or group) observing it, is present throughout the three interpretative theories (Patton 2015). Support for the existence of this ontology in Postcolonialism has already been demonstrated in section 4.4.6, which discusses the European construct of the self/other. A social constructionism ontology can also be demonstrated in Amartya Sen's (2001) work. Specifically, Sen identifies that different perceptions of the same experience can exist, relative to a person's level of freedom, and gives the example of an affluent person who chooses to fast and experience hunger, relative to the destitute person who's experience of hunger is forced upon them. Hence, one's position within a given society can produce different experiences of the same shared

phenomena. Sen (2001) also notes that a person's level of freedom/unfreedom is relative to their circumstances, which acknowledges the importance of context in helping to shape different people's realities.

The relativist ontology of Social Constructionism can also be demonstrated in Pfeffer and Salancik's (2003) 'The External Control of Organizations'. For example, they describe an organisation as a coalition of social actors who perceive, some form of benefit from their participation. Pfeffer and Salancik's (2003) notes that in order for an organisation to survive, the coalition of social actors who form it, need to:

...contribute the resources and support necessary for it to continue its activities, activities which themselves are outcomes desired by the coalition members. And, the coalition of interests participating in an organization at a point in time defines the activities of the organization. When an interest group ceases to participate in the organization, the organization either ceases to exist or, more likely, transforms itself into a different organization engaging in different activities relevant to the remaining interests (p. 25).

Hence, organisations produce outcome which represents the desires of the coalition of social actors who constitute its make up, at a given point in time. Similar to a Social Constructionism ontology which states that if you change the observer, you also change the reality, Pfeffer and Salancik's (2003) note that if you change the social actors who make up a coalition, you change the organisations desired outcomes (Burr 2015; Lincoln & Guba 2013; Norum 2008; Crotty 1998). Changes may also be caused by shifting influences in the external environment which impact on, and force changes to, the internal coalition of the organisation (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003). This acknowledges another link between The External Control of Organisation and Social Constructionism in that the context in which knowledge is produce, is important. For example, how a coalition of social actors respond to an external influence will, in some way, be representative of the time, place, culture, history, politics, and social settings of those within the group.

4.7 Conclusion

Social constructionism informs both the ontology and epistemology of this thesis, while also acting as the foundation for the research methodology. Three additional theoretical discussion developed from 'development as freedom', postcolonialism, and 'external control of organizations', are used in the re-interpretation of the research findings. More specifically, Amartya Sen's work was explored to better understand the unfreedoms of poverty for Khmer people, and the impact of NGO intervention, including how those interventions affect capability within the cohort receiving them. Given the focus of the NGOs, the effect on capability was mainly related to employment and higher education. However, there were some minor, less tangible capability themes that link to Sen's notion of participants achieving a life they have reason to value.

Postcolonialism was originally drawn on to investigate the impact of French colonisation on the Khmer people. However, as discussed, this was demonstrably difficult given the considerable impact of the Khmer Rouge. Postcolonialism did help to explore how and why Khmer people use English. In addition, postcolonialism was used as a lens to explore for dualisms in participant responses, including notions of self/other, us/them or Said's West/East. This approach helped identify dualisms relevant to the study such as freedom/unfreedom, Global North/Global South and generational differences between Khmer regarding education. Finally, ideas from the External Control of Organizations were used to better understand the external pressures faced by NGOs and how they respond to these environmental stimuli. The next chapter presents the case study methodology, including a discussion of how it fits within a social constructionist paradigm. The chapter also explores the methods used to obtain and analyse data.

CHAPTER 5: THESIS OBJECTIVES, CASE STUDY METHODOLOGY, METHODS, AND ESTABLISHING THE TRUSTWORTHINESS OF THE RESEARCH

5.1 Introduction

This chapter begins by outlining the primary, secondary and tertiary research objectives. A rationale is provided for each objective, which includes an explanation of how the review of academic literature in Chapter 3 helped establish each objective, as well as how the objectives are predicted to contribute to the research results. This chapter then examines how a case study methodology fits within a social constructionist paradigm, so that the research question of:

- **How do diverse stakeholder groups perceive the activities of NGOs (non-government organisations) working with disadvantaged children in Siem Reap, Cambodia?**

can be explored and answered. After establishing the methodology, a detailed description of the research methods, including the sampling and recruitment approach, the data collection process, and how the collected data was analysed, are discussed. This chapter also outlines the steps taken to address ethical concerns, as well as how the study establishes the credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability of the research.

5.1.1 A reminder for this chapter and those that follow

As established in Chapter 1, the names of the two NGOs that participated in this research have been changed to a generic *NGO-1* and *NGO_2* to protect the identities of those who took part in the research. Descriptions of these NGOs are provided in section 1.2 and expanded on throughout the results chapters. Participants who took part in the research are likewise given pseudonyms in section 5.6.2.

5.2 Primary objective

The primary objective of this thesis was informed by its main research question of:

- **How do diverse stakeholder groups perceive the activities of NGOs working with disadvantaged children in Siem Reap, Cambodia?**

The rationale for the research question is established in section 1.1 The briefing. Two of the main considerations from that rationale also informed the primary objective:

1. **Despite the continued and considerable poverty in Cambodia, there is limited academic literature investigating the multiple NGOs which exist to address the**

associated issues. This includes considerations of the potential successes, failures or how services might be improved.

- 2. The review of academic literature in Chapter 3 failed to identify a single study which investigated NGO interventions with disadvantaged children from the perspective of the multiple stakeholders affected by their work. Consequently, this was established as an area of the research topic which required further investigation.**

To address these considerations, the primary objective is:

- To establish how different stakeholder groups perceive NGO services with disadvantaged children so that a more complete picture of the benefits, impacts and effects of services can be understood and evaluated in order to make recommendations for the betterment of services.**

Hence, the primary objective sets out to address the main research question, as well as the considerations which informed it. This was accomplished through the investigation of four stakeholder groups who deliver, receive, are impacted by, or who impact on NGOs' work with disadvantaged children. This includes an investigation of former students who are no longer recipients of NGO services to better understand how NGO interventions affected their ability to gain employment and/or access further education (see the study propositions in section 5.3.1). The investigation of multiple stakeholders also helped in understanding the work of the organisation from a broad range of perspectives, which provided unique insight into the NGOs, arguably missed in the many single perspective studies. Finally, the primary objective, like the research question, was made purposefully open and exploratory, due to the limited research literature on the topic, which meant that assumptions about what might be found, would not be well informed.

5.2.1 Secondary and tertiary objectives

The review of academic literature in Chapter 3, which investigated published research on the subject of NGOs working with disadvantaged children in developing countries, identified features of the research topic, which required further investigation. One of these features was socialisation, or more specifically aspects of it such as play and friendship forming, which acted as 'pull factors' that attracted disadvantaged children to a street-frequenting existence (Bordonaro 2012; Droz 2006; Kudrati, Plummer & Yousif 2008; Nieuwenhuys 2001; Rizzini & Butler 2003). The street was also described as acting geographically as a space that contributed to a street-frequenting child's sense of social self-identity, as friendships were built there on the back of shared circumstances (Bordonaro 2012; Conticini 2005; McEvoy et al. 2013). Mindful of the above, one of the considerations of this study was to ask: Given the strong socialisation influence of the street for street-frequenting children, do NGOs with comparable cohorts of disadvantaged children generate

similar social ties? If yes, what part of NGO services helps facilitate the formation of these ties? If no, how might the NGO better encourage play and interactions between peers in order to strengthen social bonds? This is important, as an attempt by NGOs to emulate the major socialisation aspects of the street could theoretically lead to similar friendships being formed between students and/or the development of a sense of belonging associated with the organisation. This in turn may help prevent the child being drawn away from NGO services – the alternatives, such as street life, are theoretically more detrimental to the child's wellbeing than receiving services from an NGO. Moreover, an understanding of the benefits of play and peer interaction and the influence these activities have on children receiving NGO interventions, is missing within academic literature.

Another feature of academic knowledge that needed further investigation concerns the recruitment and retention of children in NGO services, as research on this subject appeared to be limited within published material. NGOs that are viewed positively by those receiving services may aid their own recruitment and retention through the positive endorsement of the NGO between peers, as seen in Dejaeghere, Wiger and Willemsen's (2016) study. Theoretically, positive social associations such as friendship forming, linked to attendance at the NGO (as discussed above) may also help with the recruitment and retention of children to the service. Similarly, word-of-mouth promotion of positively viewed NGO services could also foster interest, as demonstrated in Grossberg's (2013) study where a hip hop program drew children via word of mouth. Understanding factors that help draw children to NGO services (recruitment) and keep them there (retention) is important as ultimately it improves the child's longer-term prospects if they are able to access education, or similar skills training, for extended periods. Consequently, this thesis asked participants what attracted children to services, what they thought was beneficial, what parts of the service they would recommend to their peers, and why? This knowledge would help understand what aspects of NGO services appeal to the children and/or what helped draw them to the organisation, what aspects might be used in the promotion of services, and what NGOs can focus on to help increase retention of students in services. This theme of recruitment and retention, along with the previous discussion related to understanding NGO 'pull factors' (such as play and friendship forming) have been combined, given the evident crossover of ideas, in the secondary thesis objective:

- **To examine, and better understand, the 'pull factors' of NGO services (such as play and friendship forming) including a consideration of factors that help draw children to the organisation (recruitment) and keep them there (retention).**

Understanding factors that help draw children to NGOs, and keep them there, will also provide critical feedback to the NGO from the child's perspective, which importantly increases the child's participation in the services they receive. As noted in the literature review, a distortion can exist between what an NGO perceives as needed for the child and what the child actually desires. As

predicted by James and Prout (2015) (see section 4.2.5) a similar fault appears to exist in academic studies, as literature regarding the child's views on the services they receive is either limited or presented from the adult's perspective. This absence of the child's voice, despite many examples from the literature of children demonstrating considerable agency, is a contradiction of the discourse of 'involving' or 'participatory' work of both NGOs and researchers who allegedly investigate the child's world, albeit in absence of the child's actual input. Hence, the final feature of the research topic identified as needing further investigation is summarised in the tertiary thesis objective:

- **To provide a voice to children receiving NGO services, which traditionally has been neglected.**

This objective acknowledges Prout and James (2015) assertion that children are worthy of study in their own right. Specifically, this thesis addresses this identified limitation by purposefully asking children their perspective of the NGO, on education, on what work they would like to do, and what they aspire to be. The NGO staff (including managers), former students, and GN (Global North) volunteers were asked a similar set of questions regarding their views on education, work, and their aspirations for (or when they were) the child, so that differences (if any) between groups could be considered and compared. This approach would help understand how the children's views differed from other cohorts, who are more regularly the subject of academic research.

5.3 Social constructionism and case study methodology

Social constructionism's ontology posits that meaning for phenomena is relative to the world view of the person observing it (Patton 2015). In applying this definition to the research, the most notable difference in participant world views will be between the disadvantaged Cambodians receiving an NGO intervention and the GN volunteers helping to facilitate them. These differences in world view will be based on differences in power, privilege and culture, though this is also dependent on who is volunteering at the NGO, as some locals also volunteer. On this point, perspectives of the NGOs' services will also differ between people who share the same culture, as factors such as age, upbringing, disadvantage and education impact differently on different people's world views (Berger & Luckmann 1991). Another consideration specific to Cambodia is that the world views of those who survived the Khmer Rouge or who were directly affected by the turmoil preceding the civil war, may have different perspectives from those who have only known peace (Ganim 2013). Hence, there is the potential for a considerable number of different realities engaging with NGO services with disadvantaged children, and as this research is interested in investigating multiple and diverse perspectives, an analysis of all those realities at an individual level is a considerable, if not impossible, endeavour. Fortunately, Patton (2015) in his discussion of social constructionism use in program evaluation, recognises that 'different groups' can be

identified based on their relationship to the same shared phenomena of interest and compared against each other. The example given in Patton's (2015) explanation concerns the difference in perceptions that would be observed between a program's participants, when compared with the program's staff. However, an analysis of different group perceptions that is based on shared 'surface' circumstances such as 'program participants' versus 'program facilitators' is problematic, as participants within groups are too loosely defined, and the number of potential variations reduces rigour.

Instead, this thesis uses concepts from social constructionism, including common-sense knowledge as described by Berger and Luckmann (1991) and 'culture' as explained by Crotty (1998), to help define/refine those who share a group, and hence reduce variations. Common-sense knowledge is the common understandings shared between social actors within a shared social network (Berger & Luckmann 1991). Crotty (1998) notes that common-sense knowledge is partially a result of the 'culture' into which a person is born, as established social actors within that 'culture' have pre-existing meanings for phenomena that are passed on to the next generations. These pre-existing meanings essentially shape and influence the way in which we see and describe phenomena within our world (Crotty 1998). Moreover, Berger and Luckmann (1991) note that these meanings evolve over time as new social actors negotiate new meanings for objects within their shared realities. Crotty (1998) supports the notion that meaning changes over time in observing that subjective meanings for unchanging phenomena will vary temporally, but also notes that these meanings are tied to a given place and community. Crotty (1998, p. 64) summarises these ideas well by suggesting that a single voice giving a description of a phenomenon is actually 'the voice of our culture – its many voices' which is relative to a time (including the age of participants) and place in which those people exist. These concepts are used to posit that people who share a common geographical, temporal, demographic and social position, will generate similar understandings for phenomena within that shared reality. Hence, by defining the investigated groups by these criteria, increases the likelihood of identifying common understandings between individuals, as variability is reduced due to the defined 'groups' having discernible commonalities.

Specifically, data is gathered from individuals with similar identifiable qualities such as age, geographical location, material circumstances, social position and background (life histories). The individual realities with similar identifiers are then analysed together to understand how they make meaning as a group. The groups investigated for this study include the children themselves, the NGO workers, former students and international volunteers. The use of groups, rather than a study of individuals, makes the analysis of NGO services an achievable undertaking. The practical method by which these social constructionist considerations are converted to usable data involves the utilisation of the case study methodology, informed by the work of Merriam and Tisdell (2016),

Patton (2015) and Yin (2014; 2018). As Yin (2014) notes, a case study methodology can attend to multiple realities as it acknowledges the possibility of there being multiple perspectives of the same shared case, and hence demonstrates how the methodology fits within a social constructionist ontology.

5.3.1 Case study methodology

The case study methodology is a useful fit with this research as the 'case' is not limited to the study of single individuals, rather a 'case' can be an event, a group, a program, a community or even an intervention (Baxter & Jack 2008; Merriam & Tisdell 2016; Schwandt & Gates 2017; Yin 2018). The 'case', once defined, should have a boundary placed around the phenomenon of interest (what is it about that case that you want to find out about?) to keep the focus of the study on that phenomenon of interest (Merriam & Tisdell 2016; Patton 2015; Yin 2014). Specifically, Merriam and Tisdell (2016, p. 37) describe a case study as '... an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system'. To help identify the 'case' to be studied, Yin (2018) notes that a 'case' is normally associated with the research question. In this study, the research question has a focus on *NGOs working with disadvantaged children*, which also acts as the research case. The phenomenon of interest is how the NGOs' work is perceived by those directly affected by it. In addition, Yin (2018, pp. 27–28) notes that case studies should have 'study propositions' that draw attention to important aspect of the case. The NGOs involved with this study provided both primary level and English language education, as well as vocational training services to help disadvantaged students increase their capability for further education and/or employment. Resultingly, this case study's propositions focus on education and employment.

The services provided by the two NGOs in this study, while similar, are also specific to the organisation, which means that context is important when considering the investigated realities and any potential recommendations. This is partly addressed by 'bounding' the research to only those groups who are directly affected by the participating NGOs (defined in section 5.4.1) (Patton 2015; Yin 2014). Bounding is likened by Merriam and Tisdell (2016) to placing a fence around a group of people to be interviewed regarding the phenomenon of interest. Yet, if a fence (boundary) cannot be placed around a group, if the group has no obvious end, then the chosen topic of investigation is not representative of a case (Merriam & Tisdell 2016). Bounding the study to only those groups directly affected by the NGOs' work with disadvantaged children places an obvious limitation on the number of people who can be investigated. It also helps make the study contextual to the participating NGOs, which helps confirm the chosen case. However, this does not completely resolve the issue of comparisons between groups attending different NGOs being problematic, due to each organisation having its own specific context. Drawing on social constructionist relativist positioning, while groups engaging with a particular NGOs will have experiences specific to that NGO, they will also have a broader set of influences informing their responses, such as shared

culture, geography and relative age, which allows for a more universal analysis of the research findings. Hence, bounding the research in this manner will keep the investigation of phenomena in context to their surroundings, while also providing a more universal overview of NGO services (Baxter & Jack 2008; Merriam & Tisdell 2016; Patton 2015; Yin 2014).

5.4 Research design

The research design section outlines the research cohorts as well as the sampling approach and recruitment strategies.

5.4.1 Defining the cohort

Stakeholder groups of interest to the research were those directly engaged with the participating NGOs and their work with disadvantaged children, and who shared similar, identifiable qualities. Placed in the language of social constructionism, people who shared a group did so because of their ability to share common features of that reality. These groups included:

- children receiving NGO services who shared a similar age, geographical location (both NGOs serviced specific villages), attendance at the same NGO, culture (Khmer) and circumstances (material deprivation)
- NGO staff who shared a place of work, a job that required higher education, culture (Khmer), potential geographical location (many of the NGO staff were from the village serviced by the NGO), and who were invested in the activity of helping others
- NGO volunteers from the Global North who shared a similar age and geographical locations (specifically interviewed for this research were four people from the Netherlands, approximately 20 years of age, and three people from Florida University in the United States, also approximately 20 years of age), who volunteered at the same NGOs in Siem Reap province, and with the shared aspiration to 'help others'
- former students of NGO services who shared culture (Khmer), had similar geographical backgrounds (the villages serviced by the NGOs), had similar circumstances that led them to engage with the NGO, who were all former recipients of the NGOs' work and hence were now able to discuss where the engagement had led them (employment or university for example).

People not directly affected by the NGOs' work with disadvantaged children, and/or who did not share similar characteristics to the identified groups, were not considered for inclusion. For example, a large school group of international students were present during one of my trips to *NGO_2*. However, as they were only visiting the facilities for a short period, on one day, they were not overly affected by, and did not overly impact on, the NGO's services with disadvantaged children, so were not interviewed.

5.4.2 Sample and recruitment

Research sampling initially drew on two different, non-probability, approaches including purposeful and chain sampling. Patton (2015) describes purposeful sampling as the selection of participants based on their ability to inform discussion on the phenomenon of interest. Similarly, Creswell (2014) describes purposefully selecting individuals and research sites based on their ability to inform the research question. Participants with experience of the participating NGOs and their work with disadvantaged children were purposefully recruited for the study. This basis of recruitment addressed the phenomenon of interest (how the NGOs' work with disadvantaged children is perceived by those directly affected by it) and as a result, all participants who took part in the study also fit within the bounding context of the research (Baxter & Jack 2008). Moreover, the NGOs involved with the research were purposefully approached for inclusion, as the location and nature of their work meant they could directly inform the main research question (Creswell 2014).

Chain sampling was adopted partly out of necessity and because it gave access to participants who fit the purposeful sampling approach. Chain sampling is explained by Patton (2015, p. 298) as identifying people who are 'well-situated' regarding the topic of investigation and asking them for advice on potential people who are also well informed regarding the phenomenon of interest. Cohen and Arieli (2011) note that chain sampling is also useful in research conducted in challenging settings as the mechanism of referral draws on local social networks that help the researcher to locate and access hard-to-reach populations. Hence, by adopting chain sampling, the research was able to overcome considerable limitations including:

- the limited time allowed by the Australian-Cambodian visa (30 days – extendable once)
- limited initial contacts in Cambodia outside of those in charge of the NGOs
- the material deprivation of groups associated with the research, which meant that access, or ability to communicate with them, especially coming from overseas and in a different language, was demonstrably difficult.

Chain sampling was initiated while I was still in Australia by contacting the managing director of *NGO_2* and the former managing director of *NGO-1* via email as they both had access to groups who were well informed about the research (which also addressed the purposeful sampling requirements). The managing directors were asked to contact former students of their respective organisations with information about the study and, if these students were interested, request an interview on my behalf. In turn, the managing director of *NGO_2* provided the contact details for *NGO_2*'s head teacher who agreed to contact former students. Similarly, the former managing director of *NGO-1* contacted both the head teacher of *NGO-1* (who tasked the social worker with the job) and a former employee of *NGO-1* (who acted as a go-between for the former managing director as he now resides in Australia) with a request to contact former students of

NGO-1 for potential interviews. Gelfand, Raver and Ehrhart (2004) suggest that having the assistance of locals is vital for successful cross-cultural research. The Khmer head teachers from both NGOs provided considerable aid to the research. This included being the first point of contact for the NGO, aiding recruitment, giving advice on question construction, assisting with translation during interviews, and helping bridge cultural and knowledge gaps before, during and after fieldwork through continued online communication. Their assistance was vital to the success of the research.

The recruitment of former students by the NGOs was adopted to help maintain anonymity as this meant I had no knowledge of the former student's contact details, and the NGOs only used contact details they still had on record. Once contacted by the NGO with the initial request, the decision was then left to the former student to contact the NGO to express an interest in taking part in the research. The first two interviews with former students were arranged with the help of the former employee of *NGO-1* and were treated as pilot interviews as questions had not previously been tested with Khmer people (these interviews were not included in the results). After testing questions in the pilot interviews, regular interviews started at the two NGOs. Six former students were contacted by the head teacher of *NGO_2*, which resulted in five interviews (one did not turn up for the interview at the arranged time and could not be contacted thereafter). Similarly, six former students were contacted by the social worker at *NGO-1* of whom five were interviewed (one potential interviewee's employer would not give them the time off work). The limited refusal rate of participants who were contacted versus those who took part suggests that participants may have felt some obligation to the NGO to participate, and implies that issues existed with the recruitment method. However, there were multiple examples across the interviews of participants being enthusiastic about the research, or indicating a desire to want to give back to the NGO that had helped them, suggesting altruism may have also been a motivating factor. The first two pilot interviews were conducted at cafés in Siem Reap that were convenient for the former students to access and public enough to address any potential safety issues to myself, or the interviewees. All other interviews with former students took place in a private room at the NGO facilities.

The NGO managers who organise services were invited to take part in the research via email. This included two former managing directors and a former head teacher of *NGO-1*, who now resides in Australia. Email correspondence was ongoing with NGO managers, and they received in-depth briefing on the research before granting permission for it to be conducted with their NGOs (this included the three in Australia who sit on *NGO-1*'s board). These briefings meant managers had considerable knowledge about the project and understood what participating in interviews would involve. Permission was sought from each manager (including the three in Australia) before any interviews took place. In total, two former managing directors and a former head teacher of *NGO-1* (all Australian nationals), were interviewed in Australia in the second half of 2018, either in their

own home or at their place of work. The managing director (Khmer) of *NGO_2* and her husband (British expatriate) (who manages a sister NGO) were interviewed in Siem Reap between April and June of 2019 at their NGO facilities, as was the current managing director (Khmer) of *NGO-1* who was interviewed on site at the *NGO-1* facility.

Recruitment of NGO staff was aided by the head teacher from both organisations. The head teacher of *NGO_2* discussed the research with his staff at a meeting and asked for potential participants, while the head teacher of *NGO-1* had his social worker contact potential staff. Both head teachers were given copies of the participant information sheet, consent form and interview questions to share with potential participants. However, staff may have also felt obliged to participate in the research as the request came from the head teachers. Concerns regarding the recruitment of this cohort are discussed in the Informed consent section (5.6.1). Out of nine potential NGO staff who indicated interest in the project at *NGO_2*, seven were interviewed (including the head teacher). One potential participant was interviewed as a former student (many staff are former students) and accidentally placed on both lists. The second participant was not interviewed as the day organised with the NGO to interview staff ran overtime and the staff member could not stay due to other commitments. Out of the six potential participants at *NGO-1*, all six were interviewed without issue. All staff, from both NGOs, were interviewed on site at their respective NGOs, during their normal work hours, to reduce the burden of participation.

Children were recruited with the aid of the NGOs, who helped identify those over the age of 12 (inclusion criteria of the research and ethics) who regularly accessed NGO services. These children were approached by me, at the NGO facilities, while an NGO staff member was present, and provided an overview of the research before any request to take part was made. Children were purposefully recruited with the aid of the NGO and interviewed in focus groups, on site at the NGO facility while a staff member was present to protect both the children and myself from potential allegations of misconduct, given the very real issue associated with child exploitation in the region. All children initially identified by the NGOs and approached by me agreed to take part, suggesting potential issues related to power and/or a perceived obligation to participate, despite steps taken to outline the research and major ethical points before any requests to take part in the research were made. Both the NGO staff member (head teacher at *NGO_2*, deputy head teacher at *NGO-1*) and I reiterated several times that participation was voluntary to try to compensate for the apparent power differences. However, all children maintained their agreement to take part (consent and recruitment concerns regarding this cohort are explored in section 5.6.1 Informed consent).

The scope of GN volunteers' involvement at the NGOs was unknown before the research started. However, many of the early interviews with former students suggested that the GN volunteers' contribution, at both organisations, was significant. The presence of GN volunteers at both NGOs

on most weekdays, was also noted early in the fieldwork. Consequently, it was decided that the GN volunteers represented a group who directly impacted on the work of the NGO and would be interviewed, if possible, as part of the project. Patton (2015, p. 299) names this type of sampling as 'emergent subgroup sampling', where aspects of the research are unknown or unclear before fieldwork takes place, and 'emerges' as the fieldwork begins. GN volunteers at *NGO_2* for example, spend up to six months at the venue working on longer-term projects and have considerable impact on the organisation, including the relationships they build with staff and students. The role of this emergent subgroup was unknown before the start of fieldwork but identified shortly after arrival in Cambodia as important (though their presence was anticipated and included in the ethics application). Further, an unanticipated effect of GN volunteers being present at *NGO_2* daily was that many asked questions about the research as they observed it being conducted. This led to many opportunistic discussions about the research and information such as the participant information sheet being shared with GN volunteers. The GN volunteers who continued to demonstrate interest, and who were considered to be well informed about the research, were asked if they were interested in taking part. As part of the request, it was made clear that there was no obligation to participate in the research and that not taking part would in no way affect their relationship with the NGO. This approach resulted in five interviews from six requests. One interviewee did not wish to be interviewed; four interviewees were associated with the same NGO from the Netherlands that helped organise the volunteers' travel and placement in Siem Reap, while the fifth was an Australian who had volunteered at *NGO_2* over a ten-year period. All interviews with *NGO_2* volunteers took place at the organisation's facilities.

GN volunteers at *NGO-1* participate over shorter periods than volunteers at *NGO_2* and had often changed between visits to *NGO-1*, so opportunities to build relationships did not occur. However, despite *NGO-1* having shorter volunteer visitation periods, former students of *NGO-1* still commented on the GN volunteers sufficiently to suggest that their presence impacted on the services provided. Additionally, including volunteers from both organisations gave parity to the number of groups interviewed. An effect of the limited opportunities to build a rapport with GN volunteers at *NGO-1* meant chain sampling had to be used to recruit volunteers. This involved asking the head teacher at *NGO-1* if they could help identify GN volunteers for potential inclusion in the research. This approach identified five individuals, who were volunteering at the time of the request, for potential interviews. The five volunteers were supplied with a participant information sheet, consent form and a request for interview, from which three agreed to take part. One volunteer did not want to be audio recorded, and the second volunteer was not in attendance at a time that was convenient for both the volunteer, and myself. All three participants interviewed at *NGO-1* were from Florida University and were visiting Siem Reap as part of a university aid program; they were interviewed on site at the *NGO-1* facility, in a private room.

- **Table 5.1 Populations and recruitment broken down into desired numbers before fieldwork and actual**

Population	Population pool	Who will be approached?	Desired recruitment number	Actual number approached vs. interviewed
NGO managers	5	All 5 managers	5	5/5
NGO staff from *NGO-1*	60	All existing staff until population requirements are reached (with a focus on staff providing services to children)	5	6/6
NGO staff from *NGO_2*	15	All existing staff until population requirements are reached (with a focus on staff providing services to children)	5	9/7
Children (12+) receiving services at *NGO-1*	900, with 160 aged 12+.	Any student over 12 years who regularly attends the NGO until population requirements are reached	2 x focus groups with 3 to 5 participants each	*NGO-1*: 6 (3 per group)
Children (12+) receiving services at *NGO_2*	400, however the number of children aged 12+ is unknown.	Any student over 12 years who regularly attends the NGO until population requirements are reached	2 x focus groups with 3 to 5 participants each	*NGO_2*: 6 (3 per group)
Former students of NGO services	Number unknown	Requests were made through NGO managers.	10 (preferably 5 from each NGO)	Pilot: 2/2 *NGO-1* = 6/5 *NGO_2* = 6/5
NGO volunteers from *NGO-1*	Fluctuating	During fieldwork, 5 volunteers were known to be present at *NGO-1* at the point of recruitment; all were approached for inclusion.	5	5/3
NGO volunteers from *NGO_2*	Fluctuating	During fieldwork, 6 longer-term volunteers were present, along with 3 short-term groups. The 6 longer-term volunteers were approached as all demonstrated interest in the research project.	5	6/5

Table 5.1 above illustrates the numbers of potential participants available in each population pool (where known), the desired number for interview, and the actual number of participants interviewed from each group, split between NGOs.

The 'desired recruitment numbers' column in Table 5.1 was informed, firstly, by qualitative research literature on sample size. This literature has two main variations. The first includes authors such as Patton (2015) and Grbich (1999) who resist placing firm numbers on sample sizes. The second variation includes authors such as Green and Thorogood (2014) and Mason (2010), who cite a study by Guest, Bunce and Johnson (2006) which suggests that purposive, non-probability qualitative research can reach 80% to 92% saturation in 6 to 12 interviews. The second variation informs this thesis. Secondly, the sample size had to consider the accessible population pools as well as the time available to collect data. These considerations resulted in the 'desired recruitment numbers' of ten people per interview group, with three groups in total (four with the inclusion of managers, who emerged as a subgroup of NGO staff after data collection and analysis, as their interviews were considerably longer, more detailed and presented a perspective that was noticeably different from other staff) and four focus groups with three to five children, split between NGOs. The recruitment numbers represented an ambitious but credible sample and addressed a number of factors such as being large enough to provide depth, be achievable in the time available (limited by length of visa), while also minimising the burden the research placed on the NGOs. This impact was further reduced by spreading the load between the two organisations. Mason's (2010) study of 560 qualitative PhD dissertations, of which 179 were listed as case studies, found that the most common sample size was 40 participants. Together, the proposed sample would be in the range 47 to 55 people, which is comparable to Mason's (2010) findings. The actual number of participants involved was 48 across the four groups (not including the two pilot interviews), with 40 actual interviews/focus groups conducted, with all groups meeting their predetermined sample size, except volunteers (n=8).

5.4.2.1 Sampling issues

Chain sampling as a procedure is impacted by recruitment being filtered through those helping to identify potential participants for interview (Cohen & Arieli 2011; Whitehead & Whitehead 2016). This means the focus of the research can be lost, or aspects missed, if the recruited population becomes unrepresentative of the research aims through selection bias associated with a recruiter's limited social contacts or personal agenda (Cohen & Arieli 2011; Whitehead & Whitehead 2016). All participants in this study were recruited based on their direct engagement with an NGO working with disadvantaged children, hence there was limited chance of losing focus. Further, recruitment strategies were discussed between the head teachers and myself, for each distinct cohort, before recruitment started, to ensure a wide range of participants took part. For example, at *NGO-1*, teachers from the Khmer language primary school, the English language primary school, the music teacher and the nurse were approached for interview, so that a broad sample of the work carried out at *NGO-1* was covered. Similarly, English language teachers, the Khmer nursery teachers and library workers were approached for interview at *NGO_2* to help cover the breadth of their

work. These steps all worked towards limiting bias, and/or the NGO having too strong an influence on the research outcomes.

5.5 Data collection

This section outlines the main methods by which data was collected, namely semi-structured interviews and focus groups, and provides a rationale for their use. This section also discusses the construction of the interview guide, as well as providing details on interview and focus group durations, and on who took part. Finally, information is provided on the additional data sources collected to help triangulate interviews and focus groups.

5.5.1 Semi-structured interviews

Adult participants were interviewed using a semi-structured interview guide. A semi-structured interview is a partially open interview format that allows participants to share their perceptions, while also being somewhat structured, through the use of a guide, so that interviews stay focused (Green & Thorogood 2014; Merriam & Tisdell 2016; Whitehead & Whitehead 2016). The openness of the semi-structured format allowed people to freely discuss their perceptions of the NGOs' work. However, having a completely open interview format would be problematic as this approach generates many variants within the data, making the identification of shared meaning within groups, difficult (Clark et al. 2021; Grbich 1999; Kermode & Roberts 2006; Merriam & Tisdell 2016). Moreover, it would make comparison between groups extremely challenging. Consequently, the openness also required structure. Though, the level of structure also needed consideration as an overly structured format can suffer from being too focused on details of interest to the researcher (bias) and/or not allowing participants to tell their stories (Clark et al. 2021; Kermode & Roberts 2006; Merriam & Tisdell 2016). Hence, a semi-structured approach addresses both concerns. To aid comparison, questions in the semi-structured interview guide did not change meaning between groups, only the context relative to the person's relationship to the child receiving services. For example, the children receiving services were asked about the education they *received*, whereas the NGO staff were asked about the education they *delivered*.

5.5.2 Construction of the interview guide

The interview guide consisted of a series of core questions, and associated probe questions, which firstly explored key topics related to the thesis's main research question (Creswell 2007). These key topics included people's perceptions of the NGO's work, how they thought children benefited from being a part of the organisation's work, and how they thought the NGO could improve. Secondly, topics in the interview guide explored the research 'study propositions' (see section 5.3.1) of education and employment. Thirdly, topics in the interview guide focused on addressing the secondary objectives of the research, including the investigation of NGO 'pull factors' (like play

and friendship forming), what drew students to the organisation (recruitment), and what helped keep them there (retention).

The next step in the construction of the interview guide involved consultation with the managing director of *NGO_2* regarding previous research they had conducted. This research identified that the concept of 'need' did not translate well into Khmer language or culture. This may have antecedents in the prominence of Buddhist religion in Cambodia, where acceptance of the status quo is the norm for many Khmer, making questions that asked about what people need or desire, difficult (Chandler 1996; Um 2015). Instead, question design focused on specific ideas related to needs such as the types of employment, education or the lifestyle people might want to achieve. Secondly, multiple circular questions were asked throughout the course of the interview on the topics of employment, education and lifestyle to help build a picture of participants' 'perceived needs'. For example, participants were asked what they thought a good lifestyle was, what they aspired to be, and how they might achieve those aspirations.

Interviews were pilot tested, on arrival in Cambodia, with two former students of *NGO-1* to check both the wording and the concepts inherent in the questions. Many of the original questions in the pilot interviews, used or framed English words in ways that Khmer participants were unfamiliar with, and hence these questions caused considerable confusion. This resulted in these questions being reworded for the purpose of clarity, in both concept and language, while keeping the same general intent as the original questions (Creswell & Poth 2018). To help this process, the wording of questions was also discussed with the head teachers of each organisation (who are both Cambodian), in an attempt to isolate English words that would be more commonly identifiable to Cambodians. Due to the confusion caused by the original questions, coupled with the questions being re-worded, the content of the pilot interviews was not considered comparable to the later interviews, and hence they were not included in the later analysis. Gelfand, Raver and Ehrhart's (2004) work supports this step by noting that collaborating with locals when conducting cross-cultural research can help bridge emic-etic⁴ gaps in understanding. Notes were also taken during interviews when a question was asked in a way that produced a clearer, more detailed response. Likewise, probe questions that generated extensive discussion were also noted for consideration in future interviews. Equally, questions that continued to cause confusion were noted and words, or even whole questions, were supplemented to try to overcome the observed confusion. Finally, interviews and focus groups were conducted using multiple interview guides. The different guides

⁴ Emic is an insider perspective, or where a member of a given group investigates their own culture, whereas etic is the outsider perspective, or where a person not of a given culture attempts to investigate and interpret it (Green & Thorogood 2014).

all contained questions with the same general intent however, and as noted above, the context of the question changed, relative to the person being interviewed.

5.5.3 Interviews and focus groups

Interview and focus group question guides for each stakeholder group are provided in Appendices 5 to 9. Interviews with managers covered all topics in the standard interview guide (staff, volunteers and children), but also asked additional questions on the topics of challenges to implementing services, guiding philosophies, and relevant governing legislation so that the macro influences on service delivery could be explored (see Appendix 5, Manager interview guide). Consequently, interviews with managers were longer than those with other adults with an average time of 57 minutes (n=5). Interviews with head teachers used the standard interview guide for staff (see Appendix 6, Staff interview guide) but lasted longer, on average, than other adult interviews with an average of 43 minutes (n=3). Interviews with teachers averaged 29 minutes (n=12); however longer interviews involved assistance with translation, suggesting that the actual usable data was less than the recorded average interview length. Similarly, interviews with former students averaged 20 minutes (n=11), with two of the longer interviews having simultaneous translation during the process. The majority of interviews with former students were approximately 20 minutes long (see Appendix 7, Former student interview guide). Finally, interviews with volunteers demonstrated the greatest discrepancy with one lasting almost an hour while the shortest was 17 minutes with an average of 29 minutes (n=8) (See Appendix 8, Volunteer interview guide).

A simplified version of the interview guide was used in the focus groups with children (see Appendix 9, Children's focus group guide). The focus group question guide still addressed all major points covered in the adult interviews, but language was simplified and questions made more open-ended to better fit the format (Clark et al. 2021). Using a guide that was purposely similar to those used in the adult interviews helped to keep sessions focused on the topics of interest to the research, while also aiding later comparison between groups (Lambert & Loiselle 2007). In addition, it was hoped that the use of a simplified interview guide would help encourage group discussion while accommodating for the students' reduced English language ability (when compared against the average adult participant). Focus groups with children were also adopted in the hope that the presence of peers would encourage confidence, and hence make children more likely to join in open discussion (Green & Thorogood 2014; Patton 2015). Encouraging children to speak was initially considered problematic due to the presence of an NGO staff member during the focus groups session. However, their presence turned out to be advantageous as they helped translate words that students found confusing, while also actively encouraging them to answer question, including those that might have been negative of the NGO. Focus groups also reduced the burden of the research on the NGO by keeping the number of sessions to two (per NGO)

(compared with six individual interviews) as staff members attended all sessions. Finally, the approach had the benefit of participants' responses triggering additional comments in others, that might have been missed in a one-on-one interview (Carter et al. 2014; Lambert & Loiseau 2007).

Overall, twelve children were asked to take part in one of four focus groups (two per NGO) that were conducted in small groups of three participants. The head teacher of *NGO_2* supervised the two focus groups conducted at his NGO and was often an active member of the discussion and helped translate when questions drew confusion. He also took notes of students' responses in English, when discussion was in Khmer (that were kept as data with the head teachers' permission), and actively encouraged students to answer even potentially negative questions. The first focus group at *NGO_2* had limited success as students appeared to be shy and/or had limited English so the head teacher had to translate a considerable amount of the 29-minute focus group. It should also be noted that this was the first focus group conducted as it had not previously been piloted (mainly due to the time constraints of the research, see section 5.4.2), which explains some of the limitations encountered. The second focus group at *NGO_2* was more successful with the head teachers and I spending more time building rapport with the students. This resulted in more detailed answers and students using more English, with some limited translation by the head teacher. The second focus group at *NGO_2* lasted 32 minutes but with less translated content, meant more usable data.

The deputy head teacher at *NGO-1* supervised focus groups at his NGO, and helped translate when questions drew confusion but was less involved in comparison to the head teacher of *NGO_2*. This reduced involvement was notable in the first focus group where students, much like the first focus group at *NGO_2*, appeared shy and reluctant to test their English language skills. The limited involvement of the deputy head teacher reduced my ability to build rapport given the language barrier, and made the interviews considerably more difficult than those conducted at *NGO_2*. The first focus group at *NGO-1* ran for 33 minutes but produced limited data. However, the second focus group was held with slightly older students who had studied a more advanced level of English, which enabled a better level of rapport to be built. The second focus group at *NGO-1* was conducted mostly in English and ran for 23 minutes; though shorter than the first focus group, the limited translation meant the majority of that interview produced useful data. Metadata was also kept on each interview and focus group. Metadata included the length of the interview, the place the interview took place, the date of the interview, how consent was granted, and the gender of the participants. Additionally, brief notes on each interview were taken at the end of each day to aid recollection when revisiting the recording at a later date.

Of the interviews conducted, six staff, five former students and three focus groups required assistance with translation during interviews. Translations were provided by the head teachers (deputy head teacher for focus groups at *NGO-1*) as they were well versed in the research

project, were bilingual, and agreed to sign confidentiality agreements. The use of live translation during interviews is supported by Green and Thorogood (2014, p. 101) with a caveat that the research team should have a '... high degree of trust in the interpreter' and that ideally the interpreter should be a part of the research. While the head teachers were not official members of the research team, a high degree of trust was afforded them as:

- they aided recruitment
- were the go-to person for communication regarding the NGO
- offered continued advice on language and culture
- had considerable knowledge of the project
- were invested in the research outcomes, and
- had ongoing communication with the principal investigator before, during and after the fieldwork.

Further, the use of head teachers to translate interviews reduced the resources needed to source and finance a translator in an unfamiliar environment, and made the research a more realistic undertaking. It also reduced the burden on the NGO of having to continually approve the visitation of both myself, and an outside interpreter. However, the impact of using the head teachers as translators with participants who receive their services is also acknowledged and addressed in the sections below on informed consent (5.6.1) and confidentiality (5.6.2).

5.5.4 Additional data sources

Multiple authors, including Patton (2015), Yin (2014), Baxter and Jack (2008) and Merriam (1985), recommend that a case study should collect data through various methods, including interview and observation, so that a more complete understanding of the phenomena of interest can be achieved. As part of the fieldwork conducted in April to June of 2019, and on follow-up in December 2019, I spent considerable time at both NGOs' facilities, observing and participating in their activities. During these sessions, I took field notes as well as some limited photographs approved by the NGO, concerning different group interactions (for example how children and teachers engaged), cultural points of interest, and of the general day-to-day activity of the NGO. These sessions helped establish a better understanding of the everyday dynamics of the NGOs, including the people who regularly attended them. Patton (2015) notes that a strength of observation as part of fieldwork is the researcher seeing the setting firsthand rather than relying on disconnected information from interviews and assumptions about the setting. Moreover, the use of multiple data sources improves the overall quality of the study by providing multiple ways of viewing and confirming phenomena, especially in comparison to a single dataset (Patton 2015; Yin 2014). Finally, the fieldwork also helped to bridge gaps in cultural understanding as many

opportunistic discussions occurred with staff regarding cultural differences (Australian vs. Khmer), while helping me to immerse myself in the environment and better understand how the NGO worked as a whole.

5.5.5 Transcription and quotes

After data collection was complete, I collated field notes and transcribed a number of interviews conducted entirely in English, with the majority transcribed by Sharyn Taylor Transcribing and Secretarial services. However, due to issues for transcribers with Khmer accents and background noise, I rechecked all transcriptions against the audio for accuracy, and fixed issues related to misheard/missed words. Interviews with live translation (Khmer to English or English to Khmer) in the audio recording had the Khmer transcribed into English by Kong Rey Translations, with the English component of the interviewed transcribed by me. The transcription of the Khmer into English from the audio recordings made the Khmer language data usable, and hence provided more data for analysis. This process also helped confirm the live translations, and importantly helped demonstrate that the responses given by participants in Khmer, were accurately reflected in the head teachers live translators (reducing their influence on the data) as well as assisting with nuance as the two translations (both live and transcribed) could be compared against each other to enhance understanding of the participants' intended meaning.

Finally, Khmer use of English has unique idiosyncrasies, so in later chapter I have provided, when I thought it was needed, additional words in brackets within quotes to help clarify sentence intent. I acknowledge the influence that my interpretation places on the data. However, I would also suggest that my additions are an appropriate representation of the original intent as I conducted the interviews, had access to the full audio recordings, transcripts and translations, and have spent many hours in discussion with participants regarding topics covered by the interviews, outside of the data collection process. Additionally, I have conducted follow-up fieldwork that member checked data interpretations, which also allowed additional time to discuss the research with those involved. Finally, on the topic of quotes and their use in the results section, the word 'Khmer' appears immediately after a participant's designation (such as G4 or S5 – pseudonym designations are discussed in section 5.6.2) in some instances to indicate that the original quote was recorded in the Khmer language with the aid of a translator. Similarly, the designation 'Q' is used in some quotes to identify myself (Q = questioner) in the discussion as well as the designation 'Tr' which indicates the contributions of the translator in interview conversations.

5.6 Ethics approval and key ethical considerations

The research gained ethics approval in Australia from Flinders University's Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (SBREC) (project number 8083) on the 21st of August 2018 (see Appendix 10 for confirmation email). Ethics approval from the researcher's home institution was

required before approval from the Cambodian government's National Ethics Committee for Health Research (NECHR) could be sought. Ethics approval from the NECHR was achieved on the 10th of January 2019 (project code N° 005 NECHR) (Appendix 11 Confirmation letter). Additionally, the managing directors of both NGOs gave formal permission for the research to be conducted at their NGOs on the 27th of November 2018 for *NGO_2* (Appendix 12) and the 28th of November for *NGO-1* 2018 (Appendix 13). Key ethical consideration for this study included the vulnerability of NGO participants who received services and the need to avoid, where possible, placing an increased burden on them. Consideration was also given to the need for voluntary participation, informed consent, participant confidentiality, the right to withdraw and not answer questions, feedback to participants, and the secure storage of data.

5.6.1 Informed consent

A participant information sheet (Appendix 14 English version and Appendix 15 Khmer version) and consent form (Appendix 16 English version and Appendix 16 Khmer version) that clearly outlined the research project, the risks and benefits of being involved, and how the information gained from the study would be used, were given to all participants before requests for participation in interviews/focus groups were made. Additionally, as all interviews and focus groups would be recorded, participants were informed of this before any recording took place. There were three distinct consent forms: the first consent form was for adult acceptance of participation in interviews (Appendix 16 English version and Appendix 16 Khmer version); the second consent form was the child (age 12+) acceptance of participation in focus groups (Appendix 18 English version and Appendix 19 Khmer version); the third consent form was the guardian's acceptance of the child's participation in focus groups (Appendix 20 English version and Appendix 21 Khmer Version). Where literacy or signing of documents was problematic, verbal permission was sought, and audio recorded as proof of consent (procedure approved by both ethics committees; only one participant could not sign and was audio recorded granting permission as per the protocol). All documents were available in both English and Khmer. Purposefully, no demographic data was recorded about participants as part of the interview or focus group process (outside of their gender) due to the vulnerable status of many participants.

As discussed in the Sample and recruitment section (5.4.2), a potential issue existed with recruitment where participants may have felt obliged to participate in the research, because of their relationship with the NGO. This relationship was not equal, as it was based on the needs of one group on resources offered by the other (the NGO), and hence a power imbalance exists, as only one group is dependent (though section 4.5.2 Legitimacy argues that the NGOs are also dependent as they require a consumer base to deliver service to, in order to have purpose). In an attempt to separate the research from the NGO and go some way to addressing the identified power imbalance, at all times while visiting the NGOs, I wore a Flinders University polo shirt to

differentiate myself, and the research, from the NGO. Similarly, all documentation had Flinders University letterheads so that potential participants could see that the research was not associated with the NGO, and not feel obligated to participate due to the services they received. Furthermore, all main ethical points were reiterated with potential participants before any request to sign consent forms was made, including:

- that participation was voluntary
- that interviews/focus groups were audio recorded
- that refusal to take part would not impact on any relationship they had with the NGO (as agreed to by the NGO)
- that they could refuse to answer any question at any time, including stopping the interview at any time without issue (not possible in focus groups, though this point was made clear before consent was sought)
- that no names, place of service, age or similar identifiers would be used in any write-up of the research
- that only the research team and transcription service (who have signed confidentiality agreements) would have access to the audio recordings and transcripts (specifically not the NGO)
- (where relevant) that head teachers residing over/assisting with interviews have signed confidentiality agreements to not disclose any information discussed during the course of the interviews/focus groups.

Additionally, what may have appeared to be issues related to perceived obligation and power imbalance may have partly (or fully) been a form of altruism as many participants discussed wanting to give back to the NGO that had helped them. This observation is supported in interviews, and by the Khmer cultural value of merit making. Merit is the concept that virtuous and kind acts in this life, add up and afford a person a better life in their next incarnation (Chandler 2008; Um 2015). So, responding to a request for help from an NGO that had previously helped you, may go some way to levelling the merit owed. Similarly, taking part in research that may have benefits to those involved with the NGO, could also be seen as meritorious. Along with merit, respect towards one's educator appears to be ingrained in Khmer culture, as Um (2015, n.p.) writes '... Khmer consider ingratitude towards a teacher one of the greatest sins'. This suggests that participants' acceptance of the request to participate, while potentially appearing to be influenced by a perceived obligation to the person in power, might also be cultural in that the person who receives the request may agree to take part due to the respect they afford the requester.

The NGO assisted in the identification of potential child participants, given their vulnerability and issues with child exploitation in the region. Once identified, I provided potential child participants with the information sheet and child consent form in English/Khmer, on site at the NGO facilities. This cohort was discussed in section 5.4.2 as potentially having a perceived obligation to participate in the research due to all children agreeing to take part, despite the efforts made to reiterate that participation was voluntary. In addition to those points raised above regarding perceived obligation and power, it should be noted that despite encountering no resistance to participation from this cohort, it is also a disservice to the child to suggest that they were unaware of what they agreed to, or incapable of refusing had they not wanted to be involved (Bessell, Beazley & Waterson 2017; Green & Thorogood 2014). However, in an attempt to give some power to the children, they were asked to sign their own consent forms. Consent forms were offered in both English and Khmer and were read through with the children and explained in detail, the children were also encouraged to ask questions about the research, before signing the form (Bessell, Beazley & Waterson 2017; Grbich 1999). Additionally, the head teacher of *NGO_2* and the deputy head teacher of *NGO-1* signed guardian consent forms as adult representatives of the children, granting permission for them to take part in the research. Senior teachers acted as the children's guardians for the focus groups as the sessions were attended by them, took place on the grounds of the schools, and the children's parents were often absent (for example, many parents cross the border into Thailand for work), were difficult to contact due to no phone or internet, and because children mostly brought themselves to class. Furthermore, the head teachers signed confidentiality agreements stating they would not disclose anything discussed during the focus groups, to further protect those children who took part.

Issues with recruitment were also apparent in the NGO staff cohort as they are reliant on the NGOs for employment, and because this study relied on the NGOs to help recruit staff, the staff may have felt an obligation to take part. The original plan for recruitment had been to present the research to staff and leave participant information sheets for them to read, and to use the supplied details to contact me if they were interested in participating. However, on arrival at the NGO facilities, it became apparent that both the staff and the NGOs were time poor and that language barriers existed for some staff meaning that a presentation impacted on both staff and NGOs' time, while potentially not being understood by all present (which impacts informed consent). Consequently, in recruiting staff I had to choose between them potentially feeling obliged to participate, and the potential burden to the staff and the NGO. The potential burden to staff also included keeping them from their second jobs and/or families in order to participate. As the cohort were all well-educated adults capable of making informed decisions, I decided that burden posed a greater impact to the group. To help address any perceived obligation that staff may have had concerning participation, participant information sheets were provided, and they were encouraged to ask questions. The major ethical points were also repeated with considerable emphasis placed

on participation being voluntary, before asking staff to complete consent forms. To help reduce the burden of participation for staff, the NGOs agreed to have staff interviews conducted during work hours.

Finally, due to fluctuating groups of people, on different days at the NGOs and the limited time of Cambodian-Australian visas (one month, renewable once) the possibility of seeking consent from all people who might be observed was considered unrealistic. Instead, a participant opt-out approach was adopted to address consent concerns. All written communication that described the study such as letters of introduction, participant information sheets and promotional posters (in English and Khmer – see Appendix 28) outlined that people may be:

... observed at the NGO's facilities as part of the wider fieldwork. Observations will focus on interaction between groups such as those between children and teachers and of the general day-to-day activities of the NGO to increase insight of topics raised in interviews. No names or place of work will be recorded during observations, and you can choose to not be observed by informing the principal investigator, at any time.

By adopting this approach, it was hoped that the general population of the NGOs would be made aware of the possibility of being observed and of the rights they had regarding this aspect of the research. Additionally, at all times I made my purpose at the NGO clear to any who asked. Finally, observations of NGO activities were cleared with NGO managers before any note taking took place, and no names, dates, or place of venue were recorded during note taking activities.

5.6.2 Anonymity and confidentiality

Woods and Lakeman (2016) define anonymity as the complete absence of identifiable information regarding people who take part in a research study. However, because interviews and focus groups required consent forms to be signed, and were conducted face to face, this meant that participants were identifiable both by me, and by the head teachers who helped with recruitment and translation. Hence, complete anonymity in this study was impossible (Woods & Lakeman 2016). Similarly, confidentiality concerns the link between participants and their data, and reducing the ability of others to link participants to their data, where possible (Woods & Lakeman 2016). Issues existed with participants' confidentiality as the majority of interviews took place at the NGO facilities, which meant participants were known to others present on the day of interview. Additionally, children in focus groups were known to each other and to the staff member who presided over the focus group. Similarly, any participants requiring translations during their interviews were known to the translator (head teachers). To help overcome confidentiality concerns, data was de-identified, and names of participants and organisations were changed, which reduced the link between participants and their data. This also helped address anonymity by limiting those who knew the real names of those who took part (namely the research team and head teachers).

The de-identification of participant names involved the assignment of a designation such as S1, S2, M1 or M2. An M designation indicates a *Manager*; an H designation indicates a *Head teacher*; an S designation indicates an NGO Staff member; the G designations indicate a former student (*Graduates*); a V designation indicates a *Volunteer*; and the F designation indicates a participant in one of the children *Focus groups*. The number indicates the order in which the participant was interviewed, comparable to other members in that cohort. These individual designations are used in place of the person's name in transcripts, and in quotes used throughout the results and discussion chapters. These individual designations were also used if participants were discussed in interviews outside of the ones in which they officially took part in. Third parties (people who did not take part in the research) discussed in transcripts were assigned a generic Western name with an asterisk (*) to indicate that a change had been made. A similar approach was taken with placenames such as villages, in that the name was changed and an asterisk (*) added to indicate that a change had been made. Together, these steps helped protect the anonymity and confidentiality of those who took part, including those discussed by participants.

The names of the participating NGOs were also changed to a generic *NGO-1* or *NGO_2* for the same purpose. NGO staff who observed focus groups or aided with translation during interviews were asked to sign confidentiality agreements (Appendix 22) to help protect participants' identities and prevent disclosure of interview or focus group content. Further, NGO managers stated in their letters of support that there would be no negative consequences for individuals who voiced opinions about the NGOs' services (Appendix 23 *NGO-1* and Appendix 24 *NGO_2*). The transcription and translation services who checked translations and/or produced transcripts on the study's behalf were asked to sign confidentiality agreements (Appendix 25 Transcription service and Appendix 26 Translation service) or had an existing confidentiality agreement with Flinders University. Participants were made aware of the potential risk of being recognised in the participant information sheet and of the steps taken to mitigate this risk so that consent, once given by participants, was informed. Finally, all contactable participants were offered the opportunity to review their interview transcripts and discuss my interpretations of their data on my return to Cambodia in December of 2019 to correct and/or clarify points within the data that helped increase participants' control of data, while also increasing the validity of the research.

5.6.3 Secure data management

All digitally recorded interviews were transferred from the recording device to an encrypted, password protected, Flinders University laptop, immediately after interviews were completed. Once recordings were transferred, they were deleted from the recording device. Recordings were then only shared with my research supervisors, and transcription/translation services via a secure, online cloud file sharing service. The use of this technology helped control who had access to the recordings and allowed access permission to be cancelled, at any time. Recordings were deleted

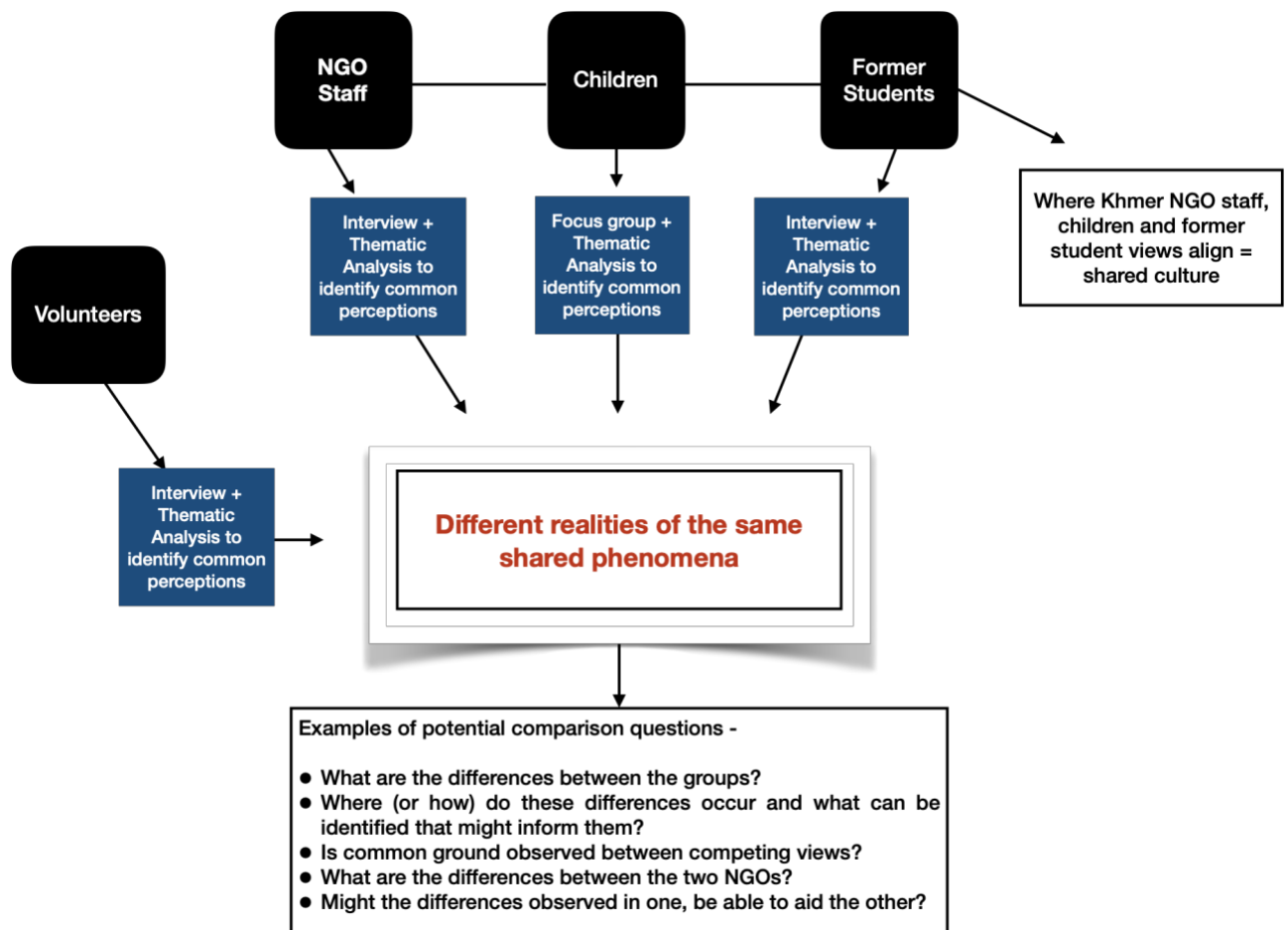
from the cloud services after each transcription was complete. Once complete, transcripts were stored on the encrypted, password protected, Flinders University laptop and only shared with the research supervisors. Additionally, all metadata regarding interviews was also stored on the encrypted, password protected, Flinders University laptop.

5.7 Data analysis

Initial data analysis began as an informal process during data collection through contemplation of interviews and focus groups as they progressed, which resulted in short notes being written about observed trends and possible explanations (Merriam & Tisdell 2016; Patton 2015). Formal data analysis then proceeded as an inductive process that was informed by the work of Merriam and Tisdell (2016), Patton (2015), Creswell (2014) and Green and Thorogood (2014), and is presented in detail below.

5.7.1 Data analysis process

Data analysis was originally depicted as a conceptual model which outlines how the ideas discussed throughout this chapter would be drawn together, using a relativist positioning, to investigate the different group realities (see Figure 5.1 below). The conceptual model outlines the different groups to be involved in the research, that the groups would be interviewed (in focus groups in the case of children), then the results thematically analysed and finally compared. This conceptual model also outlines diagrammatically, possible links between different stakeholder groups, including potential questions to ask when comparing the data from the different groups, to better understand the distinctions and commonalities between their independent realities. A version of the relativist conceptual model was presented as a poster at the Sigma Theta Tau International's 29th International Nursing Research Congress in July 2018, and appears as Appendix 27.



• **Figure 5.1 Relativist conceptual model**

The groups identified in Figure 5.1 are defined in section 5.4.1, the data collection process is outlined in section 5.5, and the thematic analysis of interview and focus group content is discussed next.

Firstly, transcripts were manually divided into their established groups as outlined in section 5.4.1 Defining the cohort, and then split into their respective NGOs (Taylor-Powell & Renner 2003). Next, all Khmer transcripts were separated from GN participants' transcripts, and a randomly chosen Khmer transcript from a given group was then read in full and points of interest, thoughts about the content, and potential patterns were noted in the margins of the transcript (Creswell 2014; Green & Thorogood 2014; Merriam & Tisdell 2016; Patton 2015). This process was then repeated for the next transcript in the group, with the additional step of noting similar ideas across the transcripts by underlying the relevant passage and giving it a unique identifier (for example a coloured highlighter mark) (Creswell 2014; Green & Thorogood 2014; Merriam & Tisdell 2016; Patton 2015). Specifically, passages of text that represented a similar idea to that found in another transcript, or in another section of the same transcript, were underlined and given the same identifying highlighter colour so that these ideas were easier to locate and consider across the transcripts (Creswell 2014; Green & Thorogood 2014; Merriam & Tisdell 2016; Patton 2015;

Taylor-Powell & Renner 2003). A separate notebook was used to help keep track of which highlighter mark corresponded to which broad set of ideas. Note taking continued concurrently with analysis, which helped immerse me in the data and to think about, and become more familiar with, transcription content (Burnard 1991; Green & Thorogood 2014; Taylor-Powell & Renner 2003). Once similarities had been identified across several transcripts, the content of the similar ideas (the passages that shared identifiers) were analysed as a whole and given a title (Green & Thorogood 2014; Taylor-Powell & Renner 2003). This process also considered the notes taken during manual transcription review, to help understand the linked passages. In total there were approximately seven themes which covered broad ideas including Khmer culture (including collectivism, Khmer Rouge and nationalism), effects of poverty, addressing poverty (activities of the NGO), the importance of learning a second language, socialisation, recruitment and employment.

Khmer transcripts were then imported digitally into NVivo for Mac (version 12). The titles assigned to grouped passages of similar text became the initial nodes (themes) in NVivo to which the relevant passages of texts were copied. As content within nodes evolved, the passages of text were reconsidered and compared against each other to make sure node content had consistency, and that nodes were unique from each other (Merriam & Tisdell 2016; Patton 2015). This process resulted in some nodes being renamed to better match the accumulated data, the addition of sub-nodes to better reflect themes within themes, or the addition of entirely new nodes to reflect new constructs emerging from the data, that were not representative of the original nodes. The new evaluation of nodes resulted in the identification of nine node with various sub-nodes including:

1. Recruitment
2. Socialisation
3. Resources
4. Jobs and employment
5. Poverty
 - a. Effects of
 - b. Addressing
 - c. Missing out
 - d. Basic needs
6. Education
 - a. Second language
 - b. Computer literacy
 - c. State schools
7. Culture
 - a. Humble needs

- b. Morality
 - c. Colonisation
 - d. Positive collectivism/nationalism and social mobility
8. NGOs
- a. Legitimacy
9. Volunteers

After the last Khmer transcript had been imported into NVivo and broken down into its components, the different nodes were checked once more for consistency, and at this point writing about the content of each node commenced to help re-examine and understand the content in more depth (Merriam & Tisdell 2016; Patton 2015). This process identified nodes with shared ideas that could be collapsed into each other, as well as helping to further refine titles and ideas into more refined nodes and sub-nodes. My research supervisors also reviewed the refined nodes and offered comments on their content and potential meaning to help validate the final analysis and reduce bias. After review, the node count was six, which included the addition of a node specific to former students (outcome of intervention):

1. Culture
 - a. Humble needs
 - b. Morality and respect
 - c. Positive collectivism
 - i. Helping others
 - ii. Helping the family
 - iii. Helping the next generation helps the country
2. Jobs, employment and education
 - a. A good job
 - i. What jobs do the children want? What informs this choice?
 - ii. Better jobs require further training
 1. Second language
 2. Computer literate and a second language
 3. Study hard
 - b. How do people find jobs?
 - c. NGO as a career path
 - d. Education level and state school
 - i. Which level?
 - ii. State schools
3. Outcome of intervention
4. Poverty

- a. Impacts of limited, inadequate or no resources?
 - i. Inadequate resources
 - ii. No state welfare or institutional protections
 - iii. Unknown value of resources
 - b. Addressing poverty
 - i. Basic needs
 - ii. Raising capacity
 - 1. Sponsorship and employment opportunity
 - 2. Young Adult program
 - iii. Self-driven recruitment and raising community capacity through NGO engagement
 - iv. Volunteers' role in capacity raising
5. Resources
- a. Multiple roles
 - b. NGO resources
 - c. Missing out
6. Socialisation
- a. Friends and benefits

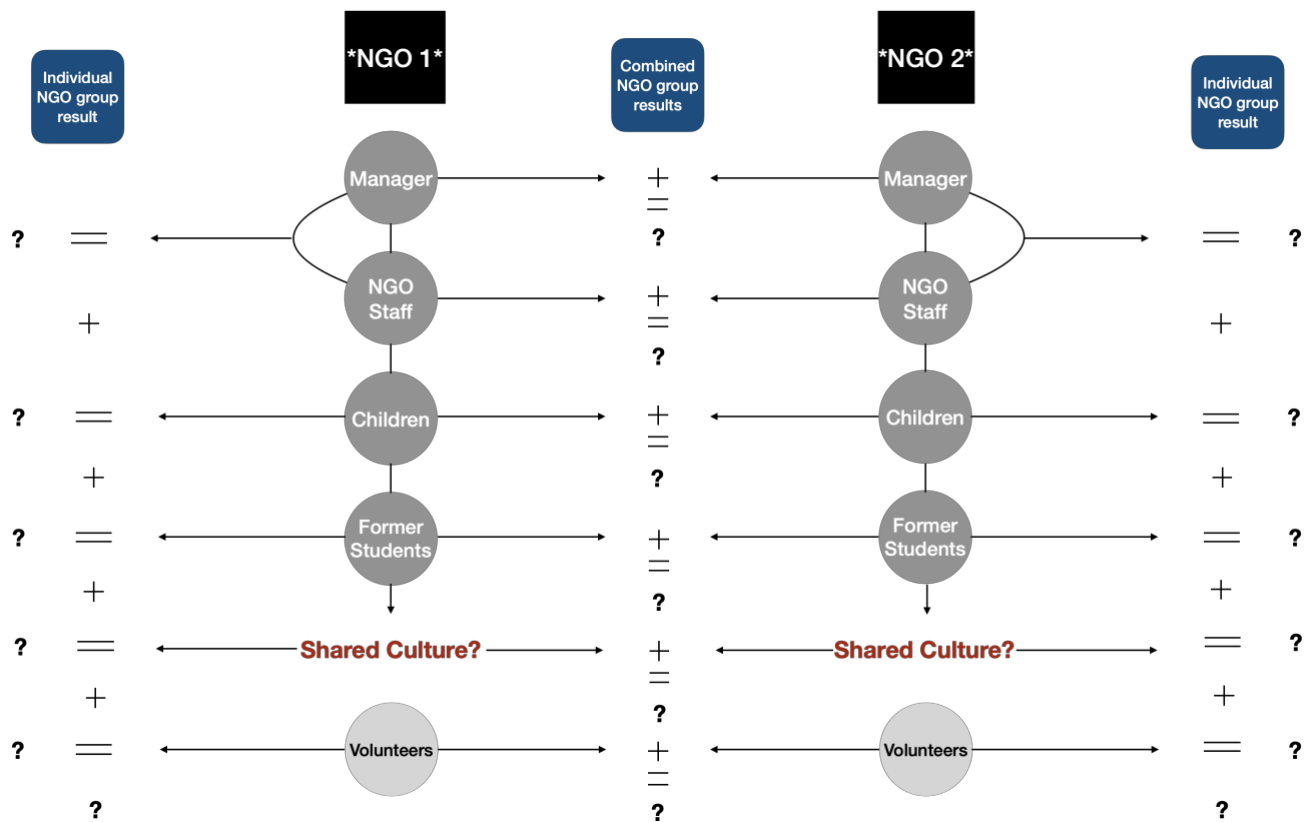
Analysis of GN participant transcripts followed the same procedure outlined in the Khmer analysis above. For example, they were split into groups (managers, staff and volunteers), then split into NGOs and a random transcript was then chosen for review. The one difference in the GN participant analysis, compared to the Khmer analysis, concerned the fact that themes had already been established. Before GN participant transcript analysis commenced, I did consider reviewing them separately to Khmer participants, to see if unique themes appeared. However, GN participant were asked the same, or a similar set of question to Khmer participants and after the review of several GN transcripts, it became clear they contained similar content to the Khmer interviews. The analysis of GN transcripts also helped confirm the conceptual model outlined in Figure 5.1. For example, despite GN transcripts having similar content to Khmer participants, the descriptions of shared phenomena differed considerably between groups (these differences are noted, when relevant, throughout the results in Chapters 6 and 7 as well as in the discussion of 'dualisms' in section 8.4.2). Analysis of GN transcripts also helped evolve several subthemes, as members of this cohort had been involved with the NGOs for considerable periods and their data helped fill out previous understandings. Analysis of GN transcripts also established a new subtheme under 'Resource limitations' called 'Funding and control of resources'. The final list of six themes was:

- 1. Culture: Common characteristics of Khmer participants
 - a. Modest needs

- b. Respect and morality
 - c. Positive collectivism
 - i. Helping others
 - ii. Helping the family
 - iii. Helping the next generation helps the country
2. Constructs of poverty
- a. Impact of limited or inadequate resources
 - i. Inadequate resources
 - ii. Limited state welfare or institutional protections
 - iii. Unknown value of resources
 - b. Addressing poverty
 - i. Basic needs
 - ii. Raising capability
 - 1. Sponsorship and employment opportunities
 - 2. Young Adult program
 - iii. Self-driven recruitment and raising community capability through NGO engagement
 - iv. Volunteers, Global North resources, and capability raising
3. Jobs, desired jobs and what do I do to get these jobs? education!
- a. A good job
 - i. What jobs do the children want? What informs this choice?
 - b. Better jobs and further training
 - i. Second language
 - ii. Computer literacy, second language and access
 - c. How do people find jobs?
 - d. NGO as a career path
 - e. Education!
 - i. Which level?
 - ii. State schools
 - iii. Generational relationship differences with education
4. Student outcome from NGO interventions
5. Resource limitations
- a. Funding and control of resources
 - i. Multiple roles
 - ii. NGO resources
 - iii. Missing out
6. Socialisation, friendships and benefits
- a. Friends and benefits

NVivo nodes were also cross-referenced with notes taken during interviews and fieldwork (Merriam & Tisdell 2016; Taylor-Powell & Renner 2003). Patton (2015) supports this approach by noting that a case study uses smaller units of information such as interviews, focus groups and field notes in combination to compare and understand the 'case' in-depth. Further, given the complex nature of investigating participants from a different culture, the cross-referencing of multiple sources of data helped reduce potential misunderstandings (Patton 2015; Yin 2014). Importantly, the use of NVivo made the analysis of subsets of groups easier as, for example, the combined child focus group data from the two NGOs could be analysed as a whole, and then sorted into specific NGOs, so that differences in the two (if any) could be identified and considered (Merriam & Tisdell 2016).

An initial, if simplistic, version of how the groups could be compared, including potential questions asked of the data, is outlined above in Figure 5.1 (Relativist conceptual model). An updated version of how these groups were compared and considered against each other, using NVivo, is outlined below in Figure 5.2 (Group analysis diagram). The questions outlined in Figure 5.1 were used as a guide to help understand differences in data. In Figure 5.2, below, the different groups involved with the research are listed in two separate columns as managers, NGO staff, children, former students and volunteers. The two identical columns are placed under the titles of the two NGOs who participated in this research. The middle arrows point to plus signs that indicate that the separate NGO groups were combined and analysed as a whole, whereas the outer arrows indicate that the different groups were analysed individually, relevant to the NGO they attended. The four groups comprising managers, NGO staff, children and former students are linked due to their shared Khmer heritage and potential to produce culturally informed content (as also outlined in Figure 5.1). Moreover, many shared commonalities identified in the data, from these four groups, supported this conceptual linkage (including culture specific to their institutes which is recognised by the combined and individual analysis arrows). These four groups and the different ways in which their data has been considered represent the majority of the data presented in Chapters 6 and 7. It should be noted however, that differences between groups have only been documented when there were clear discrepancies between groups, and when those discrepancies added to the discussion of content in themes, rather than reflecting an exhaustive analysis of all possible differences. Finally, the volunteers were separated in both diagrams (Figures 5.1 and 5.2) due to participants being from the Global North. This division of GN participants also included transcripts from one former head teacher and two former managers of *NGO-1*, and a manager of *NGO_2*, though this split is not easily demonstrated in Figures 5.1 and 5.2 and is instead identified here. As with the Khmer participants, all GN participants were analysed in their respective groups as well as being split by NGO, but also had their responses compared against the Khmer participants to understand how culture shapes ideas regarding NGO services with disadvantaged children.



• Figure 5.2 Group analysis diagram

5.8 Trustworthiness

Naturalistic inquiry by Lincoln and Guba (1985, p. 290) posits the term ‘trustworthiness’ to ask if a qualitative study’s findings are trustworthy, which in turn establishes if a reader can have confidence in the results and should take notice of the research. To establish trustworthiness, Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest four criteria with which to judge a study: Credibility, Transferability, Dependability and Confirmability. These four criteria are explained sequentially in this section and each explanation is followed by a description of how this research addresses each to establish the trustworthiness of the research project.

5.8.1 Credibility

Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that a study will have credibility when the researcher’s ‘reconstructed’ accounts of people’s realities are presented in a way that is still recognisable to the study’s participants. A method to achieve this is member checking, where the researcher asks members of the research cohort to check that research interpretations are an accurate reflection of participant’s experiences (Green & Thorogood 2014; Thomas & Magilvy 2011). Baxter and Jack (2008) note that a strength of a relativist approach that incorporates a case study methodology is the close collaboration it fosters between the researcher and researched that allows the participants to have their reality explained in clearer detail, which increases the credibility when combined with member checks. Research participants were given the opportunity to check data

interpretations on my return to Cambodia in December of 2019, which resulted in a net positive affirmation of my analysis. Two managers contested some of the interpretations which, interestingly, may be due to the much larger cohort of Khmer staff, students and former students informing the overall results, and the differences in social strata of both managers in comparison, as the other cohorts confirmed the interpretations (see section 8.4.2.1 for further discussion on the managers' response). This also supports the subgrouping of managers in the NGO staff profile. Lincoln and Guba (1985) also promote prolonged engagement with the research subject as another method to increase credibility, as it improves the likelihood of the researcher moving beyond surface assumptions and helps to build trust with the research cohort. While admittedly I had limited time in Cambodia to conduct fieldwork (April to June 2019 and again in December of 2019) and immerse myself in the culture for the purposes of this project, I have however, on other occasions, travelled extensively in the region across multiple trips. Further, I have read broadly about Cambodia and partaken in ongoing email and online conversations with Khmer people, which has helped build my understanding of the country and culture as well as building trust with those involved with the research. I have also used these same contacts to help clarify points in the data, when I was unsure of meaning. While ultimately none of these steps can change my etic viewpoint, I believe that the clarification of Khmer interview content with locals, when coupled with my travel in, and study of, Cambodia, does go some way to making the retelling of the Khmer participants' data, more accurate.

The research also used Lincoln and Guba's (1985) 'triangulation' to increase credibility, which is supported by a number of authors, including Yin (2018), Merriam and Tisdell (2016), Patton (2015), Creswell and Poth (2018) and Baxter and Jack 2008. Triangulation in this study drew on Yin's (2018, pp. 128–129) notion of convergent evidence where multiple datasets from interviews, focus groups and field notes were all used to confirm phenomena and help build construct validity. The use of interviews and focus groups to collect data was potentially problematic as the different datasets were used in direct comparison with each other. The noted difference in approach is that interviews produce open and in-depth discussion on specific points, while focus groups provide a breadth of data because of the multiple informants (Carter et al. 2014; Lambert & Loiselle 2007). However, despite interviews and focus groups producing differences in data, the results are complementary, but with the caveat that care must be taken in the analysis of data with each data point analysed separately and weighed proportionately against the other when reporting results (Carter et al. 2014; Lambert & Loiselle 2007). Specifically, the contribution of four focus groups with twelve children was considered comparable to each stakeholder group of interviews, with each group analysed as a whole, but individually to the other group (Carter et al. 2014; Lambert & Loiselle 2007).

Finally, as I am an Australian citizen investigating disadvantaged Cambodians, issues exist around power, and the representation of the 'other'. Noted efforts to control for emic-etic issues have already been listed as close and ongoing collaboration with Cambodian people to help account for cultural difference. Additional efforts to mitigate 'othering' of the research cohorts include the consideration of Gayatri Spivak's (1983) influential postcolonial essay 'Can the subaltern speak?'. 'Subaltern' traditionally is a military term referencing someone of inferior rank; it is used in postcolonialism in reference to the oppressed (Gandhi 1998). Spivak's (1983) 'Can the subaltern speak?' relates the difficulty of representing an untainted Indigenous voice in research, to which Manzo (2012) adds the equal difficulty of having that voice heard. This difficulty is acknowledged in this research. However, an attempt was made to have that voice accurately presented and heard, firstly through the use of a qualitative methodology. While still linked to Western knowledge systems, qualitative research is also acknowledged as allowing Indigenous people to tell their own stories as it draws on people's voice to inform discussion (Braun et al. 2013). Further, it was the aim of this research that these voices be heard by feeding back their stories to the NGOs providing services, and helping the 'subaltern' to be heard by the organisations. That feedback, however, would firstly be subjected to my interpretation, which as Spivak (1983) indicates, cannot be a true representation of the subaltern's voice. To address this, the research adopted Spivak's (1983) point on the importance of reflecting on one's position to limit impact when presenting the 'other' (Kapoor 2004). I hoped that through ongoing reflection, the use of multiple voices to build themes and the use of member checking to gauge the accuracy of my interpretation of the collected data, has produced an honourable reproduction of the Khmer's people experiences. As Kapoor (2004, p. 643) notes, Spivak's concern is not with stopping GN research of the 'other', but rather that the researcher acknowledges their 'complicities and unlearn our prejudices' to allow the 'subaltern' to speak.

5.8.2 Transferability

Transferability refers to the degree in which one study is similar to another and how confidently the results of one study can be used to help explain the results of another (Lincoln & Guba 1985; Merriam & Tidell 2016; Thomas & Magilvy 2011). Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that a study's transferability is increased when an investigator provides sufficient description of the study so that similarities can be compared and judged. This research is described as transferable, rather than generalisable as would be expected in an empirical study, as the knowledge generated in this social constructionist study is specific to the time, place and people who took part. This makes the data difficult to generalise but as noted, it may be transferable to researchers investigating similar topics and cases (Nichols 2015). This research has increased its transferability by providing a detailed description of the research setting, including a historical account of Cambodia, and through provision of a comprehensive description of how the research was conducted, so that the results can be understood more comprehensively. Moreover, the knowledge generated in this

thesis is from multiple stakeholders, meaning the results encompass a greater scope that may be transferable to a wider range of other research projects (Green & Thorogood 2014; Schwandt & Gates 2017). Further, as this study investigates two NGOs, it is also a multi-case study, which Baxter and Jack (2008) suggest can identify common elements across cases that improve not just the transferability, but also the generalisability of those findings. Yin (2014) also suggests that the use of multiple cases makes the study more robust. Consequently, where the findings of this research are shared between NGOs, is suggestive of patterns that may be generalisable to other NGOs working in the field (Baxter & Jack 2008; Schwandt & Gates 2017; Yin 2014). Regardless, where successful elements are identified in one NGO, recommendations of a general nature maybe transferable to similar NGOs working in the same space.

5.8.3 Dependability

Dependability is the qualitative equivalent of reliability in quantitative research, which concerns the accuracy of measurements, including the description of those measurements (Merriam & Tisdell 2016; Pilnick & Swift 2010; Thomas & Magilvy 2011). Specifically, the level of reliability reflects the likelihood of an experiment conducted a second time, reproducing the same results as when first conducted (Green & Thorogood 2014; Lincoln & Guba 1985; Pilnick & Swift 2010). Reproducible accuracy is not possible in qualitative research as the context of a setting, such as the time, place and people involved is fluid, making qualitative inquiry hard to reproduce, regardless of the effort made to recreate settings and circumstances (Merriam & Tisdell 2016; Pilnick & Swift 2010). However, steps can be taken to improve the dependability of the research, including a clear decision trail that outlines the purpose of the research, the sample and recruitment method, the data collection process, how the data was analysed, and by presenting accurate interpretations of the data (Koch 1993; Lincoln & Guba 1985; Merriam & Tisdell 2016; Thomas & Magilvy 2011). This allows the reader to follow a clear sequence of events and judge how likely the described research would be to produce the reported results (Lincoln & Guba 1985; Merriam & Tisdell 2016; Thomas & Magilvy 2011). As per the described process, considerable effort has been made throughout this thesis to describe each listed section as clearly, and with as much depth, as possible, so that the reader can follow the flow of decisions and judge the results accordingly. Moreover, steps to improve the dependability of the research can be seen in the effort made to address language barriers (see sections 5.5.2, 5.5.5 and 5.8.3.1) as well as the time spent both in Cambodia and online establishing relationships with Khmer people, especially with the head teachers of both NGOs, to help bridge emic-etic gaps in understanding. Finally, my research supervisors provided peer evaluation at each stage of the research process, which improved research reliability by having experienced academics test my work and assumptions (Green & Thorogood 2014; Lincoln & Guba 1985; Thomas & Magilvy 2011).

5.8.3.1 Translations

Translations of Khmer documents was conducted by Kong Rey Translation. Translated documents included the participant information sheet (Appendix 15), the three versions of the consent form (Appendices 17, 19 and 21), the promotional poster (Appendix 28), interview questions (Appendix 29) and the research proposal abstract (Appendix 30). During the period of translation, I spent considerable time online conversing with the translator to help clarify meaning and intended context of research documents. Green and Thorogood (2014) suggest that translated documents should be checked by a native speaker to make sure the content is understandable. To check the validity of the translations, Cambodian post-graduate students attending Flinders University were contacted by the International Student Service (ISS) with a blind request to help with Khmer translations. Two Cambodian students responded to the ISS request and agreed to be contacted by me.

Of the two Cambodian students, one had almost completed a Master of International Development and had an in-depth understanding of the research topic and so was asked to check the translated documents against the English version. The feedback received by the Master's student indicated that the Cambodian translations were an accurate reflection of the English documents but that a few words needed revising. This included the direct translation of 'investigate' that in Khmer was likened to being inspected by the police, which might cause participants to have the wrong perception of the research project. Investigate was changed to 'studied', which in Khmer connects with schooling and research. Additionally, the term 'non-government organisation' had been translated in two ways, including 'out-of-government organisation' as well as 'non-government organisation'; this was changed to 'non-government organisation' across the documents for consistency. Finally, translations were checked by the principal investigator through Google Translate (Khmer translated back to English), which is acknowledged as an unreliable and imperfect approach, but it did offer the author the ability to check that context had been maintained throughout the translated document.

5.8.4 Confirmability

Confirmability establishes that the research findings are more than the researcher's version of events, that the research is a confirmable account of the participants' experiences (Cope 2014; Patton 2015). Confirmability is suggested as occurring when credibility, transferability and dependability are established, as the researcher has engaged with, and considered in-depth, their research project (Thomas & Magilvy 2011). Confirmability also concerns the researcher's bias, which has been addressed in several areas of this chapter including:

- Section 5.4.2.1: Potential issues with selection bias were reduced by having the head teachers and myself discuss recruitment strategies, which incorporated as broad a

selection of NGO participants. as possible (that also helped to reduce the influence of the NGO on the research project)

- Section 5.5.1: The use of semi-structured interviews which allowed participant to discuss their experiences more openly, rather than an overly structured approach that was more focused on my own preconceptions
- Section 5.7.1: The data analysis process which outlined the use of my research supervisors to oversee data analysis as well as the use of vignettes from participants' interviews to help confirm and illustrate data interpretations.

Finally, Thomas and Magilvy (2011) suggest that confirmability is aided by the researcher making reflective notes after each interview. I adopted this process by making a short note on each interview, in the evening after interviews took place; these notes helped me to reflect on interviews as well as consider potential trends and patterns in the data (Burnard 1991). Note taking after interviews also acted as a self-check that helped me consider my own influence on the data as well as potentially aiding future interviews. For example, the note taking reflection resulted in some interviews being re-listened to, to look for evidence of words that resulted in better responses from participants, or in consideration of how the interview was carried out, including whether too much emphasis had been placed on points of interest to the researcher (me) rather than letting the participants discuss points of concern to them.

5.9 Conclusion

This chapter established how a case study methodology fits within a social constructionist paradigm. It also discussed how participants were recruited, data was collected and analysed, and the steps taken to increase the trustworthiness of these processes. Providing a clear and detailed discussion of the researcher's attempts to address trustworthiness was especially important considering the vulnerable nature of some groups who took part in the research, and because of the emic and etic nature of the researcher exploring another culture.

The next two chapters, Chapters 6 and 7, present the research results. Chapter 6 focuses on the first two major themes outlined in section 5.7, namely Theme – 1 *Culture: Common characteristics of Khmer participants*, and Theme – 2 *Constructs of poverty*, while Chapter 7 presents Themes 3 to 6. Specifically, Chapter 7 presents Theme 3 – *Jobs, desired jobs and what do I do to get these jobs? Education!*, Theme – 4 *Student outcomes from NGO interventions*, Theme – 5 *Resource limitations*, and Theme – 6 *Socialisation, friendships and benefits*.

CHAPTER 6: RESULTS PART A – COMMON KHMER CULTURAL CONSTRUCTS, VIEWPOINTS ON POVERTY AND NGO ACTIVITIES

6.1 Results Part A – Introduction

This chapter, and the one that follows (Chapter 7), presents a thorough and detailed analysis of participants' interviews, focus groups and field notes, collected during fieldwork in April to June of 2019, and on follow-up member checking in December of 2019. Specifically, two major themes identified from the analysis are discussed in this chapter (Themes 1 and 2 of 6). Firstly, Theme 1 – *Culture: Common characteristics of Khmer participants* details the common constructs shared between Khmer participants. These constructs included a modestness regarding material possessions, a desire to demonstrate good moral character, and a collectiveness where people work for the betterment of the group, rather than the individual. Theme 2 – *Constructs of poverty* examines how Khmer socially construct poverty as well as how the NGOs help people to address it, and participants' perceptions of that work.

6.1.1 Notes on this chapter

Firstly, when reading the results chapters (6 and 7), the social circumstances of the people who took part in the research should be considered. For example, many Khmer students, both current and former, accessed the NGO services as they either did not have the means to attend a free state school and/or did not have the finances to pay for a private language/trade school. Moreover, many of the NGO teachers and staff came from the same village in which the organisations were embedded and had materially deprived backgrounds similar to the students. These points, along with the MPI (Multidimensional Poverty Index) cited in Chapter 1, which identified that 37.2% of all Cambodians are multidimensionally poor, are intended to act as a reminder that the circumstances of the majority of the Khmer who took part in this research should not be considered comparable to those of us living in the Global North.

Secondly, as noted in Chapter 5, participant names have been replaced with a designation such as S1, S2, M1 or M2. An 'M' indicates a *Manager*; a 'H' indicates a *Head teacher*; an 'S' indicates an NGO Staff member; a 'G' indicates a former student (*Graduate*); a 'V' indicates a *Volunteer*; and an 'F' indicates a child participant from one of the four *Focus groups*. The number indicates the order in which that person was interviewed, comparable to other members of the group. The letter 'Q' (*Questioner*) is used in quotes to identify myself, and 'Tr' indicates the contribution of the *Translator*.

Finally, the term 'Global North' (GN) is used throughout the results chapters to denote people from countries with considerable financial, material, industrial and political capacity, and who have

benefited as a result, especially when compared to the majority of Khmer participants. There is, in addition, occasional reference to 'long-term GN participants', which represents people who have spent considerable time working and/or volunteering in Cambodia (over ten years). The longer-term GN participants included a long-term volunteer (V4) and the husband of the Khmer manager of *NGO_2* (M4), as well as two former managers (M1 and M2) and a former head teacher of *NGO-1* (H1), all of whom are still actively involved.

6.2 Theme 1 – Culture: Common characteristics of Khmer participants

The common constructs shared between Khmer participants are presented first, so that insight into Cambodian culture might be gained, and hence aid understanding of the results presented in subsequent sections of this chapter, and the next. Specifically, the common constructs of Khmer participants (their culture) included: a modestness regarding personal needs; the *Sampeah* (traditional Khmer prayer greeting); respect and morality; and a collectivist mindset where people work for the betterment of each other, rather than the individual.

6.2.1 Modest needs

Khmer participants demonstrated a tendency towards modest wants and needs, especially those who worked as staff, or who were, or had been, a recipient of NGO services. These modest needs included wanting to own their own home that was often described as small or 'not too big', to own a single car or more often a motor bike, potentially have their own small business, to have a small family, and to have enough land to plant fruit or vegetables. For example, when asked 'how would you like to live in the future?' former student G4 stated:

Oh for me, I like to live simple, have my own house and have enough money to buy food for myself, my family.

While head teacher H3 discussed their aspirations as:

it's not too much – so it's like have a small family and we have like a garden, so we plant some fruit, some vegetable and also have enough finance to support family every day, and also we have more time together not only just for working.

As noted in section 2.3.4, Cambodian culture has a strong collectivist orientation, particularly towards family, thus there was often discussion of spending time with, and helping, the family, especially in relation to financial support. Other constructs discussed by Khmer participants concerning finances included wanting to be able to afford the cost of their 'daily expenses', to spend less time working, and wanting to live more 'comfortably'. These separate ideas, when added together, suggest that Khmer participants did not earn a wage sufficient to meet their daily needs, without struggle. Moreover, these responses hint at a hidden aspect of poverty in Cambodia, where even those with work, struggle to get by.

The material deprivation associated with poverty, may help explain why some Cambodians do not exhibit extravagant materialistic desires. An interesting example comes from former student G8 who discussed wanting to be rich, and when asked why, stated:

Khmer – If I become rich, I would enlarge my groceries selling [extend her grocery shop].

Hence, rather than having more extravagant desires such as wanting to own multiple shops, G8 suggests a simple extension to her shop, which may even be achievable with some limited help. These modest aspirations may also link to a limited knowledge of what can be achieved with more money, as poverty inhibits insight (Jourde 2017; Sen 2001). For example, compare the NGO managers' (M3 and M5) responses, who presumably have a higher salary and education, to G8 (a former NGO sewing student), when asked a similar set of questions, such as 'What is a good lifestyle in Cambodia? How do you think people like to live?':

M3: Modern car ... car, villa – I can say that is also lifestyle, and also that is what I see in new lifestyle that I found a lot, yeah, in terms of car, villa, on that – yeah, too.

M5: Good lifestyle in Cambodia you have a big land.

Q: And why's a big land important?

M5: Because here it is a, the agriculture place we plant rice and we can all do thing with that big land ... I dream about big land, I want eight hectare I can make this happen for the whole community that what I wish.

Hence, where Khmer staff and recipients of services had responded to similar questions using terms like 'simple', 'small' or 'not too big', the managers stated 'modern' or 'big'. This demonstrates a greater insight into what is possible for those with a higher education and wage/wealth. Moreover, these comments suggest that a divide exists between different strata of Khmer society. Interestingly, wanting to own 'big land' was also associated with helping the community, which is closely related to the construct outlined in section 6.2.3 Positive collectivism, explored later in this chapter. An alternative explanation for the modest aspirations demonstrated by many Khmer participants is Buddhism and its acceptance of the status quo (see section 2.3.3 Religion and culture) given its influence on Khmer lifestyle and culture.

Of the three GN managers interviewed (one current, two former), there were two linked ideas regarding Khmer lifestyles. The first idea stated that poor Khmer wished to emulate the lifestyles of the rich Khmer:

M1: Cambodia's going through a real, real transition. The rich are getting really, really wealthy having very, very big homes, having really, really big cars ... So from a lifestyle point of view these people [poor Khmer] would look at these people [rich Khmer] in absolute awe and just love to – for their lives to finish up like theirs. So, they all want to be rich basically that's – they don't like this idea of poverty.

While the second idea concentrated on how simple improvements might make one rich:

M2: If you've got electricity, yeah I guess if you've got power, probably a brick, a solid home with a roof that doesn't leak and a toilet and bathroom then you're really in the elite.

The third GN manager highlighted that the difference between the two ideas of either wanting to be rich, or wanting simple improvements, was dependent on where that person lived:

M4: ... there are still people in the remote parts of Cambodia who have little, if any, contact with, and concept, and knowledge of anything other than their lifestyle. So that would be well I want to get a new tractor and I want to be able to grow rice better and I want to be able to do what I am doing in a better way. When you get to Siem Reap people are beginning to see other things and now we see in our village people knocking down traditional Khmer built houses and building concrete things and wanting that sort of modernity to a point.

Hence, perspective changed, based on exposure to the wider world. It should also be noted that despite the GN managers' views being inconsistent with those of the Khmer regarding desired lifestyle, all three had lived in Cambodia for over a decade, and so had considerable 'outsider looking in' experience of the country. Moreover, the GN managers' 'outsider' observations regarding Khmers' desired lifestyle helps bridge the noted gaps in responses by Khmer from different strata, in that exposure to different lifestyles can affect what people desire for themselves. Finally, when short-term GN volunteers were asked what they thought was a good lifestyle, many responded similarly to the majority of Khmer participants, with examples like 'I mean, a modest house, modest lifestyle' (V1) but also added suggestions such as wanting to travel, to have a balanced lifestyle, and to be healthy. These aspirations, when compared against the majority of Khmer responses, demonstrate that GN volunteers had the ability to look beyond immediate concerns such as 'having enough money' to contemplate more privileged consideration such as travelling and/or a positive work-life balance.

6.2.2 Respect and morality

A dominant cultural construct discussed by Khmer participants was the Sampeah, a prayer hand greeting which demonstrates different levels of respect, based on a person's status. For example, starting at the chest for someone of the same age or less, a person's prayer hands move upward to demonstrate increased respect, with higher placed hands reserved for those older than you (chin), your teachers and parents (nose), monks and the king (eyebrows), and God (forehead). Former student G10 discussed learning about the Sampeah, and how it was used to demonstrate:

... respect to the teacher, respect to the people that older than us. And sometimes we respect each other too.

Another form of respect practised by Khmer is embedded in the Khmer language and, similar to the Sampeah, is hierarchal, based on a person's status, as *NGO_2* head teacher notes:

H3: ... our cultures so we normally respect more elder people ...

Q: Like the classroom the other day when you had two words for uncle – for those who were older and those who were younger?

H3: Yes, so that is the level of the family as well ... more respectful.

Examples of these terms include 'bong', which is used to demonstrate more respect to an elder family member than the term 'pha oun', used for younger siblings. The importance of respect in Khmer culture was summarised well in a student quote, where being respectful was associated with being liked:

F1: We learn about speaking, speak with respect, and they like us when you speak with respect.

Volunteers from the Global North also commented on the difference in respect that they observed between Khmer students and their teachers, in comparison to children and teachers in their home countries:

V5: The children in the Netherlands ... younger ages in the Netherlands are already very – they don't listen so good to parents. They are a bit spoilt I think, and they have a big mouth to teachers ... yeah, they misbehave exactly, so that was my only point of view so I just had the thought like okay children can be very rude, but now when I've been in Cambodia the students also have much more respect ...

Along with respect, Khmer participants often discussed morality. Morality, for Khmer, is an umbrella term for a number of linked ideas such as being kind, cooperative, trying your best, and the do's and don'ts of good behaviour that together, formed the characteristics of a good person:

G13: How the [to] cooperate with people, how to [be] respectful to people, and we also learn about morality, that what we should do and what we should not do something like that, it encouraged us to be strong human resource.

S11: Khmer – [NGO staff discussing students] ... to enable them to be a good citizen, to be a good citizen they need to have knowledge, behaviour, and moral and principles ... we teach these words to them every day and when they grow up, these become the habits they learned since they were young, and these become their good habit. Teaching them how to give, how to be pardoned, how to give and receive, how to avoid being angry ... and teach their behaviour, and habit of learning to become a good citizen. People and citizen are different, people are ordinary, and a citizen is to have full competence.

The distinction between citizen and people indicates the importance of acting morally and with respect, for Cambodian people. Further, being a 'good citizen' or a 'good human resource' indicates that one acts with consideration for the group, over the individual. These characteristics also appear to be instilled early as students also identified wanting to 'have a good identity' (F2) or to be recognised as having 'dignity' (F2).

Immorality was defined by Khmer participants as dishonesty and corruption and, while not mentioned as often as morality and respect in transcripts, appeared often enough to suggest its cultural importance. Khmer people, not dissimilarly to people from the Global North, look unfavourably on people who they perceived as acting dishonestly or corruptly, with a regular example given as tuk-tuk drivers:

G12: Khmer – running tuk-tuk sometimes go far or near, they extort money from the guests ... when seeing guests go out of the restaurants, they grabbed hold of guest, stood to stop the guests.

Interestingly, acting corruptly or being dishonest was linked to individualism and people acting for themselves rather than the community, as demonstrated below:

G5: ... some kids, they use their education on the wrong way. They use those education to be like corruption, like if they have good education, but they can find a better way to use it for corruption, and especially, they have good education, but they doesn't help anything [anyone], the opposite [they help themselves]. And another thing, all the kids here, if they graduate, so we just try to tell them that today we help you ... you can help the other kid also.

The end of the quote identifies that even the NGOs help to instil a sense of collectivism and good moral behaviour within the community, by encouraging their students to help each other, as they themselves had been. Similarly, an NGO staff member discussed positive aspects of Khmer culture that encouraged collectivism and good moral behaviour:

S11: Khmer – Khmer behaviour must be gentle, not aggressive/violent, friendly, and kindness – these are Khmer cultures, sharing and be confident ...

These quotes also link Khmer culture with Buddhist teaching, in that doing good and helping others is seen as a positive social attribute that helps build merit (see section 2.3.3). Whereas lying and stealing are negative social attributes that go against the Buddhist precepts and result in demerit.

6.2.3 Positive collectivism

A related concept to morality and becoming a 'good human resource' was Khmer participants' desire to work in industries that 'help others'. Similarly, the type of work was a consideration in 'helping the family', as Khmer discussed wanting to earn a wage that was sufficient enough to help those closest to them. Finally, adult Cambodians appeared to be motivated, in part, to 'help the next generation' achieve a better future, which included a desire to increase the social mobility of their community towards better lifestyles, job choices and educational opportunities.

6.2.3.1 Helping others

The 'helping others' theme features two main ideas, specifically in the jobs that Khmer participants chose or desired, and in the extra work they did to help others. Firstly, common jobs noted by former students, or by teachers speaking from their experience of working with current students,

indicated that young Khmer wanted jobs that helped others, including wanting to be a doctor, policeman or teacher:

Q: Why did you want to be a policeman?

G4: When I was a kid, I watched movies a lot ... I like to protect people and want to catch the bad men something like that.

S8: So, doctor so people, when people sick and helps people ... And teacher also, teacher instil knowledge through the next generation and I think, and the nurse they look after the sick people and management they can manage business and they can make a lot of business happen in the country. So, I'm saying this job is very important to the student and other people.

Similarly, students themselves identified with jobs that helped others:

F3: I want to be a teacher ... because I want to help some students ... some students who are poor ...

While a few Khmer participants, despite not identifying a specific job, still noted wanting work that helped others:

S11: Khmer – I just want to live to get a simple job like now, the job that can help more people, and I wanted to live not in a fantasy living, and I want to help more people, and this is for me.

S8: ... all I want to be volunteer and I can help younger people in the country.

The second common idea in this theme related to Khmer who used their spare time to help others:

G5: ... [as well as working at an NGO] while I am free, during the weekend, I also joined a team to go to do charity outside, also ... just donating something, what I have.

*S3: [live translation] apart from our curriculum schedule, he also teaches the students from our community if they want to learn how to play guitar, or drum, or piano yeah they can come and talk to him and fill in an enrolment form and start ... it is free education and some students asked him to teach at home, but he doesn't teach at home, so he said just come here to *NGO-1* so when they are free from a study they can come here if they want to study music.*

Both examples illustrate that, despite already working in a profession where their main job is helping others, that some Khmer participants also used their own free time to offer additional aid, which also suggests the altruism of those who work for NGOs. This altruism was also found in several of the short-term GN volunteer interviews, whose motivation for volunteering was summarised well by V8:

... I also felt the need to – to just give something – to do something for – for a greater good. Even though that might be very little. I just someone – making someone feel better or inspiring someone.

This quote, and the comparable ones from other GN volunteers, illustrate similar motivations to those discussed by Khmer participants, and indicates that the two groups (Khmer vs. GN), despite their differences, can share similar aspiration to help others.

6.2.3.2 Helping the family

As noted in section 6.2.1, a number of Khmer participants discussed wanting to help their families, financially; for some this could be achieved via employment that earned enough money to facilitate this support:

S8: ... when you work in this job, you will have a lot of income and you can help people and you help your family; you help yourself, you help your country.

H3: Because one thing like the family is – they are very, very poor so they are really love money actually so that's why ... they think that maybe when they earn a lot of money and they can support the family very well.

Unfortunately, the desire for a job that earns a lot of money, or even one that earns enough to support the family, indicates again that some Khmer do not earn sufficient income. However, there was, fortunately, one example of a participant who had gained a job that earned a sufficient income, and as identified in other Khmer responses, that extra money was used to help their family:

S6: ... when I have money now, I can help my brother, brother for to study ...

These quotes help demonstrate Khmer collectivism, in that income is associated, almost unanimously, with being used for the good of the group, over that of the individual. For example, one Khmer participant spoke of working to support their parents, as culturally it was described as paying the parents back for one's upbringing:

S7: Some is because of family, so the family say, oh – the parents say, oh, I am very old and I cannot work anymore, so then they say can you help me, can you go to work and pay me back because in our Khmer family – so, old people, normally they stay home and let the children, like earn the money for them right, that's what I have to do for my mum too.

Of course, this practice is also a practical response to limited state welfare for the elderly, as generally only those who have worked for the government, receive a pension. A number of GN volunteers also noted the Khmers' practice of using their wage to help the family:

V8: ... they know that these kinds of jobs they – that if they make it to be a doctor or a lawyer and they make enough money that they can provide for their family.

V1: ... we have a friend here that we made already. She's a flight attendant and she learned how to speak English very young, and she makes \$11 an hour, and \$40 a day, every day she's in another country ... And she's doing well for herself, she gets to support her family.

Moreover, the contrast of the Khmer collectivism with the GN volunteers' more individualistic values stood out for some and gave them insight into the Khmer desire to put the family first, over oneself:

V2: My classmate where she teaches, she told me this story about she asked her students what would you do with a hundred dollars and – she said almost what – like everyone said they would buy clothes or food for their family. Not once like did they mention something they would do for themselves.

The Khmer penchant to help the family was also demonstrated in the children's focus groups. For example, when students were asked why they accessed NGO services, they responded:

F2: Because they want to study, come to study ... [different voice] want to learn ... [first voice] and they want to be ... they want to help their mothers when they grow up.

The children link accessing education through the NGO, to being able to help their mothers in the future (though specifically how, is admittedly missing in the interviews), which also demonstrates that the cultural tendency of wanting to 'better the group' develops from a young age.

6.2.3.3 Helping the next generation helps the country

Of the Khmer who discussed wanting to earn more income to help their family, some provided context for how that money would be used. This included sending their child to a good school, which staff member S1 saw individually as helping their child, while collectively it helped the country:

I would like to earn enough and send my children to the good school, and I want to see them that in the future they have a good education. If I can help my children better, so I mean, I can help my country, because if they have higher education, they find better job, we have no big load [burden] for our country.

Similarly, former student G9 discussed how having their child go to a good school would help the child to get a better job than they themselves had achieved:

I need this [my] child to go to a better school and when he will have a job, maybe better than me.

One NGO staff member even noted wanting the next generation to learn beyond what they themselves had, so that the next generation could have a better future than they had experienced:

S11: Khmer – I want them [next generation] to live and to learn more in order to develop the country more, not the same as my generation, if the same as me they can only get the same as what I used to get, not even better than me, that's why in the future I would like them to be

a good citizen and a competent person, can help the nation to improve more and want to see them support the other people, not thinking about self-interest.

Participant S11 additionally highlights that improving the next generation will help improve the country, a sentiment shared with S1 (above). In addition, staff member S11 again raises the noted Khmer cultural idea of ‘a good citizen’, and for people to think about the betterment of the whole, over the individual. Long-term GN volunteer V4, in a discussion regarding her Khmer friends, identified a similar theme to S11 of adults needing their child to do something different from what they themselves had done:

My friends who are tuk-tuk drivers for example, don't want their kids to be tuk-tuk drivers and when you ask them why? The answer is because by the time they're old enough there won't be jobs for tuk-tuk drivers or they'll be able to earn so little money that they're not going to be able to support their family.

Hence, Khmer participants' responses illustrate a perceived ‘need to grow and develop the next generation’. Relatedly, teachers (potentially with some bias) identified their own profession as the one that would help future generations to grow the country:

S9: ... for my idea I think teacher is the best, like it is the best job because we have the opportunity to share what we can share to our country, and what we have learnt to our community, yeah. But I don't know what other people think, but for me I think the best job is to be a teacher, teaching the children, to teach our next generation

S10: For someone like, if a Cambodian – if most of Cambodians are teachers – I mean, they can provide education to the other generation. And then our country are going to grow more and more, more and more, more and more.

Overall, the decisive theme across these quotes is the desire to improve the next generation, which in turn will help improve the country, which links to this section's main theme of positive collectivism.

6.3 Theme 2 – Constructs of poverty

Almost impossible to miss when visiting Cambodia is the poverty affecting many of its citizens, and infrastructure. This section explores how Khmer participants socially constructed poverty, how NGOs help people to address it, and participants' perceptions of that work.

6.3.1 Impact of limited or inadequate resources

Poverty was constructed by Khmer participants as limited or inadequate resources. This included the familiar, such as limited or inadequate financial, food and/or shelter resources, but also included less tangible resources like limited or inadequate time, knowledge or choice.

6.3.1.1 Inadequate resources

Inadequate resources impact on Khmer people's ability to move beyond, or live 'comfortably' in, their current circumstances. For example, in many adult Khmer interviews, participants discussed having multiple jobs (see sections 6.2.3.2 and 7.3), indicating that wages from any one job, were inadequate:

S3: Khmer – ... daily I am teaching here, and at home, in the afternoon I do a self-study, and at night I work in a restaurant as a musician.

G13: I want the government to increase good jobs for the people who have high education, so have the salary that matches with them.

A long-term volunteer to Cambodia noted that the inability to earn a sufficient wage impacted on Khmer confidence:

V4: Well, I think in this society at this point people being able to have the dignity of earning enough money to live and pay their bills and feel confident in what they do and confident about themselves.

One reason why Khmer might accept jobs that do not pay a sufficient wage is due to the Cambodian state welfare, which is both difficult to access and limited in its aid (deRiel 2017; Phnom Penh Post 2019). Hence, having a job and being able to address some basic needs, is considerably better than having no job, and struggling to survive. A consequence of this reality appears to be that any job is thus considered good:

S2: I think all job[s] are good.

F2: Any jobs is good ...

The lack of options inherent in having to accept any job, rather than having some liberty to hold out for a better opportunity, also speaks to a lack of choice. This concept was summed up well by the long-term volunteer at *NGO_2*, when I asked them what a good lifestyle for a Khmer person was?

V4: ... Having choices ... Because that just about covers it all really. If you have no choice about what you eat, no choice if you eat, no choice about anything you do that's about as difficult as I think as things can come ... I think you've got to have some sort of choice and many people don't.

Inadequate resources also limited higher education opportunities for impoverished Khmer as after high school, it is a user-pays system in Cambodia, with no government support:

S7: ... in Cambodia, we finish – the government, they provide the free education only from high school, after high school, no free education, they have to pay. And the last grade of school, that Grade 12 I think [other sources state Year 9], and then after that you have to go

to university you have to pay your own. A lot of people will, a lot of students will not go, because it's expensive to go to university.

G13: I already have a dream, to me I have a big dream ... I want to be a doctor ... that is my dream, but some factor that I be a teacher because we need resource, so my family don't have so much resource, so to be a teacher it doesn't spend so much, we do not spend so much on the subject so I can to be a teacher. And study doctor it's expensive, that's why I just keep my dream that I must be a teacher.

The last quote again highlights how a lack of government assistance, and a family's inadequate resources, affects people's ability to choose. For Khmer who lacked the resources to attend university, they discussed having to work and save to cover the cost, as there existed limited options outside of sponsorship, which are finite and not guaranteed, to attend university:

S7: So, they have to work for them – some of them, they work in a restaurant, so that to pay to go to university.

Students also identified inadequate resources as a lack of technology, which impacted on their ability to research subjects at school, or lessons at the NGO:

F2: Because sometimes some students they have smartphones, they can get a little bit of information from Google like our lessons or subject, so please share with us ...

Q: ... you may need I.T. or some computers to help you with [your study] ...

F2: ... yes, technology!

Inadequate resources were also identified as limited time and/or knowledge to gain better work, as former student G6 notes:

... prefer a fair lifestyle, but how ... because time constraint and have little knowledge!

People with inadequate, or even no resources also spend a considerable amount of time engaging in activities which attempt to produce them. Moreover, basic needs such as food are prioritised over higher priorities like education. This is especially true for poor families with many mouths to feed:

*H2: Yeah in Siem Reap we have five slum communities and those slum, those people from the slum community they, they earn \$5 a day for three to five members in their family, they, they do rubbish collection and, and they even cannot come to *NGO-1* without, without the proper support.*

Q: Because they're too busy working and helping?

H2: Working and if we only provide purely education they still cannot come because they have to find something to, to live, find some money to buy rice or their basic need first. So, so poverty limit the people from education.

NGO teachers also noted that inadequate resources also prevented some students who had been receiving an education from pursuing it further:

S2: Especially last term, he is studying but one month ago, I didn't see him anymore because his family is poor, so he need to go to work and he stop – yeah.

This theme of children having to work to help support the family was also raised by several short-term GN volunteers, for example V5 noted how:

... most of the children have to earn money for their family. So, when you are from the countryside, some Cambodians, I won't say most but there probably will be [some], are just sent to town to earn money for the family so they have to start working from a really young age, so they drop school and start working.

In summary, the number and type of resources identified as being inadequate by Khmer participants were considerable. Moreover, inadequate resources in one area, appeared to impact a Khmer's ability to pursue resources in another. For example, inadequate financial resources impacted people's ability to increase their knowledge resources, due to a lack of government support, and a 'user-pays' system. The same scenario also limited a person's choice of education, if the cost of a course was too expensive.

6.3.1.2 Limited state welfare or institutional protections

Limited state welfare means that individuals and/or families are predominantly reliant on their own ability to gather resources to address needs. This, and as similarly noted in the previous section, can result in parents needing their children to help gather resources:

G13: Yes, it not so many expensive but some poor – as you know, poor when we think that five dollar/ten dollar they think that it's so expensive. So that's why children, the mother cannot support them to go to study, need them to work ... so they can let them go to work for supporting family

Similarly, older children may be kept home to care for younger siblings while parents work, as NGO manager M3 explains:

They maybe, go to work with their parent, or maybe their parent asks them only to look after younger children in the family so that parent can go to work.

This practice is due, in part, to the death of many Khmer during the Khmer Rouge era, as it left fewer grandparents in the country to help care for grandchildren. Another cause of this practice is the lack of state-based childcare. Limited state welfare also results in government jobs being highly prized as they pay a pension upon retirement, which are generally not available in the private sector:

S4: Khmer – The most important is the state job because the state jobs have a pension fund, but private has no pension fund.

Limited state welfare also means limited, or even non-existent social safety nets. This is problematic as people with no, or limited, resources may borrow money from private institutions, due to the complete absence of alternative options (Brickell et al. 2020; Lawreniuk 2020). However, if the borrowed money is not sufficient to help the person create a new resource stream, they may not be able to repay what they borrowed. The private institution that loaned the money may then seize the person's remaining assets as compensation! The person now has even fewer resources to draw on to help them gain additional resources which, coupled with limited or no state-based social safety net, means the borrower then takes ever more drastic measure to survive:

H2: If you go to the household in the village or in the, the city you can see a lot of people they owe the money to the bank. And when they cannot find the money to pay to the bank they go outside to work for in Thailand or other country like Korea or Japan, mainly Thailand, Japan and Korea and they left their family, their children at home with their parents. So, all the grandchildren stay with the parents [grandparents] and so because of money, poverty and so ... no money to pay back to the bank, the bank will capture ... their land, their buildings and so on.

Hence, the lack of a social safety net means people may migrate to gain sufficient resources, as similarly discussed by NGO manager M3:

... I can say migration from one area to area ... because of migration ... and because of, sometimes low job – sorry, no – low income. So, they also need to go to Thailand. This is also the factor.

Discussions of impoverished Khmer migrating for work appeared in several interviews, and was implied in more. For example, the term 'family separation' or 'separation' was used in several interviews, but its context was unclear. During member checking, I asked participants what was meant by 'separation' which they clarified as parents moving for work due to an inability to find sufficient employment/wage earnings locally. Unsurprisingly, this separation had flow-on effects for Khmer youth:

F1: Khmer – ... have small house, and one car, and have garden behind the house, and have animal and happiness ...

Q: ... what makes you happy?

F1: Khmer – Need happiness and don't need separation.

Hence, migration of the adult Khmer for work appears to affect children psychologically (whether mild or otherwise is unknown). Further, the family lose the social input of a working-age adult,

which places pressure on the older children and/or grandparents to care for the younger children, while also potentially perpetuating a cycle of poverty if the older children do not attend school.

The only form of state welfare discussed in transcripts was the 'poor card' (H2), which on further investigation was identified as the 'Identification of poor household' IDPoor Card. Recipients of this card can access free medical care nationwide, a disability pension, and/or cash transfers if they are a pregnant woman, a child, or elderly (deRiel 2017; Phnom Penh Post 2019). However, implementation of the card is a work in progress as there are issues around cyclic poverty (people migrating for work, then returning home with no work) and/or problematic definitions of poverty that inhibit access to the poor card, for those who would otherwise qualify for it (deRiel 2017; Phnom Penh Post 2019). Evidence of welfare services, such as free or subsidised childcare, that might help adults to work by caring for their young, or the provision of an unemployment supplement that might prevent the migration of adults for work, were not discussed in the data, or identifiable in published material.

Participant interviews also implied a lack of state protection for minors. For example, multiple quotes have already discussed how some Khmer youth did not access education as they had to work, or care for younger family members, despite school being compulsory. A lack of state protection for minors was also implied in student focus groups, when they discussed how some children did not attend school as they were engaged in illegal activity:

F1: Khmer – They don't want to study, and they want to play a lot in the study time ... yes, and they smoking also involve in drugs ... they steal money from friends ...

or because they were victims of domestic violence:

F4: ... some are playing games, some are facing family domestic violence – these stop them from schooling.

Longer-term GN participants suggested that attendance at the NGO helped prevent some children from a life of crime (M4, V4), and/or noted how attendance at the organisations helped fill gaps in local services by protecting children from domestic abuse:

H1: We had a child who was very, very difficult in the classroom, used to upset the classes all the time ... The Cambodian people had to talk, and they found out there was abuse going – sexual abuse ... she was allowed to stay there over the lunch break because it wasn't safe for her to go home ... it was a safer environment for her ... and her mum would be home later in the day. So that was okay, but the abuse was done by someone around, so they knew who it was. Yeah so, they just had to make sure that person didn't have access to this child.

In summary, multiple factors such as poverty, cash advances to people who do not have the means to repay them, and/or inadequate state welfare, can force adult Khmer to migrate for work.

The separation of the adult from the family can then compromise a child psychologically (as implied by the child's words). Similarly, a child's welfare may be compromised due to inadequate state-based protections, which allow minors to become heads of households, to work and miss school, or be abused, with only limited intervention provided, inadvertently, through NGO attendance.

6.3.1.3 Unknown value of resources

Finally, participant transcripts implied that not knowing the value of a resource can cause disinterest in gaining it. For example, staff member S1 discussed how if a student's parents had limited or no education, they may not understand the value of their children receiving one:

The main thing, most parents are uneducated people. I don't mean they [are] bad, but you know ... When they do not understand the education value, they try – they cannot help their children. They don't know why should their children go to school, what can they support?

Similarly, a participant in the children's focus groups noted:

F3: ... parents do not know, when we do not know then our children will also not know too, they do not have enough education.

A long-term GN manager implied (similar to the discussion in section 6.2.1 Modest needs) that the unknown value of a resource was linked to a lack of exposure to it:

M2: ... because they've got no exposure to the outside world, I mean they've got no exposure to anything outside their village, there is no communication. So, all they know is what's happening in their direct community, and I guess for somebody like that to see how's education going to broaden more work opportunities ...

Similarly, the value of a resource may become obscured, once a person gains access to others. For example, staff member S7 discussed how the value of continued learning, which might increase a person's ability to gain a higher number of resources in the future, is discontinued in favour of short-term success:

So, most of the students, when they start to get the work, as they probably are studying in Grade 9 but when they get the work, as a waiter, so they a love money, [more] than study. If they go to work and they have, like they love work [more] than education, they don't think, I'll wait [and study] for a while so I can get something higher, they don't think about that.

Considered another way, in a situation where access to resources has been continuously inadequate, gaining access to some of them through employment might impact an individual's ability to rationalise ongoing education, if it continues the cycle of inadequate resources. This is especially true if education only has 'the potential' to grant them access to better resources, at some arbitrary time in the future. However, limiting a person's education impacts more than their potential to gather more/better resources; it also impacts their knowledge of other work options

(and hence ambition), and/or of opportunities like vocational training or university education, and the increase in social networks that these activities can bring:

S10: Because without education the kid might not, they will not have no ideas what they want to do.

Q: What is not a good education?

M5: Not good education it is maybe stop, stop, stop with the connection, connecting people, other people and then they also, they also very make themself down, they cannot think bigger because they, they just say 'I can't do it, I can't do it' ... they're stuck they, they ... cannot see the big picture and also if they are working with the rich people okay in the beer factory they know how to make beer factory but they cannot go to make, their own business to beer factory. You know what I mean? They are a bit stuck ... one skill they know, just one skill they cannot know another skill and also, they cannot make themself to think how can we do it, they're a bit stuck with that.

To summarise, limited resources impact a person's understanding of why it might be beneficial to access additional resources (continued education, for example). This, in turn, impacts knowledge of alternative options (other, more specialised jobs for example), which access to the additional resources might have brought knowledge of. Moreover, limiting a person's exposure to additional resources (such as an education) limits their ability to qualify for alternative options (more specialised jobs). The key example identified here is limited education, which impacts knowledge of alternative forms of work as well as one's ability to gain alternative employment, that ultimately limits choice.

6.3.2 Addressing poverty

This section explores how the NGOs helped people to address poverty, and participants' perceptions of that work.

6.3.2.1 Basic needs

Helping impoverished Khmer to address basic needs increases their ability to attend classes, as the extra assistance helps them look beyond survival, and consider higher order needs. The two NGOs in this study aided Khmer participants to address basic needs, in similar and different ways. For example, *NGO-1* provided a free breakfast, free basic health care for students, and facilitated food drops:

H2: ... And we provide more rice breakfast, we have a good nurse ... we provide free medical check-up and health care.

*S1: ... we call the rice, and drop the – so that day we have no class ... So, yeah, so take that poor people, which they [*NGO-1*] have selected for provided food, they come. So, they get rice, they get cooking ingredients, like soy sauce, msg and seasoning, like garlic or something.*

While *NGO_2* donated bicycles to students to help address distance issues, which impacted their ability to attend classes:

*G13: ... it help for children also that if they don't have some ability of the way that they come to school, so they will support us; but to me in the time I don't have bicycle so *NGO_2* gave me a bicycle to come to school, yes.*

H3: Yes and also like transportation so we – normally we donate the bicycle to the student if they worry – or if they don't have any transportation to come to school ...

Facilitating students' attendance at the NGOs was probably seen as an encouraging act by a number of GN participants as they suggested that the organisations acted as a safe and clean environment, which helped children escape from the 'stark reality of their everyday existence':

V1: Maybe that it's a structured environment, and a safe environment, because most other places I have seen and the slums. It's not really an environment that they're safe or they feel, I guess, happy in. I feel like you see a lot of students here and they're very happy. Whether they're learning or they're on break, playing outside, or physical education, or whatever they're doing. I feel like it's definitely – the school is like a safe haven for them.

Head teacher H3 also noted how *NGO_2* assisted poor families in the local community with sanitation by building toilets '... at the school we have like kind plastic brick, so we build the toilet for the family ...', and with childcare through the provision of a nursery:

So, in the nursery they study a half day in here, so the family they have more time to work or to work in a family or to work in the field. So, they care much about their kid because they know their kids is in here, so we look after them already. So, when the kid is with them, so they cannot work, they cannot do anything and because they are very small, so they need more time to look after them a lot.

One method by which both NGOs helped addressed the students' basic needs was through the provision of free materials:

H3: if they don't have school materials so we also give to them.

F1: Support poor students give the pencils or ruler, or something else to student bag, clothes, money, shoes ...

Both NGOs also followed up with absent students to discuss why they had not attended classes, and to try to make a plan to help them re-engage, if possible:

S1: ... but now it is better, because we have our social worker ... so they contact ... they follow up students, why they are absent and what reasons, yeah.

H3: And I check with attendance. I check who is absent a lot so I had to contact the family; get the information ... Normally we contact the family first, and after that we will go to the family if we know where they are, but normally we contact and find a phone number ... it's

happened not a lot, but it's when do like this most of the family they are very happy to know that we care about their children and also they encourage their children to come to school as well.

S9: ... we go and visit them ... if any problem with the children and with their parent, they try to find a solution and help the children to come to school.

This thesis does not explore the impact of these benefits for participants, though the significant amount of extra support that both institutions provided to students (and their families) to help them attend class, demonstrates that both organisations did much more than just teach. Moreover, the NGOs' inherent care for their clientele, which is evidenced by the organisations' follow-up of absent children, appears to be appreciated by those who receive it:

S9: ... [teacher discussing students] they love how we are working here, especially for the teacher, like we are, they say that we make friend with them, and they say that we feel, they feel, they feel love and joy when they come here, they don't feel ashamed and sometimes they feel like this is their own family as well. And they love to coming here more than staying at home, sometime when we have holiday or something like that, they say like 'Teacher, why don't we start a class', because they like, when they come to school, when they come to school they feel like they have a lot of friend, they don't get bored or something like that, and they can learn from here as well. So, they feel like here is more colourful and then happy than they staying alone at home.

6.3.2.2 Raising capability

A major focus of both NGOs was the provision of free education, as staff member S1 notes:

**NGO-1* vision, they provide free education to poor children around Bram boen* [local village] community. Now this is what we are doing for. So, we recruit poor children. They are living around here, so we provide free education.*

Staff member S1's quote also highlights how the free education provided by *NGO-1* is delivered to a specific community in Siem Reap province, as is *NGO_2*'s. Hence, both organisations provide free interventions to help raise the capabilities of specific communities, at a grassroots level. Moreover, the organisations' free education is offered to those who would otherwise struggle to gain one, as evidenced by students from both organisations:

F4: Khmer – The reason that I come to study here is that my parents cannot send me to study in an international school like the others.

F2: Khmer – Why I come to study here is because this school offers possibilities to those who have fewer abilities to find money to pay for school fees, and there are foreigners from various countries [who] donated money or materials to support the school.

In addition to *NGO-1*'s education being free, participants often commented on its quality, and the kindness of the teachers at the organisation:

G8: Khmer – The most favourite thing for me was to have my children to study here.

Q: *Why would she want her children to study here?*

G8: *Khmer – *NGO-1* is good.*

G6: *... my very first time coming to study in *NGO-1* what I impressed the most, was the school principal who organized well in the school environment and secondly, in my music class my teacher was very kind/generous/friendly, and he educated students well.*

Similarly, *NGO_2* staff noted how parents of children who attended the organisation suggested that the quality of education received, was better than other schools:

S11: *... most of the parents when taking children to school they usually say studying here their children learn better than other schools, learn more vocabulary, and learn something else better ...*

Volunteers from the Global North, from both NGOs, observed that Khmer children enjoyed their lessons. This included the variety of ways in which they were taught; they also discussed how NGO teachers generally seemed to care about their students:

V6: *Yeah and they are really enjoying their time here at *NGO_2* ... the way of teaching that they are using art and craft and they are watching movies and they are playing games and that makes it very interesting for the students and that also makes it a lot of fun for them and they are really enjoying their school ... I think the friendly way of teaching – the teacher shows respect for the students and the students also show respect to the teacher and the way of teaching shows that the teacher makes the lessons very interesting and very fun for the students.*

V2: *I'd say the staff is very friendly and loving and they actually learn. They have teachers that are going to give them undivided attention, so I think that's something.*

Head teacher H3 suggested that the good quality of *NGO_2*'s teaching was linked to the attitudes of the people who worked there:

H3: *The qualified teacher that is very happy to work, like they are very happy to share the experience or their knowledge to the student and they also inspire the student when they are teaching.*

While head teacher H2 noted how parents of children attending *NGO-1* observed the benefits of the child's good quality education, through their increase in capability:

H2: *... they really learn how to, to use English or Khmer they can read and write and they calculate, so their parent see the, the value from there.*

Moreover, the NGOs' capability raising activities appeared to go beyond the provision of a free education:

*G5: Say, from 2007 until now, we have a thousand kids that they have a job, and then they come ... and they tell us that they have a job ... most of them they said, without *NGO-1* they have no better life.*

In summary, NGOs' provision of a free, good quality education raises the capability of those who receive it by increasing both their knowledge and employability (G5), which recipients suggest has helped them to have a better life. Put another way, these interventions increase a person's ability to have choice. In addition, the majority of positive points raised by participants in relation to the organisations' work throughout the 'Addressing poverty' section (6.3.2) were also commonly raised when participants were asked 'what attracted you to the NGO'? This implies that the work of the NGO, including those activities that address basic needs, produced a by-product-like effect that helped attract people to the organisation and/or encouraged them to stay.

6.3.2.2.1 Sponsorship and employment opportunities

Another way in which NGOs raised people's capability was through the brokering of sponsorship and/or by offering employment and work experience opportunities to students and locals. For example, *NGO-1* helped broker sponsorships for students from GN tourists, to cover the cost of further education:

G5 ... if they also want like, sponsorship for the university, so we can recommend them for a scholarship, also.

While both NGOs raised capability by offering employment opportunities to former students:

*G3: Now I graduate intermediate level [English at *NGO-1*] and at the state school I graduate from high school – Grade 12 and then I can work here [*NGO-1*].*

And to locals from the surrounding village:

M5: ... and also here our teacher is the local here, they are the local ... we employ from here, not from somewhere else ... they are trustful, they call the neighbour aunty ... they live around here, they are like already a strong link here ...

Staff member S12 noted how the manager of *NGO_2* gave her a job, after having volunteered at the organisation, indicating that the organisation also allowed locals to volunteer and gain experience towards potential employment:

Khmer – I used to be a volunteer for two years in the nursery class ...

Tr: Okay so she need a job, and the she ask Susan [a manager at *NGO_2*] ... so she get herself to communicate with Susan* and then Susan* know okay, we need the staff and she work.*

The NGOs also utilised, and employed, skilled locals to help raise the capability of others, in more unique ways:

*Tr: [providing context in S3 interview] *NGO-1* is not here before, and it was next to his house [S3], and they know he can play music and he can teach students, and they talked to him. For the first three months here, he show them, he is in the probation period, and after that he start.*

A less tangible benefit of attendance at *NGO-1* was noted by long-term GN participants as potential exposure to employment and/or sponsorship opportunities:

*M1: ... by coming to *NGO-1* they do have the chance of being a sponsored child ... a sponsor might say yes I want to sponsor one of your children. Sometimes the volunteer would actually see the child at school and say well I would like to help that child and then find out whether they're sponsored or not.*

*H1: So, there's the connection with other organisations so that. And I guess there are connections too with tour groups like – you've heard of *tour group A*, *tour group B* ... quite a few of our kids or staff ... have gone on to get very good jobs with them. So those kind of opportunities come through being at *NGO-1*.*

In summary, NGOs can employ students, volunteers and locals from the surrounding communities, or provide sponsorship or employment opportunities, which helps raise local capability beyond the provision of free education.

6.3.2.2.2 Young Adult program

Both former students, and staff of *NGO_2* discussed the organisation's 'Young Adult program'. This program helped raise capability in young adults by educating them about different occupations, how to write a resume, and how to investigate and apply for work:

H3: So, this kind of program ... it's like skills when they are finished Grade 12 or when they want to get a job. So that kind of program build their confidence to find a job and go to work because we try to put many skills. Like for example like presentation skills, like research skill on the internet so they are given more experience to do the job.

Similar to the discussion in section 7.2.1.1 (below), where students are noted as having limited employment aspirations due to a lack of exposure and/or education, a number of older participants, such as long-term volunteer V4, discussed how young adult Khmer desired certain jobs, but had limited knowledge of what the jobs entailed, or how to apply for them:

... Paul Dubrule, which is one of three big hospitality schools in Siem Reap, very prestigious French hospitality school out near the airport ... one of my friend's little sisters who is in Year 12, so the final year of high school, heard about Paul Dubrule ... So she went with her friends to have a look at Paul Dubrule ... and they had a tour of the school and they're going to sit an exam today; all sounds very good. Last night she rang her sister when I happened to be with her sister 'can you tell me what tourism is?' Yes, why? 'Well because I went to this place that is to do with tourism, but I don't know what tourism means'. Okay, long discussion about that. 'Tomorrow I'm going to do an exam.' What's the exam about? 'Oh, I don't know.'

The Young Adult program was set up at *NGO_2* to help address these types of limitations, as it provides knowledge of different occupations, as former student G9 notes:

Oh study here right ... know about the knowledge that before I haven't got ... in here I have experience about study ... I know something a little bit about the job also in the outside, when now I have a lot of experience about the job ... here give me a lot of experience, a study and a job also.

The program also provides education on how to find and apply for jobs:

G10: We talk about how to find a job, for the student that finished at Grade 12 and help us how we get the job, how can we learn about new thing. Apply for the job.

In discussions with teachers at the NGOs, they often referred to 'teaching soft skills' as well, which they defined as educating young people in areas like communication and social skills. Teachers felt these skills were lacking in the students' education, but necessary to help young people find work, and so were taught as part of the program.

6.3.2.3 Self-driven recruitment and raising community capability through NGO engagement

Interviews with staff, from both NGOs, suggested that parents gained an appreciation for the organisations' work, from observing the increase in knowledge demonstrated by their children. Further, both Khmer and GN participants (both long-term and short-term) noted how the observation of these changes encouraged parents to promote the NGO, to other families in the community:

S8: ... the student here they learn quite good English and their parent know that their children can speak English, can write English, can speak English quite well. And then the parents try to promote to other families, oh here is the best place, the teacher is very gentle.

*V7: ... it's changing and they see the benefits of the children going to *NGO_2*, that they can speak English better and that they maybe can work in the future at some tourist jobs and that kind of stuff.*

Only two Khmer parents with children at the participating NGOs were interviewed (as former students) but their responses supported claims made by other participants that parents promoted the NGO to others:

G7: Khmer – Yes, I recommend to someone who has children like at the age of five years old to come and enrol their children here.

G8: Khmer – Tell friends to take their children to study here because it is good and free.

Parents promotion of the NGO to others, again suggests the existence of a by-product-like effect of the organisation's work, where, for example, observation of the child's increased capability from attendance at the NGO, encourages others to promote the organisation. Another example of the

NGO's work creating a by-product-like effect that resulted in promotion of the organisation to others, is given by staff member S3. Specifically, S3 observed an NGO student gathering and teaching other children in the village, who then asked where those skills were learnt:

*I saw that near my house, there is a girl – child and in the evening, she collected others to learn, and she teaches – when her friend asked her where did you learn all of these skills, she answered I studied at *NGO-1*. When asked, is it free to study there? Yes, it is if you come to study, this is what they usually tell their friends.*

The positivity shown towards the organisations, coupled with the observed by-product effect of the NGOs' work, which helps to promote the organisations, might help explain the increase in student numbers, at both NGOs, over time. For example, in a discussion concerning the impact of *NGO_2* on attitudes to education during the organisation's time in the community, head teacher H3 also noted their increase in student numbers:

We bring something changed to this community as well. So, before they don't think much about education. So, they seem like it's like their family routine so they just keep going, but right now most of the family in this community they really push their children to come to school – go to school because one thing like in here it's like inspire people to get education systems. So yeah it's a good!

Q: How do you think that's changed over time from not knowing the benefits of education to now wanting their children to get education? How do you think that's changed in the minds of the local village?

We can think that the number of the student that more increase every year that we open. So, at start we have like one hundred or two hundred students and now it's more and more students, almost four hundred students.

However, despite both organisations appearing to have the good will of the community, the head teacher from *NGO-1* also worried that his organisation might struggle to appear legitimate:

*H2: I think the main point is to, to get the MOU signed from the Minister of Education that *NGO-1* school is equivalent to the state school. And if you, if you have the, the certification from Ministry of Education then you show the parent, the parent will come, the more they trust now ...*

Q: So, ... they'll think it's more official?

H2: So, the parent, fear, worry about our school is not equivalent to the state school. And when they don't trust the equivalent, they won't send their children to here, what is the point to study here if the government not recognise?

Similarly, the head teacher of *NGO_2* noted how some students were absent due to commitments at other institutions, which they prioritised over attendance at the NGO:

H3: So sometimes we get information that the family know their children are absent and don't go to school because they are very hard to find some time to come to school because they have a private school in Khmer school so they think Khmer school is more better.

Regardless, both NGOs were noted as having a positive effect on the local community, during their time there. Further, both NGOs reported having to turn students away due to being at capacity, which speaks to the impact and popularity of both organisations in their local communities, as one long-term GN participant observed:

V4: ... well the fact that people come and kids like the five to six class come straight from Khmer school here at five o'clock at night, sometimes of the year that's dark, in the rain riding their bicycles, there must be a reason ... So I mean the proof, I guess the proof is in the ongoing attendance and the growth of the school.

Hence, the children continue to attend, and the NGO expands despite concerns by some that the education provided by the organisations differs from that delivered in the state-run schools.

6.3.2.4 Volunteers, Global North resources, and capability raising

As noted in Chapter 5, the impact of people volunteering at the NGOs was considerable. For example, during their interviews, the majority of Khmer staff and students from *NGO_2* cited volunteers in their discussion, in some manner. Less regularly discussed were physical donations from volunteers such as cash or goods. This made me appreciate that the volunteers themselves (their time, effort and expertise) was the resource they donated to *NGO_2*, in lieu of other items such as money or physical gifts. The benefits of utilising GN resources in the form of volunteers at *NGO_2* included students being able to practise English, as well as making the learning of another language, interesting:

S7: So, volunteer is a very important part to make the student interesting [interested]. And one more thing, volunteer also have good English, so parents, they also think so, their children come and learn with foreigners, so maybe they can speak English very well in the future.

*G13: Okay, to me I hope that my friend and the other children they should be trying to study in *NGO_2* because we have, not only study, but we also practise which is not only study with Khmer teacher, but we also study with other volunteers ... teacher always bring some volunteer that come from other countries come to teach us and then we have the time to practise, that's why it made our language more interesting and it made me interested to study.*

Similarly, learning English from native speakers helped Khmer with proper pronunciation that, on occasion, appeared to be incorrectly taught, across Khmer generations:

Q: How do the volunteers help?

S7: Volunteer help a lot. So, normally we are second language ... Khmer, English ... So, sometimes we speak it in the wrong way ... Pronunciation, or right or wrong grammar, but when a foreigner come, when a volunteer come, they tell us to speak the right way, and to pronounce very good to make our voice better ... Like I, before I – you know asparagus?

Q: Asparagus, yeah.

S7: I say before – my teacher taught me to say asparagus [incorrect pronunciation] ... Yeah, and then a lot of words that I've been taught by my teacher are wrong, and I go – because I don't know how to research to speak it the right way, and what I believe always what my teacher teach me. So, my teacher, he learn something wrong, and I was taught by something wrong too.

As discussed in section 7.4.1, staff from *NGO_2* also implied that volunteers were used to help train staff, which I similarly observed while conducting fieldwork. Volunteers also shared their experiences/expertise with Khmer youth in the Young Adult program, which *NGO_2* manager M5 suggested helped students to open their minds:

Q: And how do you think the, the volunteers sharing their experience helps your student?

M5: Those are linking to developing the people and the country why I say that example, we have the teacher who are the, we call professor who retire or tourist people retirement seeking, seek out the, the adult program to talk ... And then just mind open to show the way how can we do it ...

The ability of GN volunteers to travel to Cambodia and share their experiences with Khmer reflects a difference in opportunity and choice. For example, when short-term GN participants discussed organising their international volunteering, they noted the many destinations they could choose from:

V5: And from there we just started looking at interesting projects so I got the choice about – and first I got the choice about Thailand, Indonesia, Nepal and Cambodia, and I could see what projects it would be and they said okay in Cambodia we have a project for you maybe the Young Adult program, and that was really the point – how do you say it? – was most interested in the Young Adult program.

V7: No, you had a choice to which country you wanted to go and, well, Asia spoke to me more than Africa because of the culture and the people, so and then you had to choose out of Bali, Nepal and Cambodia.

In contrast to this, the Khmer manager from *NGO_2* describes how:

M5: No we cannot fly to see the foreigner but we can bring the foreigner, come to see us. So, we can see each other, and all of them volunteer group come to sharing their experience and talking and we have many questions to tell them.

Hence, GN participants described opportunities that were well beyond the means of many Khmer. Despite this, the managers from *NGO_2* helped Khmer people benefit from the GN increased

opportunity, by having them volunteer at the organisation and share their experiences. A less obvious benefit of having regular GN volunteers at *NGO_2* was noted by several longer-term GN participants, such as volunteer V4, as exposure to foreigners:

A number of parents have told me, or a number of older people, that they really like the fact that the kids, the students get to interact with foreigners. They're not scared of foreigners, and they have a chance to learn English which they see is a key to a job ... they're a really strong benefit for their kids not just to see how people do things in their village.

However, for all the apparent benefits, longer-term GN participants also raised several concerns about volunteering, including inconsistency of ideas and/or adaptability of thinking:

M1: ... one of the real problems is that with any volunteer organisation the volunteers come and they go. A good idea today is a bad idea tomorrow because someone else's got a better idea ...

M4: If that person cannot adapt their British way of thinking or their Australian way of thinking to a Cambodian context, if they are very strong willed and they won't listen and work with the Cambodians you can have three or four months of utter misery where nobody gains anything.

Discussion of GN donations and volunteers at *NGO-1* by staff and students often reflected more of a donor/recipient relationship, as highlighted in the discussion of sponsorship below:

G3: When the volunteer came in and I ask some of them and they say they would like to sponsor some of the staff. So – and then she ask if I can find any poor girl from the community ... We say, oh yeah, we have a lot of poor student from community, like one of our staff. She also needs a sponsor to study at university. And then she met with the sponsor and the family and now they sponsor her to.

There were however, two examples from *NGO-1* of former students citing volunteers working with students:

G5: We also work with the volunteers, where all of the people that just come and do volunteering with us, like of teaching and other things.

G4: I like when they have volunteer when you can practise with them, talk to them ... I can talk to the foreigner; before I was so shy to talk with people and I study here we have volunteer from other country like Australia or something like that.

These two quotes are reflective of the many similar quotes by staff and students at *NGO_2* regarding volunteers (especially G4's). However, that they are the only examples of this from *NGO-1* suggests that volunteers who teach and/or help students to practise English were no longer utilised at *NGO-1* (as both quotes come from former students), or that volunteers who help in the classroom are a much scarcer commodity than at *NGO_2*. GN volunteers at *NGO-1*, in my experience, helped with building structures in local villages, or ran additional education

sessions outside of normal classes, such as lessons on hygiene (as was the job of the volunteers I interviewed at *NGO-1*). As mentioned, the main advantage of volunteers for students at *NGO-1* was the potential for exposure and sponsorship so that students could afford university, or similar training opportunities.

Another example of *NGO-1*'s donor outlook was their vocational training restaurant, where local partner tour companies brought GN tourists to eat. This activity helped expose recipients of NGO services to potential GN sponsorships (as discussed in section 6.3.2.2.1) as well as supplying resources that helped fund the work of the NGO:

G5: Now, I'm just working in the volunteer tour department where we can look after all the group coming for lunch and all the group from – we are like, working with many tour company that they just supported to come and we are providing food for them

Unfortunately, the Khmer workers in the training restaurant were not interviewed. However, the example does provide additional insight into the differences between the two NGOs, in that one utilises GN volunteers for their labour, experience and expertise, whereas the other focuses on financial aid and/or making an income from them.

6.4 Conclusion

Two key points ultimately stand out in this chapter, that feed into each other, and also unfortunately appear to continue the cycle, from one to the other. For example, it was regularly highlighted that Khmer earn insufficient income, which resulted in people having multiple jobs, not feeling 'comfortable', and/or not being able to afford their 'daily expenses'. Moreover, a lack of sufficient income represented only one of many areas in which Khmer people had *inadequate access to resources* (other examples include education, food and time) that when combined, inhibited participants' ability to *choose*. The desire to choose, is however present in Khmer transcripts, for example when participants spoke of wanting different types of employment, to study at university, or when desiring a small house or business. Unfortunately, without access to increased resources or some form of intervention, the status quo is mostly maintained. Hence, the *lack of resources* creates the lack of *choice*, which feeds the status quo.

CHAPTER 7: RESULTS PART B – JOBS, EMPLOYMENT, AND EDUCATION; OUTCOMES OF INTERVENTIONS; NGO RESOURCES AND SOCIALISATION

7.1 Results Part B – Introduction

Chapters 6 and 7 present six major themes identified from a detailed analysis of participant data. Themes 1 and 2 were detailed previously in Chapter 6; Themes 3 to 6 are presented here. The first of these is Theme 3 – *Jobs, desired jobs and what do I do to get these jobs? Education!* which when combined (employment and education) represent a major focus of the work performed by the participating NGOs. In this theme, participants discussed the types of jobs they desired, the skills they needed to get these jobs, (which included the benefit of learning a second language and computer skills) and introduced the construct of NGOs acting as a career path for local Khmer. The theme also explores constructs related to education including state-run schools, participants' perceptions regarding sufficient levels of schooling, and different generations of Khmer and their relationships with education. Theme 4 – *Student outcomes from NGO interventions* focuses on graduates of NGO services and what they had achieved as a result of attendance at the NGO. Theme 5 – *Resource limitations*, examines NGOs' resourcing, and how limitations in resources can impact on NGOs' service provision, including their ability to offer services to all who might need them. Finally, Theme 6 – *Socialisation, friendships and benefits* explores constructs of friendship and the benefits for those who attended NGO services.

7.1.1 Notes on this chapter

As raised in Chapter 6, I want to reiterate again that many of the Khmer who took part in the research were from materially deprived backgrounds, received limited aid from the state, and that most families could not afford to send their children to 'free' state schools and/or pay for private language/trade lessons. Hence, when reading this chapter, their circumstances should be considered, and remembered as not comparable to those of us living in the Global North.

7.2 Theme 3 – Jobs, desired jobs and what do I do to get these jobs? Education!

A major focus of the two NGOs, as well as representing this thesis's study propositions (see section 5.2.1), was employment and education. Constructs related to these propositions are presented as Theme 3 – *Jobs, desired jobs and what do I do to get these jobs? Education!* Specifically, these constructs include the common jobs discussed by children, what participants thought was a good job, and a focus on the training required to get a better job. This section also introduces the construct of the NGOs acting as a career path for local Khmer. Finally, this theme explores constructs related to education, including participants' thoughts on state-run schools,

what participants thought were sufficient levels of education, and different generations of Khmer and their relationships with education.

7.2.1 A good job

A good job in Siem Reap, for Khmer people, was commonly identified as one associated with the tourism and hospitality industries, due to the town's proximity to Angkor Wat, which attracts many international visitors to the region. These jobs included being a tour guide or working in a hotel, bar or restaurant:

G9: For a tour guide right, a tour guide is so good because in Cambodia have a lot of temple and tourists also coming to visit in the one place, in Siem Reap.

H2: ... in Siem Reap we think our student can, can find a job to work in the hotel is a better job.

These responses contradict some of the desired work choices raised in sections 6.2.3.1(above) and 7.2.1.1 (below) such as participants wanting to be a doctor or nurse. However, the difference between a desired job and one which is available, and even achievable locally, may explain some of the contradictions in responses, and again suggests a limitation in choice. Another 'good job' routinely discussed by participants was being a teacher:

H3: A good job in Cambodia right now I think teacher – I think teacher is a good job for Cambodia.

S2: Like teaching, I love teaching, so I think this job is good for me and pick that when we are study at university. And then we graduate, we can get a good job or a good salary, yeah, I like that.

The teaching industry in Siem Reap links, in part, to the tourism and hospitality sectors as the types of training and education offered by NGOs, and similar private providers, are geared towards the available work. For example, the language training delivered by the NGOs in this study, provides the skills needed for Khmer people to find work as tour guides, or in bars and hotels serving tourists. Another form of employment considered desirable by several participants, such as staff member S11, was a government job, as the state provides both a pension and ongoing work:

Khmer – because working in the government it is a long life, it has no loss, and another thing is no depression in working, and the job is widely, and in general the work of the government is providing comfort to staff in Cambodia ... in Cambodia from what was seen in the past was the work of government was a good job for Cambodia, in every government's institutions.

Khmer participants desired government jobs due to the perceived stability and 'comfort' that ongoing work brought, as work in Siem Reap was seen as inconsistent and/or providing an insufficient salary. A former NGO manager from the Global North supported the claim that

government employment was often desired by Khmer because of the perceived stability, but added that these jobs were also sought because of the perceived status they give:

M1: For Cambodian people their prime focus would be work for the government ... if you were going to be successful in Cambodia you work for the government.

Q: Okay is there – what – is there something – is there something about the government the allure of it or?

M1: I think it's because they are seen as so powerful and if you are a government employee the power – you inherit some of that power.

When the different points regarding government jobs are considered together, which included the perception of stability, power, and a pension, it is easy to understand the attraction for those who have little.

7.2.1.1 What jobs do the children want? What informs this choice?

When Khmer participants were asked 'what jobs do students want?' former students commonly answered that when they were younger, they wanted to become a teacher:

G3: When I was a kid, I wanted to be an English teacher.

G12: Khmer – Teaching English, teaching Khmer.

Teachers listed their students' desired jobs as similar to those discussed above (such as teacher and tour guide) but also added jobs like doctor, nurse, police officer and accountant, and with surprising regularity:

H3: I think for the teacher is a good job in Cambodia and for generally most of the students – most of the people they want to be a doctor and accountant and also with banking – finance so this kind of job they can earn a lot of money.

S10: Based on my observation, most of the students, they want to be teachers and some they want to be the police ... doctor, nurse.

S5: Khmer – Yes, some police officers, teachers, doctors, and some pilots.

Current students spoke of desiring jobs similar to those raised by former students, or to those noted by teachers speaking on their behalf, but interestingly added more diverse work options like designer and artist as well as engineer and mechanic:

F4: Khmer – Artist, teacher, tour guide, doctor, pilot, mechanic.

F1: Teacher, engineer, teacher English – teacher Khmer and pilot.

These more diverse work options may reflect the younger generation's greater exposure to global influences (for example, from the internet) and/or to new employment options being developed as

a result of Cambodia becoming more settled in recent times. Teachers and NGO staff, though, argued that the children's knowledge of different occupations was only a reflection of what they observed in their environment, and/or had learnt about in the classroom, and, moreover, that their knowledge lacked insight:

S5: Khmer – It related to the lesson then they wanted to do that job, sometimes they watch TV, and they wanted to do that job, and sometimes their parents are a teacher, so they wanted to be teachers.

S8: Mostly I didn't heard from the student. So, when I interview, I want to ask them what do you want to be? They will, they will state they don't know at all about this thing and then I try to, I'll copy the flashcard from the job – pilots, teacher, doctor, and then they say ... oh I want to be a teacher; I want to be a doctor like that ... I think most of student they want to be, when I ask them they want to be a teacher, but it's not the real ... they don't know the job and don't know how to express this feeling ... they go to school and they see teacher and then they maybe I want to be a teacher, but the real thing they don't know what is in the society in the job what to do.

Further, despite current students identifying several additional work options in comparison to former students and the teachers speaking on their behalf, the range is still limited (especially when Khmer student results are compared to the diverse work options discussed by GN participants below). Moreover, many work options discussed by current students were similar to those raised by former students. This supports the NGO staff's observation that students' desired jobs reflect those they see in their environment, as they are similar to the jobs discussed by the majority of the other Khmer participants, rather than my own assumptions regarding greater exposure to global influences and/or a widening occupation base (that theoretically would start to reflect the diversity observed in the GN responses below). The limited range of jobs discussed by students reflecting what they observe in their environment, also speaks to a greater issue regarding limited diversity in the local employment market:

S7: But nowadays, a lot of students, they wish to be a teacher, some they wish to be a police, because we don't have a lot of jobs. And they work in account, they want to work in a bank, like accountant, some kind of that. Because like, we don't have, like, a lot of work. Some of them, they don't, and sometimes they don't know – oh, what's this, what is this work, what is work? they don't know what the job is, sometimes. So, they work through what they see every day, and nowadays they see police, they see teachers, they see accountants, so I think most of the list, I guess they work that, yes?

Another factor influencing the small variety of jobs discussed by students, could be a limited range of educational resources to teach them about more diversified work options:

S11: Khmer – ... because of the jobs in Cambodia is not widely available yet, so the information about the jobs for the children is not widely [available].

Limited local exposure and/or limited local resources to educate about more diversified employment opportunities will limit a person's knowledge of alternative work options, which impacts both ambition and choice. A stark example of this is demonstrated in the contrast of jobs desired by younger international volunteers, in comparison to young Khmer, when these participants were asked 'What did you want to be when you were a kid?'. Responses from GN participants included jobs as diverse as a dolphin trainer (V8), an archaeologist (V5), or even no job and just wanting to be 'rich' (V3). Hence, variety and choice increase with exposure and opportunity (which is an assumption, but a potentially valid one as the volunteers were nationals from the Netherlands and the United States, with the resources to travel internationally and volunteer).

7.2.2 Better jobs and further training

Several of the 'better jobs' discussed so far, such as teacher, nurse, accountant, doctor and tour guide, require additional education and/or schooling in a second language, hence they require further training. Unfortunately, training in language, vocational skills, and/or university are largely 'user-pays' in Cambodia. Consequently, unless a person can afford the cost, can access free lessons through an NGO, or gain sponsorship, makes the likelihood of an impoverished Khmer of achieving more specialised work, limited:

G5: ... the private school ... they're for the rich people to go, and then for the poor people, they need to find the organisation ... to get a free education.

S3: ... it based on our education level, if we know English, if we know um, if we are in [if we have] the higher education, we find better job.

A linked idea in participant interviews was NGO staff almost unanimously identifying the need for students to work hard in order to achieve their goals:

S5: Khmer – they can get through there [if they] study hard and [from] the additional knowledge our teachers give.

H3: ... they have to try hard with their study.

As the staff teaching at the NGO were often from the same village in which the organisations were embedded, they potentially appreciated the level of effort required to achieve the 'further training' needed to gain a better job, and hence their focus on students working hard. Participants' discussions on the topic of better jobs and further training are presented here via two interrelated ideas, namely 'second language' and 'computer literacy, second language, and access'.

7.2.2.1 Second language

Learning a second language can help Khmer people living in Siem Reap to find work in the local tourism industry, as a student in the second focus group noted:

F2: Because my future job, I want to be a tour guide, English can decide my dreams.

A second language can also help Khmer gain work with expatriate employers:

S11: ... expatriates provide jobs for us to do so the next generation children must know the English language.

In fact, the benefit of being able to speak a second language in order to gain work was suggested by one former student as potentially more important than knowing their native language:

G9: English is very important – sometimes more important than my mother language, also sometimes ... when you have only Khmer language – you go to interview – sometimes we [the employer] don't need you. When you can speak English maybe your salary is better than the normal – than the person that can't speak English.

One consequence of Cambodia's recent unrest and ongoing development is a lack of specialised textbooks dedicated to teaching more advanced work types, in the Khmer language (such as Information Technology and Nursing, discussed in the examples below). Hence, having the skill to read, write and speak English (the majority language discussed in transcripts) is an unfortunate necessity to succeed in higher education:

G4: And actually, in Information Technology resource in Cambodian is really low, they are more in English, so I have to understand it.

S6: Khmer – [discussing their Bachelor of Nursing degree] Both English and Khmer, simple materials are in Khmer, but for the technical words are English and French.

Moreover, there was a general view that being able to read and write in English was a necessity to attend, and graduate from, university, which participants linked to being able to research and complete assignments:

H3: English is very important to every student ... when they are learning so they had to know English. So, when they pursue to continue to learn in university. So, a lot of documents about English so when they know English it's quite easier for them to research or to get information to complete their assignment.

M5: And also they can read and write and also they can improve their work by English writing, can researching, I mean like researching more ... if they can read English, they can type in English in the YouTube or Google they can translate a bit more, they can have more idea.

Finally, government jobs were also noted as requiring English proficiency:

S11: All of the government institutions required to use English as a major because they have to go and work abroad, study abroad ...

Hence, the more complex the job, including the education required to gain the more complex job, the more likely it is that a Khmer person will need an additional language in order to gain work in that industry.

7.2.2.2 Computer literacy, second language and access

Training by NGOs in the use of computers was considered important for Khmer students as it provided access to new skills, additional ways to find work, and new ways of communicating with people and institutions:

H2: We provide English and computer education so make sure they can use their English in writing and speaking and also computer skill, they can work on Microsoft Word and send a list, with a CV attached, by email to the employer.

Q: Okay, why do you like computer class?

F1: I like to write emails.

Moreover, English language and computer skills taught together provided access to new and expanded knowledge sources for Khmer people:

H1: I mean computers, a lot of instructions even internet stuff it's written, it's in English. Yeah so, I think they understand the value of learning that sort of facet ...

G11: We go to the extra class [in] English, and we try to read the books at home and try to research on Mr Google.

S1: Basically, we use it for work, for communication, yeah, and technology, as well ... If you don't know English, we cannot use the technology very well ... It can help them a lot if they know English. They can communicate with different people. They can – if they are stuck, they can search for different information [using technology].

However, former student G13 highlights access to technology as a potential issue:

Because of technology for example, we do not have much material for doing research, we just study only theory but we never do something like experiment, so we never have like this, we just study theory from, we just study something from the book, we never practise like ourselves that why it's still be poor of the education, we need more technology, yes.

During my time in Cambodia, I often witnessed Khmer people with multiple mobile phones as they represented a somewhat more reliable form of digital technology, especially when compared to other forms like laptops (which are more expensive and have greater infrastructure needs like modems for internet connections). Khmer people used multiple mobile phones to access multiple service providers, as this helped compensate for areas not serviced by a given provider, and to also overcome infrastructure issues when one provider dropped service, as another might still be accessible. Mobile phones were also more accessible than other forms of technology, as they could be purchased through instalment plans, or less sophisticated phones could be purchased at

a cheaper price. In fact, mobile phones appeared to take the role of multiple other forms of communication used in the Global North such as email, conference calls or landlines. Hence, mobile phones were the main way Khmer were observed to access the internet (those who could afford them). However, despite the potential that mobile phones, or similar technologies, appeared to offer Khmer, this potential was also hindered by people's desire to play games and/or socialise on platforms like Facebook:

S1: ... our parents and children, they think – they confuse with the technology, they're confused of how they improve themselves, you know – how can I say this? Some people, they think, when they have phone, they are crazy about playing games, they are crazy about playing Facebook, but they forget how to benefit from – benefit from technology.

G13: ... smartphone, they have something like that; so when they have like this, it can stop them or it can hinder them ... they have phones just want to play games or they forget a time, they forget what they have to do, their responsibility that they have to go to school. So, they forget like this, that make them miss school many times ...

In summary, learning a second language and becoming computer literate can help Khmer to access new information sources and build their knowledge in the short term, until sufficient content is available in the Khmer language (reducing the need to learn another language). Hence, the potential benefit of these skills for Khmer people is the ability to draw on knowledge repositories in one language, and potentially translate them into Khmer language resources, or even use them to create new Khmer knowledge/content. The negative side of technology was discussed as people becoming too distracted by the social and/or interactive side of the internet.

7.2.3 How do people find jobs?

The NGO staff cited several online resources for finding work. For example, *NGO-1* staff discussed an online website called 'BongThom.com' which acts as a digital notice board for local jobs, while other participants noted looking for work on NGO 'Facebook pages' or using 'Google', or 'Mr Google':

*S1: I tried to find the job on Google ... the BongThom.com website, and I saw that in here, they recruit the *job position title* and my criteria, easy to go for this position, so I decided to apply for here, as well.*

However, it should be noted that online advertising shuts out a portion of the population, those who have limited access to online resources. This limitation appeared to be overcome, though, by a simpler method of communication, namely participants hearing about employment opportunities through someone they knew (word of mouth):

S4: I heard it through my husband as he knew Mr Smith [former *NGO-1* Admin and HR], and it was told by Mr Smith* that, *NGO-1* needed some teachers, then I applied for it.*

Learning about job opportunities via word-of-mouth methods was identified in staff transcripts, from both NGOs. Moreover, word-of-mouth communication was also noted by long-term volunteer V4 as an effective way of transferring information for local Khmer:

... this place has got a good name, a good reputation in the community and nothing seems to spread faster in Cambodian villages than information.

Q: Okay, they're their own internet.

V4: They certainly are.

Similarly, the NGOs appeared to communicate among themselves. For example, staff member S9 noted how when she lost work at one NGO, her former boss was aware of possible work at another:

S9: I'm applying here, like before I was teaching in the other NGO ... they have like the big sponsor, but the big sponsor just like, we have no sponsor anymore, so we have to like ... looking for the other job. So, my boss just suggest to me to come here ... so I apply here and then I got a job here.

In summary, in addition to using online sources, participants also gained knowledge of employment opportunities via word-of-mouth methods. This can be linked to the NGOs catering to specific geographic locations, as this is where a number of the NGO staff live, who then discussed potential vacancies with other locals. The last quote also segues into the next idea presented in this section, which explores NGOs acting as a career path for Cambodians in Siem Reap, due to their abundance in the local area.

7.2.4 NGO as a career path

In a conversation regarding the types of employment available to Khmer people in Siem Reap, for the purpose of saving money to attend university, an NGO staff member identified three potential work choices:

Q: ... is there a way that students can get help to go to university?

S8: So, they can work in the restaurants, or they can work in the hotel, or they can work in the projects like organisation. And they can have small fund and they can save and like me I worked in the restaurant and can save some money and then we can go to school.

Q: So, they have to work to save the money to do it essentially?

S8: Yeah.

The contradiction between participants' 'desired jobs' and the actual 'available jobs' discussed in section 7.2.1 is present here also. However, the quote from S8 also identifies that being employed in an 'available job' might be the factor that enables an individual to attend university and then

transition to a 'desired job', once their studies are complete. Another point of interest from staff member S8's quote concerns the term 'organisation' which is a reference to NGOs. The abundance of NGOs within Siem Reap province is such, that they can act as a career path for local Khmer. For example, an examination of G5's timeline indicates that he started work at *NGO-1* in 2008 and was still working there in 2019 when data was collected (approximately eleven years):

*G5: Since 2008 and I just start to work as a receptionist, like register, and then I just worked there for two years long (*NGO-1*), and then I moved to work in English teachers at the old school for a couple of months, and then I decide to apply to be the interpreter to work in the clinic to translate for the Western doctors ... I worked there for a year, and then after we moved to here in 2011 [the new site of *NGO-1*], and then we – one of my teachers, like one of my team they choose me to work as a sponsorship program where we can sponsor the kid, a university kid, or the kid maybe sponsor from us. And then we work as a sponsor for one and a half years long, and then I decided to go back to teach then.*

The quote also highlights how *NGO-1* moved to larger premises as its services and patronage expanded (as did *NGO_2*). Moreover, it speaks to the ability of successful NGOs to expand and address the ongoing needs of the community as circumstances change (including an ability to attract and manage the resources required to make these changes). Comparable to G5, the husband of *NGO_2*'s manager (M5) identified that she had worked at the organisation since 2012:

M4 (M5's husband): So, a long story to a short story they agreed, and I think on the 1st July 2012, M5 took over as the project manager.

Similarly, staff member S1 noted moving to *NGO-1* from another NGO, four years previously, and in that time had worked continuously for *NGO-1* indicating again the longer-term work that was possible through NGO employment:

S1: In September 2015, I quit one job at my local NGO ... when we get the monthly pay ... he did not provide me ...

As also highlighted in S1's quote, there is evidence of participants swapping from one NGO to another for various reasons, including not being paid, NGOs losing funding, or even loss of patronage:

*G13: *NGO_2* is the third organisation that I start to study ... it's not because of that I leave the other organisation, it's not because of me but it's because of my organisation ... so no students study anymore, that's why our teacher closed our class ... Yes and after that I heard my friend that we have one organisation to start teaching English so I was interested in that, so I applied ... I go, I went. And when I studied around one year, no student anymore so teacher decide to close that class.*

The apparent boom and bust cycle of NGOs gives credence to why some participants desired a government job, because of the perceived stability. The responses also indicate, though, that the experience gained from working at one NGO was helpful in gaining work at another, and that there existed enough local NGOs that if one failed, Khmer people could easily find work at another:

S11: Khmer – I have known it through Ross, who used to work in my previous workplace ... When my former workplace stopped me, Ross* recommended me to apply to work here [*NGO_2*] ... then interview and passed ...*

Tr: ... [her old NGO] they need to reduce the staff, so some staff has to stop, so, so and then Ross recommended her to come here, to apply for here [*NGO_2*] and she come to an interview, and she passed, and she can work here.*

It should be noted that the topics discussed in this section were identified in participant transcripts from both NGOs, which provides additional support for NGOs acting in ways comparable to the tourism industry in Siem Reap, as a common career option for local Khmer.

7.2.5 Education!

This section explores three sub-themes related to education, the first concerns participants' views on a 'good' level of education, and the reasons why. The second explores participants' views on Cambodian state schools, which were not always positive, while the third sub-theme examined different generations of Khmer and their relationship with education.

7.2.5.1 Which level?

When Khmer participants were asked about the level of education they thought people should achieve, a common answer was Year 12:

S7: I think here you should study modern Grade 12, have to graduate Year 12 because everywhere when you go to apply somewhere, they'll be asking for your certificate. So, Grade 12 is very good.

As a lower level of achievement was associated with poorer outcomes:

S1: ... what I know from the government ... at least for Khmer education, they need to finish up to Grade 9 ... but you know, because of the – we have the different challenges – technology, and world development or globalisation, so we have to increase, at least Grade 12. To me, I think Grade 12 is better ... You know, what we see, even though they [the government] grade it at Grade 9, they [the students] still find very hard.

S5: Khmer – if graduated in Grade 9 not yet clear, but Grade 12 has a clear skill.

Unsurprisingly, a higher level of achievement was associated with more favourable outcomes:

S3: ... the most important is education; higher education helps to get a better job ...

However, despite many participants specifying Year 12 as the favoured end goal for Khmer students, consensus on the exact level of achievement required to gain a more favourable outcome was inconsistent among participants. Further, there was no obvious link between the demographics, employment or education status of those who commented (outside of the example given below), to suggest a pattern that might help understand these results. For example, a former student and NGO teacher suggested that without a Bachelor's degree, people would struggle:

G5: for Cambodian now ... they need to find out with the degree, like the certificate. So, if people have no certificate ... like it's not a good chance for them to get a job.

S4: Khmer – In Cambodia, Baccalaureate is a normal certificate and even a bachelor's degree is also simple ...

While the deputy head teacher of *NGO-1* proposed that being successful might not be linked to one's education at all:

S1: ... one of my friends, he's a very poor student in the classroom and he never tried hard on his study at all ... but now he's better, you know, he has Highlander [car] he has a big mansion ... when I see him, I said, okay, this is the big changes ... sometimes in the classroom, he's not good ... but when they go to the future too far different [a lot has changed].

There were also participants who associated better outcomes at levels above a Bachelor's degree, as Khmer qualified at these higher levels were suggested as being few in number, and that those with a Bachelor's degree, struggled to find work:

H2: Master's degree is the minimum for Cambodia right now, if you get a Bachelor degree there are so many Bachelor degree's at this point in Cambodia and they cannot find a job. So, they can finish at least Master's degree so when they go deeper, like a Master's degree not so many.

G4: Bachelor's degree is good, but they still have to have to upgrade to Master's or Doctorate degrees to get higher, to get much salary because even though the Bachelor degree some people still cannot find a job and some people still get low salaries.

A reason why Khmer might struggle to find work with a Bachelor's degree, could link to the discussion in section 7.2.1.1 regarding the limited range of employment opportunities in the local market, especially for those with higher qualifications. Similarly, the limited number of people with a Master's degree, could also be a reflection of limited employment opportunities at these higher levels of specialisation.

Short-term GN volunteers held similar views regarding education, to the two Khmer participants quoted above [H2 and G4], in that holding a Master's degree was the minimum requirement to be successful:

V3: Overall, well back in the day, high school was sufficient. A lot of – you can get a lot of jobs, there's a broad spectrum of jobs just with a high school degree. But in the modern days there's very high demand for – for college students. Even undergraduate isn't enough. They want Master's, they want doctorate, PhDs ...

Interestingly, of the two Khmer participants quoted above, H2 has a Master's degree and G4 was in the final year of a Bachelor degree, while all short-term GN volunteers were visiting Cambodia as part of a university course, indicating a shared link between higher education and perspectives on success (education increasing insight). Similarly, education is demonstrated throughout these results chapters as changing the attitudes, knowledge and outcomes of those who receive it, for the foreseeably better; in particular (see section 7.3), it creates choice. This is despite considerable and continued challenges associated with accessing one.

7.2.5.2 State schools

State schools in Cambodia run half-day sessions, one in the morning and one in the afternoon, so students attend either the morning or the afternoon, but not both. Students will then attend the NGO in the other half of the day, meaning there are both morning and afternoon session for different children at the NGO. Hence, the state school dictates when the children will attend the NGO (those who can afford to attend the state schools); however, this also depends on various factors:

H3: ... they cannot miss class in Khmer school, so they had to go. Because sometimes even though they learn in the morning [at the Khmer school and would then attend the NGO school] but in the afternoon they have a schedule for like have a cleaning in [the Khmer] school or help in the library in Khmer school so they have to go.

Unfortunately, the quality of the state-run schools was often questioned by Khmer people, with one criticism being that the method of education delivery was outdated and lacked resources:

H2: ... my teacher they [also] teach at state school, they cannot use computer, they can only teach by writing on the board and they use a very old style ...

Or that classrooms were crowded compared to the NGOs:

M2: I think to be honest going to a Khmer public school where you've got sometimes sixty or seventy students in a class, how can you possibly learn?

S4: Khmer – Specifically speaking here is fewer students than state schools ... number of students state schools are more crowded, we have fewer students; we have better materials, in general; our school is better than state schools

Which resulted in a lack of seats and materials for students:

F3: Khmer – Not enough book nor space to sit.

Moreover, the quality of the actual lessons was also questioned:

S7: In Khmer school, or state school, they give English sessions too, but nobody – like in my generation, I know nothing about English

Finally, despite state schools being free, participant often noted that poor students could not afford to study at the state schools:

S4: Because many children here are poor, they could not study at state schools.

[Participant identifier purposefully removed]: ... government provides free education ... but let's say that capacity of a state school, how many people who are in one class? It maybe fifty, sixty, a lot. Yeah, this is also one factor. Another related to school material, some schools also not enough, so you can imagine the quality of education. A lot of students, not enough material, you can see ... and also, refer to the factor of students, while they are poor, even free ... but how about their school material, their clothes, their bicycle. Because some of them, even no food to eat. Some not all. How can they go to school?

In more private conversations, other participants supported the costs outlined in the quote above for items like uniforms, food, transport and materials, but also added expenses such as extra classes (tutoring), incentives for Statement of Results (culturally demonstrated thanks to the teacher for one's education), and contributions for the school environment. Hence, when all of the additional expenses are added up, they place attendance at the 'free' state schools, beyond the means of many students.

7.2.5.3 Generational relationship differences with education

A noted trend in interviews concerns the way in which younger Khmer and education were discussed, in comparison to the older generation. For example, the older generation was reported as being sceptical about an education's benefits:

M2: ... in the early days it was lack of confidence from local people in education, we had to – because when you consider that generation, the parents' generation were or are illiterate, they've never had, never been to school, never had an education; so they were a bit sceptical how an education was going to help improve their lives or their kids lives.

In contrast, the younger generation of Khmer appeared to embrace education:

S6: Khmer – I think all are good ... What is most important is education

G10: ... when I learn in Grade 10 and here in Grade 12 the hard subject for me is physic, but all education is good.

A consequence of Khmer parents having limited, or no, education was discussed by several participants, such as staff member S6, as them being unable to contribute to the child's education:

... the parents have no knowledge; they do not know how their children learn ... they had not gone through education, so they do not understand.

For the older generation, the scepticism surrounding education was increased when some Khmer were successful without one, as described by head teacher H3:

... after the war some of the people they not pass away – so they still have no skill they don't go to school and then they work ... they can say I didn't go to school, but I can earn a lot of money ... so education is one thing but the important is like when I go to work and earn a lot of money that's good enough. So how can we learn – I mean why are we learning – most of them are learning because they want to get a job, so when I get a job already – nothing to learn!

Hence, if the older generation of Khmer were able to work and earn money without an education, why should they send their children to receive one? The education system in Cambodia, after the war, may have been part of the problem, as participants discussed how it relied on an authoritarian method to educate students:

H3: [in the old system] the teacher is the boss and the teacher who is the one who explains everything on the board and the teacher provides their knowledge, allow to sit down and writing and take notes and copying from the board and listening to the teacher.

Or worse still:

H3: ... the picture that I can see the picture of fighting, healing and scary ... their working is not good quality because they usually are threatening. Before you used to hear that most of school in Cambodia so the teacher – you have a lot of punishment, and the punishment is serious because they have like the stick – and they punish very serious to the student ...

This resulted in an older generation experiencing an education, at least those who managed to gain one, through an authoritarian system where teacher knew best, with the potential administration of corporal punishment for those who thought otherwise. A consequence of this, at least in part, was an older generation who struggled to comprehend how an education delivered through new methods such as play (as adopted by the younger generation), could be successful:

M5: Yeah and also a very first time when they bring the children, and they, they saw the children play in the nursery we teach them by playing. Some a few, few family take their kid away because they want the children come to study it's not to play, but in the end they bring it back, them back because they're understanding about it.

Moreover, these new approaches to education were adopted by the younger generation through exposure to foreign influences:

H3: ... we get influence from the foreigners by teaching staff so we see like change a little bit. So sometimes we have more activity in a classroom – a student discussion and also like – I can say like express the idea more in the classroom.

S7: I think what we should improve is our skill, because world is updating, so teacher have more idea in teaching. So, if we have some teachers who have new ideas of teaching, new

ideas of gain that can make the student better, so I think they can come to improve our teachers here, yes.

For the older generation, being influenced by foreign ideas would not arguably have been possible due to the country's considerable unrest until approximately 1999 (Chandler 2008), which kept visitors away. Hence, the difference in relationships between the older generation and the younger to education, can be linked to both an increased opportunity for the younger generation to gain one, as well as an increased exposure to different ideas, which challenged embedded systems.

7.3 Theme 4 – Student outcomes from NGO interventions

This theme focuses on former students and their outcomes after engaging with the NGOs. These outcomes include both direct, and indirect examples of participants gaining paid work or progressing to higher education, after engaging with the NGOs, as well as unfortunately one case of an organisation failing to assist at all. The first example in this section relates to the vocational training offered by *NGO-1* and the work that former student G7 did, after receiving it:

Khmer – I stay home do some sewing just doing some sewing shop.

*Q: Does she think that her time learning sewing here at *NGO-1* helped her to sort of make clothes at home?*

Khmer – Yes, I do ... sewing is a kind of job that I can earn more money ... when I alter one shirt, I can earn from 3000 to 4000 riels and 5000 riels for a trouser.

Similarly, former student G6 noted how he:

Khmer – ... studied music from a music teacher, so he taught me, so I take this as a profession, so I take this for a business, and I think this is a good job.

In another section of G6's interview, he notes working in a restaurant as a musician as well as being hired for weddings, indicating that the vocational training he received from the NGO, gave him the skills needed to gain an income. However, despite evidence of participants earning an income from the vocational training they received, the industries associated with that training appear to pay an insufficient wage to cover the cost of everyday living, as many Khmer participants also discussed having a second job:

G6: Khmer – So, my study, I can say it is in the average outcome so I can use it for my extra job.

Similarly, participants who received English language training from the NGOs also reported having multiple jobs:

G11: So now I am a teacher now in the morning, and in the evening, I work in the restaurant.

While a number of staff employed by the NGO with Bachelor degree's also reported having multiple jobs, despite working at the NGO, Monday to Friday from 8.00 am to 11.00 am and 1.00 pm to 5.00 pm. The many examples of participants reporting multiple jobs suggests that low wages are a more universal issue for Khmer people, rather than the type of vocational training offered by the NGOs being the issue. Additionally, despite the apparent low wages provided by vocationally trained occupations, it still offers Khmer access to additional revenue streams, and hence provided employment choice. In addition to the firsthand examples reported by the former students above, long-term GN participants also discussed how students often gained work in local industries, after finishing their education at the organisation:

M4: Yeah, people who have left have gone on to university, have started their own business – they have got jobs in the tourism industry – one started their own school. Some are in sales jobs, I.T. related stuff – I.T. is a big thing – that sort of range of stuff ...

V4: Yeah, so one of them is at university in Battambang studying to be a primary school teacher in a pilot program that is I think joint UK/Cambodian ... There are some, one of the boys is working in a Japanese shop and he's always had particular love of all things Japanese ...

Former head teacher H1 also provided a story of an encounter with one of her former students:

*... I used to have her in my class and she was quite bright. She'd often sit down and want to have a little chat to you and she was very good at – one day – oh it was two years ago I was in the town getting my lunch ... And this girl called out to me, she was working in a restaurant. And this other guy was a volunteer at *NGO_2* and he saw it. And he couldn't believe that she would still recognise and know me ... the story is that she was doing business at uni and so she was in her second year ...*

On the topic of universities, the link between an NGO intervention and a recipient gaining a higher education may not be immediately clear. For example, a former student discussed how when they attended *NGO-1*, they had studied English and computers, but the exposure to computers did not lead him to study an Information Technology degree:

*G4: When I was new, first I came just to study English. At *NGO-1* I study English, I study computers ...*

Q: Yeah, you did I.T. here as well. Did the I.T. here lead to your interest in what you did at university?

G4: It's not really because here we just learn about office, it's for office work only, like Microsoft Word or Excel, it's not related to Information Technology.

However, later in G4's interview he indicates that his education at university required knowledge of the English language, which he also studied at the NGO. So, while his computer studies at the NGO did not inspire his university degree, his NGO education in English made it possible.

As noted in section 6.3.2.2.1, studying at an NGO can also lead to employment at the organisation:

*Q: When did you attend *NGO_2*?*

G10: Maybe last year ...

Q: And what do you do now?

*G10: I work like librarian and teacher [at *NGO_2*] ... And I start study at university on February.*

The majority of the discussion above supports the idea that NGOs raise the capability of their participants via their various education interventions, as they teach the skills necessary to gain more specialised work and/or to attend higher education. By additionally offering employment opportunities to participants while they study, they make higher education even more achievable, through the provision of a wage. Finally, there was one example of an unsuccessful vocational training attempt:

*G8: Khmer – [discussing sewing classes at *NGO-1*] Started at 2 pm and finished at 4 pm ... learning to cut and I didn't learn so much, so I asked a teacher to quit ... to sell some things on motorbike cart [noodles and soup].*

A more detailed look at G8's transcripts identifies that she left school in Year 6 (she is now an adult with children) and has sold goods for a living since:

G8: ... wanted to be a seller and doing business, and I was selling things since I was young ... I have never done anything else.

This suggests that the benefits of learning a new vocational skill potentially needed communicating more clearly. In addition, G8's personal circumstances potentially needed further consideration, to see what additional supports she may have needed, to help her attend the NGO. As highlighted throughout a number of participant responses, the older generations of Khmer, the very poor, or those with limited education (or some combination of all three) cannot always take up, and/or appreciate, the benefits of an education. Consequently, they may need further engagement and/or assistance to help them access, and engage with, classes.

7.4 Theme 5 – Resource limitations

This theme explores how NGOs gather and use resources. These resources are, unfortunately, both finite and not guaranteed, which results in NGO staff having to adapt to multiple roles, the use of resources that are inappropriate to the task, and/or the prioritisation of who can access the organisation's resources.

7.4.1 Funding and control of resources

The two NGOs in this study used different methods to gather resources. The manager of *NGO-1*, for example, discussed how his organisation utilised people from the Global North (discussed as 'GN resources'), through various initiatives, to gather some of their resources, including:

*M3: So, at social enterprise, so we can see that we have like our company coming to, like they provide, client to *NGO-1*, they can have a lunch, a dinner, they have meal here at *NGO-1*...*

By partnering with local tour companies, *NGO-1* was able to utilise GN resources in two potential ways. Firstly, recipients of *NGO-1*'s services were exposed to GN tourists which meant potential sponsorship opportunities, and secondly the same GN tourists ate at the training restaurant which helped fund *NGO-1*'s intervention work. In addition to the training restaurant, *NGO-1*'s manager discussed how they utilised GN resources in the form of volunteer labour (as introduced in section 6.3.2.4):

*M3: And the other part, they also have some ... we call community work ... some they volunteer to do teaching at *NGO-1*, and some they also do some community work. Community work can be, build house ... it means that we provide ground service to company, but from *NGO-1*, we also get income from that ...*

Hence, GN resources in the form of volunteer labour helped Khmer students to learn additional lessons, such as the ones I observed on hygiene, as well as helping to build structures for locals, which *NGO-1* somehow also managed to make an income from (link not discussed). The last methods used by *NGO-1* to gather GN resources, was discussed by the managers as:

*M3: ... merchandise that we sell cloth and other souvenir, so while clients are coming to *NGO-1*, or visitor coming to *NGO-1*, they can get, spend, they can buy on that part of their memory yeah ... and the other part is related to fundraising. So, we have sponsorship, and we have a number of sponsors from outside, so people can sponsor, like \$40 per month to *NGO-1*, so that is part of sponsorship ...*

As *NGO-1* collected these GN resources themselves, they were able to dictate how they were utilised. However, previously this had not always been the case, at least in regard to the use of GN volunteer labour:

H1: You can be there as a teacher but you're not really in charge, they are in charge. When I first went, we just did it all and they just supported us. But then we realised no that's wrong they need to do the teaching and we support.

On a similar point, it should also be noted that *NGO-1* received approximately one quarter of its funding from one major GN donor, as discussed in M3 and M2 interviews '... then 25% is from major donors, well one major donor' (M2). The manager's interview also implied that this donation carried some stipulations, as the donated money had to be used 'where it's agreed to be spent'

(M2), which limited some of *NGO-1*'s independence. Despite this, the majority of *NGO-1*'s income, as demonstrated, was self-generated from various GN sources:

M2: Okay, we're funded 70% to 75% of our funding is generated ourselves ...

In comparison, the manager of *NGO_2* noted being partially funded through donations of money and materials from GN volunteers:

M5: ... our funded is by raising the donation, the student, group of student from Australia example that ... they are raising the money what they came to volunteer and they give, they give us a donation. All of them is help like that, very helpful ...

Additionally, *NGO_2* had a sister NGO (run by M5's husband) in Siem Reap, which for a fee, helped GN volunteers to find placements at responsible NGOs around Siem Reap province. The money made through this endeavour, helped fund the work of *NGO_2*:

*M5: ... *name of partner NGO* working with 15 NGOs. So, anybody pay the fee and then we use that fee to run the school [*NGO_2*]. We don't have any income, we don't want income, we just make income like this.*

As highlighted in M5's quotes, all donations and income, including those received from their sister NGO, came from GN sources, and were used to run *NGO_2*. The partnership between *NGO_2*, and its sister organisation in Siem Reap, which helped billet volunteers, also explains the considerable focus on volunteers at *NGO_2*, as volunteers from the sister NGO, were regularly hosted at *NGO_2*. The manager at *NGO_2* also discussed how they strictly controlled the use of GN resources:

Q: ... do you help students with clothing or books or pencils or food or anything like that?

M5: All of those we don't have in our, in our community ... NGO we don't have, we don't have all of those, but we have from the volunteer who bring over, we all sharing to the children right.

Q: So the volunteers bring stuff and ...

M5: ... bring some stuff and then we share it, but the volunteers not hand all to the children, they have to hand all to our staff and our staff give them because ... we don't want our children is reliant on the volunteer, on the foreigner who are a stranger ... our staff receive the donation we give out by ourselves, but the volunteer can be asked to help to share out the stuff, but not handle otherwise.

In another section of M5's interview, she stated that if donors try to stipulate how funds should be spent, then *NGO_2* will not accept those funds:

Q: Do any of the funders ever suggest how you need to use the money or?

M5: We don't take anybody money if they are suggest us to do something, that is very clear.

Hence, *NGO_2* generates its own resources and fiercely guards its independence in how those resources are utilised. The motivation for this attitude is partially explained above, in that *NGO_2* does not want to foster dependence. The second motivation comes from *NGO_2*'s mission statement which focuses on Khmer people making decisions on behalf of other Khmer, as described by M4:

M4: ... led by Cambodians for Cambodians our staff provide high quality education and support programs designed to help the whole community to learn new skills and to enable people to take control of their futures through increasing their ability and self-confidence.

This point is also demonstrated in *NGO_2*'s staff profile:

M4: ... the school is completely staffed and run and managed, even to strategic decisions not just management decisions, by Cambodian people ...

Which encouragingly is the same at *NGO-1*:

M2: Sixty-three [staff] ... all Khmer

Q: All Khmer, and are they volunteers as well as paid?

M2: No, paid ...

Q: All paid?

M2: Yeah.

Hence, as *NGO_2* is 100% Khmer run, and gathers 100% of its own resources, it is only Khmer who allocate and/or make decision on, the use of GN resources, on behalf of other Khmer. The same can also be said, for the majority, of *NGO-1* though admittedly without as clear an allocation/decision agenda. A quote from *NGO-1*'s manager suggests the impact of the local generation and control of resources, by an organisation which is embedded in, and delivering services to, a local Khmer village:

M3: Like that Bram boen [local village] here ... before I refer to from 2007, 2010, it is known like as slum area. So, when we say Bram boen*, you may remember that a lot of people, they live on the road, no land ... they are illegally stay on Apsara land [government land managed by the Aspara authority], they don't have opportunity to study, karaoke shop [many in Siem Reap, issues with prostitution], drug use, you can see, you can imagine that, the picture at that time. So, while *NGO-1* starting here, so the problem, at the community start to reduce. Because, let's say, children cannot go to school, they can go to school and free. *NGO-1* also provides a skill for them, instead of they work in karaoke shop, they come to *NGO-1* and get a skill ... like in the restaurant training, as the cook, as a bartender, for example on that, tailor, tour guide, that we provide hospitality training to them as well. So, you can say, now, those people, they can get a job, and around Bram boen* here, it is not called a slum area anymore. Before it registered as the poor area, one of the poor communities. But now the government have removed, and we help other community. That's*

*why part of *NGO-1* here, we – mentally, we support to poor community like that ... while *NGO-1* exists here more than twelve years.*

7.4.1.1 Multiple roles

Staff at *NGO_2* had multiple and varied roles, beyond their teaching responsibilities:

*H3: I am a head teacher here and also a teacher as well in the classroom ... [I] supervise the teachers when the teacher have any concern or any problem with their teaching, so I can support them, as well as with the curriculum so I need to do a vetting with every academic ... I work in the office in the morning, so I have to check out with the volunteer plan – volunteer spreadsheet so where we come and also I usually I am planning about what kind of thing that we can do with volunteers, and also have in the classroom, and email to the volunteer that they are supposed to come, or I email or contact with *Volunteer NGO* about what activity that we should do with them. And I check with attendance. I check who is absent a lot, so I had to contact the family ... I also do register with the new student when they want to learn here. So, I have to stay and have them to register and then they can go to the classroom.*

In another section of head teacher H3's interview, he relates that the management of *NGO_2* were also providing him with more free time to plan and design new curriculum. This suggests that the management of *NGO_2* were supportive, despite H3 having a considerable number of responsibilities. However, the multiple responsibilities also appeared to impact on staff at *NGO_2* as they identified a need for more staff, or at least more volunteers, to help train staff and increase the capability of those employed:

S10: ... we don't have enough staff. So, some things that we don't do, it's still stuck in the same old because we all are busy ... you have to be very flexible. So, to flexible is not good. So, we need assistance.

S9:..we need more volunteer to come and to train the teacher, to maybe the teacher want to learn more about how to plan a topic, because not all of the teacher can do the lesson plan, and can prepare all the lesson in English. Or some teacher are not good at researching the topic, because not every topic and not every material we have so we have to find our own.

In contrast to this, there were no issues related to a lack of staff in transcripts of staff from *NGO-1*. This may be due to *NGO-1* being a bigger organisation with a considerably larger staff group, in comparison to *NGO_2*. For example, the manager at *NGO_2* stated:

M5: I have two builders, I have two cleaners and eleven teachers.

Whereas the manager of *NGO-1* discussed having four times the number of staff, split into several departments:

M3: ... refer to department ... so, we have in education, in development, and at our head office here as well ... the total is 67.

NGO-1 also had separate employees attending to administration and staff training, so that teaching staff could concentrate on the delivery of education. This difference in staffing resulted in

differences in the levels of responsibility, for example compare the routines of the head teacher of *NGO-1* (H2 below) with the head teacher of *NGO_2* (H3 above):

H2: Day-to-day one part is to train the teacher how to teach better and also to plan the lessons for the school.

Additionally, H2 did not teach whereas H3 does, H2 also mentioned that their social worker followed up with absent students, which was part of H3's role. This dissemination of responsibility at the larger of the two NGOs provides an explanation as to why staff at *NGO-1* did not discuss the need for more employees. Moreover, it helps explain the perceived pressure felt by staff at the smaller of the two NGOs, because of their multiple roles.

7.4.1.2 NGO resources

Similar to ideas already explored in section 7.2.1.1, regarding the limited existence of specialised Khmer language teaching and/or knowledge resources, participants from both NGOs also commented on the relevance of some of the material used to teach students:

S11: Khmer – Some points we have to improve, as I have been teaching youth, it is related to textbooks, not match with the level of students, so we need to find any suitable materials for them.

An example of this was the textbook used to teach English to Khmer youth, which did not always contain lessons that were considered helpful, or relevant, to the jobs that the student would apply for locally:

S1: ... we tried to find a textbook which is related to our community, like when they finish their book, at least they can find the job ... So, the content in those books, we have like hospitality, we have like, tour – and different things, so ...

Q: So, a textbook that's relevant to the people who go here?

S11: Yeah, so and the work, and the jobs ...

Q: ... And the jobs that are available ...

S11: Yeah, yeah.

While participating in the intermediate English language class at *NGO-1*, one of the English language lessons I helped with, was related to the British Royal family and coronation ceremonies, which the students found difficult to comprehend, despite otherwise demonstrating considerable English language ability:

S7: in the afternoon ... from 5 to 6 o'clock, I teach Incredible English twice, so that [is] focus[ed] almost [all] in English style [the text is UK specific], not a little bit Khmer style so, a lot of things that are in England not happened Cambodia, so it's really hard to explain ...

However, one long-term GN participant proposed that the textbook not matching Khmer culture was not necessarily bad:

H1: I think you need to look at it in another way too, it's not so bad that they learn about the rest of the world instead of just putting it into their own context.

The counter argument to H1's statement is that trying to learn a new language, taught by a non-native speaker, can be hard enough without the added difficulty of not understanding the context of the lesson in the textbook. Participant H1 also noted that (historically) the curriculum often changed, sometimes on the whim of those in charge, and potentially without input from the Khmer teaching the content:

*H1: The curriculum gets – has been changed quite a few times ... there was initially a program called Let's Go which we followed that was English ... we had a girl come over there she was a – was a trained teacher from Australia. And she changed it and put it all into Khmer context, oh she did really well ... So she changed things around like the food when you might talk about sausages and things in other – like an English breakfast or something. So then she changed it all to rice porridge for their kind of breakfast ... And then when *Company x* were in charge they would change the curriculum twice that I know of. And poor H2, one day he'd asked me to prepare this ... health and education kind of program. So, I worked on it for days to talk with the teachers about how to present it. I got it all worked out and then H2 gets this information that they need to change to another program ...*

For context, H2 was the Khmer head teacher at *NGO-1* and this quote refers to a period when an Australian organisation was in charge of *NGO-1*. *NGO-1* became Khmer controlled again at the beginning of 2019. Former students also identified several issues with resources, such as absent staff who were not replaced, which left students to learn from one another:

G7: [Live translation from Khmer] In the fishing class, usually, the teacher was absent quite a lot because she was sick. So, student like her does not learn too much. Within two years of study, the teacher absents three to four days a week because she was sick ... so, when the teacher was absent ... they learned from each other.*

Or equipment that needed replacing:

G6: ... the keyboard has been set aside and needs to be replaced with a new one so that it has the right tune/rhythm.

Or a lack of equipment for the students to play on:

*Q: Do you think any of *NGO_2* education could be improved?*

S12: Khmer – Such as playground lack of things, and it is hot.

The points highlighted here are not raised in criticism of the NGOs, rather they are used to emphasise that resources are both finite, and not always fit for purpose. Consequentially, Khmer

students may receive English language lessons on the topic of royal ceremonies, from cultures that have little in common with their own, which unsurprisingly they have trouble relating to, or understanding. Further, equipment may break, or like staff, be absent and not replaced.

7.4.1.3 Missing out

Unfortunately, there were also suggestions in transcripts of some people missing out on services, due to the NGOs' finite resources. For example, *NGO_2* was discussed as being at capacity and unable to take new enrolments:

S8: ... they come and register but we, because we have a lot of student now. So, we cannot take any new student.

However, the manager of *NGO_2* also noted that students who wanted to study at the organisation, but who had been turned away, were placed on a waiting list. This indicates that *NGO_2* was doing what it could, within its finite resources, to help more people when circumstances allowed:

M5: ... we have rule for our self we cannot put the children more than what we can cope with. So, they coming but we, we say sorry to push them away but we ask them to wait, if they can wait.

The head teacher and manager of *NGO-1* noted that their organisation had similarly reached capacity, but also discussed how their NGO had specific requirements that students had to meet, in order to enrol. These requirements included being a resident of a specific geographical locations and/or having a Cambodian government issued poverty card (IDPoor Card):

H2: ... they tell their friends to come and enrol but we don't accept because we only select the student from the poor the slum community ... They have a poor card and also if, if they have no poor card they have to live in the slum community.

M3: So, those five community refer to, they are poor, no land title for them, they are illegal, stay on, government land. So, we focus on those people.

Restrictions were also in place at *NGO_2* regarding who could access the nursery:

M4: So, about 470 children and young people go to the centre ranging from about one hundred of them are in the nursery pre-school class, four years old to six years old. They are all interviewed to make sure that, or the families are interviewed for the nursery kids to make sure that we get all the most disadvantaged families that want to send their kids ...

However, any child (rich or poor) was allowed to attend *NGO_2*'s English language classes, which made up the additional 370 participants, or the majority of the recipients of the organisation's services. Hence, there are arguably those in need of *NGO-1*'s services who do not live in the right areas and/or do not have access to the poverty card, who would otherwise be eligible for their services. Similarly, there are those who potentially attend *NGO_2* who might not need their

services (as they could pay for private lessons) as much as there are those who are turned away by both NGOs, because the organisations are at capacity. The point being, that each institute has a finite capacity to help and must choose carefully how they use their resources, which unfortunately means there are those who miss out.

7.5 Theme 6 – Socialisation, friendships and benefits

This theme explores constructs of friendships and their benefits for people who attend the NGO, including the role it played in helping participants to build social connections and increase their confidence.

7.5.1 Friends and benefits

A majority of the people interviewed suggested that students made friends during their time at the NGO. Importantly, this was also confirmed by recipients of NGO services, such as former students:

G9: ... Oh yes I have a lot of friends in here.

As well as current students:

*Q: Have you made friends here at *NGO-1*?*

F2: I have made a hundred friends here.

Q: ... hundred friends, quite a lot.

F2: I have studied here almost five years.

The development of these friendships occurred in classrooms, over time:

G13: ... we just talk to each other although we don't know each other but we just say hello or how are you, so we just went like this more and more we become close friend.

Or in the NGO grounds, between classes:

Q: Have you observed students making friends at the NGO?

H1: Oh yes yep definitely. In their breaks a lot of them play games, they'll do skipping games and – or they'll just sit down and chat together yeah. No they socialise quite a lot, yeah.

Moreover, the language used to describe the friendships made at the NGO, was often passionate, and resoundingly positive, as two former students relate:

G7: Khmer – Yes, I did. I made a lot of friends, and we love each other like brothers and sisters.

G13: ... we play games always we join together; we are happy together so that's why our relationships is more and more strong. We're happy to do study and we get education and

*we get a happy time also, that is a good memory that I still remember something that I get from *NGO_2*.*

As highlighted previously, the outcomes of the NGOs' work appeared to produce a by-product-like effect of students/families actively promoting the organisations to others. Additional examples are provided here where, for example, a student's attendance at the NGO appeared to have a by-product-like effect of attracting their friends:

*G11: *NGO_2* they help the people for education like the kids and me as well, so now all my friends, they can get it as well because they are learning in here.*

*G13: I come here to study at *NGO_2* when I was in Grade 10 and in that time, I know it from friends that they study this school since they were six or five years old; so, I come with them to study.*

Similarly, students discussed not needing to make friends at the NGO, as their friends already attended:

Q: What would you tell your friends about the NGO?

F2: I never tell my friends ... because they also learn here ... and they know it!

The by-product effect of the NGOs' work, which resulted in people either promoting the organisation or wanting to attend themselves, was also observed in the skills people gained from attendance at the organisation, as these acted osmotically to encourage students' family members to want to attend and gain similar for themselves:

G12: Actually, him, my brother looks at me can speak English and have a job, and he wants me ... he want the same me and so, I recommend him to come to study here.

Making friends at the NGO also benefited students' learning, as they were able to test and share their knowledge among peers who had a similar capability level, which also increased their confidence as they were able to practise among equals:

G4: [group activities] it's really helpful in order to know each other, also to practise, not to get shy; yeah, it's good.

F4: Khmer – Because we learn in the same class, when we ask each other when our classmates don't know the answers, we help to explain them, and this makes us become friends.

Teachers also actively used group learning to help struggling, or new, students to learn by pairing them with students who had a competent grasp of the learning material:

H2: We split between the slow and the fast learner.

S2: ... some students, they are slower ... and some students, they are faster as well. When I let them do in group, the faster, they always finish first and slow they still, 'Oh, Miss.' Oh, yeah, they need help ... I always put some smart students, one or two, student in the group for help the other ... they can help slower ... it can help me too because I cannot help only one group but I got to around.

Hence, the social mechanics of peer learning increased students' confidence as well as being used by teachers to aid those who were struggling. Finally, the building of friendships and attendance at the NGO were commented on by NGO staff as helping to combat social exclusion:

S11: Khmer – Communicating with friends ... this is good, they can play together, they can share, they speak good words/phrases to each other, they do not fight each other, and their behaviours are good. I think that the use of language, playing they can communicate really well, if these children stay at home, they will only play alone and don't know who to interact with, and they do not learn to share, but when they are here they learned how to share, and learn to communicate and help one another.

*S12: Some children when they were at home, they were scared of meeting others, and they didn't dare to speak, but after they were attending *NGO_2*, they were brave.*

Moreover, the manager of *NGO_2*'s reason for the English language school being open to children from both rich and poor backgrounds was the potential for poorer participants to make social connections with those outside of their social strata:

M5: English school free to everybody rich or poor, why I do like that why I don't want to have only poor, the poor is not, they are very thinly, connecting very thin.

Q: Thinly?

M5: The rich have a big link, so if they are come together they become friend they have link.

Thus, making friends and interacting with other people at the NGO, can help students build social connections, test their knowledge, and increase their confidence.

7.6 Results chapters closing thoughts

Though many ideas are presented within Chapters 6 and 7, a reoccurring theme was the social capability that NGOs build from their interventions in Khmer communities. These social capabilities include the practical, such as education and skills training, which increase a student's chances of finding a job or attending further education, to the more intangible such as building social networks and even changing local attitudes towards education, which over time, appeared to add up and have a considerable impact on Khmer people and their communities. This is evidenced by M3's discussion of the Cambodian government's removal of the slum status of the surrounding neighbourhood in which *NGO-1* resided, or of the three-fold increase in enrolments discussed by H3 at *NGO_2* during the organisation's time in the village. The local control of GN resources,

such as the utilisation of international volunteers in areas identified as needing attention by other local Khmer, also offers considerable aid to locals accessing NGO services.

CHAPTER 8: ANSWERING THE RESEARCH QUESTION AND LET'S INTERPRET THE RESULTS: A DISCUSSION SECTION

8.1 Introduction to the discussion

Chapter 8 begins by answering the thesis's main research question of:

- **How do diverse stakeholder groups perceive the activities of non-government organisations (NGOs) working with disadvantaged children in Siem Reap, Cambodia?**

Then, the chapter presents the re-interpretation of the research results, after their analysis against the three theoretical discussions, explored in Chapter 4. Specifically, ideas from Amartya Sen's (2001) *Development as freedom* were drawn on first to better understand the unfreedoms of poverty for Khmer people, and how the NGOs help to facilitate freedoms for those who access their services. Concepts from postcolonial theory (Allina 2021; Gandhi 1998; Loomba 2005; McEwan 2009) were then used in an examination of how, and why Khmer use English, and to help consider its impact. Postcolonial theory was also used as a lens to identify dualisms in participant responses. These dualisms included freedom/unfreedom, Global North/Global South, and the changing relationship with education between different generations of Khmer. Next, ideas from *The External Control of Organizations* (Pfeffer and Salancik 2003) were used in an examination of how NGOs respond to challenges in their external environment, and how the community and donors perceive the work of the organisations. Finally, a combination of concepts including neocolonialism (Allina 2021; Khieng & Dahles 2015; Veltmeyer 2021; Wallace 2004), ideas from *The External Control of Organizations* (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003) and Sen's (2001) *Capability and Freedom*, were interwoven in the chapter's last sections, to demonstrate how the NGOs' unique use of resources, addresses two major issues related to organisations working in a development context. This discussion also helped establish the importance of GN (Global North) resources for the organisations, including the local control of those resources, and the significance of Indigenous-controlled NGOs for Khmer people.

8.2 Stakeholder perceptions of the activities of NGOs working with disadvantaged children

This section presents the various stakeholder perceptions of the activities of NGOs working with disadvantaged children to answer the thesis's main research question. Firstly, students, both current and former, perceived the activities of the NGO as providing them with opportunities they would otherwise not be able to gain, as the alternatives were beyond their families' means (see sections 6.3.2.1, 6.3.2.2 and 7.2.2 above). This includes help with basic needs, so that students could take advantage of the higher order opportunities offered by the NGOs, such as an education

and/or vocation skills training. Moreover, the students noted that the education they received, helped provide them with the skills/knowledge they needed to gain work, to work in different areas, or to help their families (see sections 6.2.3.2, 7.2.2.1 and 7.3 above). Both current and former students also perceived the NGOs as being of good quality, which included the organisation itself, the education it provided, and/or the staff who worked there (see sections 6.3.2.2 and 6.3.2.3 above).

Former students perceived the NGOs' facilitation of GN volunteers as beneficial, as they helped students to practise their English, made learning interesting, and even helped with the students' shyness around foreigners, by increasing their exposure to international visitors (see section 6.3.2.4). Unfortunately, one former student perceived the NGOs' activities as providing a limited advantage, as despite gaining work in a new career, they still had to maintain their previous employment to earn enough to live on (discussed in section 7.3 above; the unfreedom of multiple jobs is explored in section 8.3.2 below). Another former student said they had left the organisation as they felt they were not learning anything (discussed in section 7.3 above and explored in section 8.3.2 below). However, most former students offered a positive view of their time at the NGOs, including the friends they made and the education they received (see section 7.5.1 above).

NGO staff, in their facilitation of the NGOs' activities, perceived their roles as educators as important, as they believed it helped to develop students' capability, turn them into good citizens, bring positive change to the community, and/or even helped to develop the country (see sections 6.2.2, 6.2.3.3 and 6.3.2.3). Staff also spoke positively about the outcomes the organisations achieved, through the various activities the NGOs undertook to help disadvantaged Khmer address their basic needs, such as the provision of a nursery that cared for young children and allowed parents to work (see section 6.3.2.1). Staff regularly commented that parents had positive perceptions of the NGOs and their activities, including suggestions that students learnt better at the NGOs (in comparison to other institutions). In addition, staff discussed parents who actively promoted the organisation to others in the community, after observing their child's increase in skill (see sections 6.3.2.2 and 6.3.2.3). Staff also said that students felt positive emotions when attending the NGO, or noted how former students stated that without the NGO, they would not have a better life (see sections 6.3.2.1 and 6.3.2.2). Despite these positive comments, some staff also perceived limitation in the NGOs' capacity to provide activities, due to inadequate/insufficient resources (such as staff, training, or education material – see sections 7.4.1.1 and 7.4.1.2), or a lack of official recognition (for example, a memorandum of understanding [MOU] with the Cambodian Ministry of Education – see section 6.3.2.3 above; also explored in section 8.5.2 below).

Managers offered perceptions similar to those discussed by staff regarding the benefits of the organisations' activities, such as how the NGOs helped Khmer to learn to read, write and/or speak

English (see section 7.2.2.1). However, managers also noted that perceptions of education, including the way in which the NGOs delivered it, made some Khmer in the community reluctant to engage (see section 7.2.5.3). This reluctance stemmed from some parents having had no, or limited education themselves, and being sceptical of its potential benefits (especially as some did well without education) (see section 7.2.5.3 above; also explored in section 8.4.2.3 below). Other parents were sceptical of the NGOs' new ways of teaching, such as seeing their children learn through play, as it contradicted the more authoritarian methods they had experienced (see section 7.2.5.3 above; also explored in section 8.4.2.3 below).

Long-term GN participants perceived the NGO and its activities as helping to expose some students to potential sponsorship (by making them visible to tourists – see section 6.3.2.2.1) or noted how attendance helped avert some children from a life of crime (see section 6.3.1.2). Long-term GN participants also noted that the NGOs were perceived as having a good reputation in the community (see section 7.2.3). Several participants from the Global North perceived the NGO as a 'safe' and/or 'clean' environment for Khmer children to attend, describing the child's external environment with words like 'slum' or 'grim' (see section 6.3.2.1 above; also explored in section 8.4.2.2 below). While a number of short-term GN volunteers perceived Khmer children as happy when engaging with the NGOs' activities, as well as describing the organisation's education as interesting and fun for the students (see sections 6.3.2.1 and 6.3.2.2). Finally, volunteers perceived the Khmer staff's facilitation of the NGO activities as friendly, and loving (see section 6.3.2.2). Overall, the views of the different stakeholder groups can be summarised as positive regarding the NGOs' activities with disadvantaged children, with only a small number offering negative feedback. However, when some of the negative feedback is considered in more detail, wider forces beyond the control of the NGO can be demonstrated as influencing some of those responses. For example, the former student having to maintain his previous job was due to the insufficient wages paid, while the student leaving the NGO was potentially caused by the limited state welfare, which meant she had to work to survive (both cases are explored in section 8.3.2 below).

8.3 Unfreedoms, freedoms, and Sen

This section draws on ideas from Amartya Sen's (2001) *Development as freedom* to explore, and better understand, the research result. Included in this exploration are discussions of the social justice concepts of social inclusion/exclusion, which helps to expand Sen's ideas. Specifically, this section examines the 'unfreedoms' of poverty for Khmer people, the social inclusive 'freedoms' created by the NGOs, and the substantive freedom to choose a life one has reason to value.

8.3.1 Processes and opportunities

To recap, Sen (2001) discusses freedoms and unfreedoms in two ways: processes and opportunities. Processes involve 'upstream' considerations that impact on a person's political, civil

or human rights, and the associated effects this has on increasing or inhibiting a person's freedom (Schafer, Haslam & Beaudet 2017; Sen 2001). While opportunities are concerned with 'downstream' considerations, such as a person's individual circumstances, and how these circumstances impact on their ability to perform different functionings (Sen 2001). The unfreedoms that cause poverty are most often process level factors; this includes government policies, which purposefully or naively help some, at the expense of others (Schafer, Haslam & Beaudet 2017; Sen 2001). Equally, it could be a lack of policy to help those who are disadvantaged, to engage more effectively in society (Schafer, Haslam & Beaudet 2017; Sen 2001). Poverty itself can create opportunity unfreedoms, as the absence of factors such as a steady wage or accessible welfare (a process unfreedom) inhibits people's ability to address their basic needs, which then become prioritised over other opportunities such as education or health care (Schafer, Haslam & Beaudet 2017; Sen 2001).

The NGOs' free interventions can be considered a 'process' freedom as they facilitate access, regardless of a child's circumstances. Moreover, they enhance human rights, as even those with nothing, can still theoretically engage with the organisation (Sen 2001). However, in order for some children to take advantage of the NGOs' interventions, they and/or their families will firstly need additional help, beyond the services being free, in order to engage with the organisations (as similarly discussed in section 9.3.1 below). Both NGOs' efforts to assist people with their basic needs is documented and discussed, at length, in other sections (6.3.2.1 above, and 8.3.2 and 9.3.1 below). It is still important to recognise, though, that without this support, fewer children would be able to take advantage of the free services offered by the NGOs. Hence, addressing basic needs creates the necessary 'freedom of opportunity' required by some children/families to overcome their individual circumstances and take advantage of the NGOs' process freedoms (free interventions).

8.3.2 The unfreedoms of poverty, and Sen

One unfreedom for Khmer participants in this study was having multiple jobs. The need for multiple jobs is an example of a process unfreedom caused by inadequate minimum wage policies (or similar) which makes the income from any one job, insufficient to address needs. Evidence for this comes from Khmer participants who, despite having multiple jobs, still said they did not have enough income to support their families and/or that they wanted to live more 'comfortably'. The inability of Khmer to earn a sufficient wage and provide for themselves/families, was suggested as impacting on their confidence, which demonstrates the wider effect of this unfreedom. Having multiple jobs is also an opportunity unfreedom, as the considerable effort required to fulfil the demands of several employers, leaves little time to pursue other goals. The unfreedom of an insufficient wage from one, or multiple, jobs also limits people's ability to move beyond their current circumstances, hence it is also an unfreedom of *potential* opportunities (Sen 2001). Further, it

affects more than the individual as Khmer, in their collectivist way, often discussed wanting to aid the family financially, meaning there are those who rely on the wage earner who are also impacted. Khmer participants with university degrees, who were working in their field, also described having multiple jobs, indicating that the unfreedom of insufficient wages extends to those with a tertiary education. This point was picked up by several Khmer participants who mentioned wanting an increase in the number of 'good jobs' for those with higher degrees, especially one that paid a salary that matched their skill levels (for example, see G13's quote in section 6.3.1.1 above).

The need for Khmer to have multiple jobs, due to many jobs not paying a sufficient wage, is arguably exacerbated by the limited state welfare. The term 'limited state welfare' is used as some Khmer can access the Cambodian 'identification of poor household' IDPoor Card, which entitles people to some assistance, including free medical care, a disability pension, or cash transfers if pregnant, a child, or elderly (deRiel 2017; Phnom Penh Post 2019). However, there are also reported issues with accessing the IDPoor Card which, in turn, inhibits access to its benefits (see section 6.3.1.2 above) (deRiel 2017; Phnom Penh Post 2019). Limited state welfare is a process unfreedom, as those who cannot access it, must work to survive. Moreover, given the IDPoor Card's limited assistance, this is potentially true even for those who can access it. Needing to work to survive creates, in turn, an additional unfreedom around work *choice*, as individuals are forced to accept any available job, rather than having the option (the freedom, even if limited) to pursue an occupation of interest, let alone a job that they might *value* (Sen 2001). A lack of work *choice* is likened by Sen (2001) to slavery or debt bondage, which denotes its severe unfreedom.

Khmer may also migrate for work due to the limited state welfare, and the unfreedom of local employment opportunities that pay an insufficient income. The last point is especially relevant for those disadvantaged families who borrow money from 'for profit' micro-financing firms, as their low income means they can struggle to repay the loan (see section 6.3.1.2 above) (Brickell et al. 2020; Lawreniuk 2020). These families then either have to migrate for better work options or take out additional loans to help pay off the current one; this results in families becoming 'overindebted' (another unfreedom) (Brickell et al. 2020; Lawreniuk 2020). Limited state welfare also creates unfreedom for some children who, rather than going to school, have to work to help support the family, or care for younger siblings when parents migrate for employment. This is linked, in part, to many families losing older adults in the Khmer civil war, and hence grandparents not being available to help care for young children (Chandler 2008; Um 2015; Zucker 2008). The unfreedoms created by the civil war are manifold, but limiting the social input of an older generation of Khmer, by killing approximately a quarter of them, is a considerable one (Chandler 2008; Um 2015; Zucker 2008).

Paid education, which covers universities, language and trade schools in Cambodia, is another unfreedom impacting on impoverished Khmer, as the cost inhibits access. This, in turn, creates an unfreedom regarding *potential* employment, as not being able to access paid education stops people from working in higher skilled jobs such as teaching, nursing or being a tour guide. This is a common problem faced by the poor in Cambodia as, for example, Beazley and Miller (2016, p. 280) note how the village in their study lacked access to free English lessons, and that the paid versions were 'prohibitively expensive', which left youths to rely on interactions with tourists to develop their English. Of note in the Beazley and Miller example is that some choice is still possible, when faced with unfreedoms, but that the presented choices can be less than ideal. In addition to paid education limiting access, it can also limit the choice of course, if the cost of a desired degree is beyond the person's means. For example, G13 discussed having a dream of becoming a doctor, but due to the family's limited resources, could only afford to study teaching (see section 6.3.1.1 above). As with Beazley and Miller's example, some choice is evident in G13's circumstances, but the unfreedoms impacting on her family meant she was unable to pursue the career she had reason to value, resulting in the less than ideal choice (Sen 2001).

Limited, or no education is also an unfreedom, which affects more than the individual. For example, uneducated parents may not have the capability to help their children with homework. Equally, uneducated parents may not appreciate the benefits of their child receiving an education, or understand the impact of stopping a child's education to help support the family, as both actions potentially make the problem intergenerational. Moreover, while the family and/or the child may gain access to increased resources from the child ceasing their education (from the child working, or taking care of younger siblings so that the parents can work), these actions also unfortunately limit the child's *potential* future economic output, in comparison to if they had stayed in school. This is due to an education making someone more employable (Sen 2001), while also improving the person's knowledge of potential employment opportunities which, in turn, drives ambition. As participant S10 notes '... without education the kid might not, they will not have no ideas what they want to do' (see section 6.3.1.3 above). NGOs may also struggle with retention of older students with limited education, as they are likely to be working and earning already, and not see the benefit of further education (such as offering another revenue stream), especially if it impacts on their current ability to make an income. As discussed above, the unfreedom of limited state welfare means there is potentially no alternative income to draw on to help support a person while they gain an education to increase their capability, meaning work takes priority.

An education itself, and/or the methods of its delivery, can also be an unfreedom. For example, state schools in Cambodia were criticised by participants and in published literature for the cost of attendance, which included students having to pay for:

- extra tutoring

- uniforms
- incentive for statement of result (culturally demonstrated thanks to the teacher for one's education)
- food
- transport.

Research by Grossberg (2013, pp. 111–112) noted similarly the cost of '... corruption and bribe money with students having to pay individual teachers for class handouts, homework, assignments, exams and grades to pass'.

This is despite state schools being 'free' in Cambodia. The additional expenses associated with attendance at state schools equate to opportunity unfreedoms, as they place an education beyond the circumstantial means of many students (Sen 2001). Moreover, even if a student could afford the costs, participants also discussed how state schools had fifty or more students per teacher and few materials, including chairs, which left some students standing, or sitting on the floor during lessons, making class work hard. The delivery of the education was also questioned. For example, H2 noted how some of his teachers, who also taught in state schools, could not use computers, and were only capable of teaching via writing on the boards (section 7.2.5.2), while research by Grossberg (2013, pp. 111–112) noted 'The overwhelming rote learning education system at a primary, secondary and university level does not allow for critical thinking, pro-activeness or concept understanding and analysis'. Thankfully, H2 also discussed how his students attended Information Technology classes, which overcame the limitations set by some of his teachers. Access to technology, though, was another noted opportunity unfreedom affecting students which, in turn, caused an unfreedom around digital access. Limited digital access is especially problematic for information access, as people were unable to research topics (important for school) or search for jobs online.

A more abstract unfreedom concerned students' desired jobs, as opposed to those that were available, and even achievable, locally. Students' desired jobs included wanting to be a doctor, nurse, police officer or accountant. However, when participants discussed the actual jobs that students had found, or that they might gain work in, the answers reflected those that were more readily available and/or achievable, locally. This included work as a tour guide, in the tourism/hospitality industries, or as a teacher. One cause of this may be the unfreedom of paid education, which prevents people from pursuing more specialised work. It should also be noted, though, (and as discussed in section 7.2.4 above) that gaining work in an achievable/available job can be transitional to a desired job, as the income from the achievable/available job provides the necessary 'freedom' needed to overcome the 'unfreedom' of paid education (though other factors, such as time, then become an issue if a job[s] must be maintained, in order to continue learning). A

related issue to desired employment versus jobs that were achievable/available locally, was the limited number of jobs discussed by Khmer students, especially when compared to participants from the Global North (see section 7.2.1.1 above). The lack of diversity in discussed job types was linked by participants to the limited range of available occupations in the local market. Hence, when the occupations a student observes in their environment are limited, so is the range of jobs they discuss. Coupled with this was the limited availability of educational resources to teach students about more diverse work options, that together inhibited a student's knowledge of alternative employment opportunities, and created an unfreedom of exposure. Further, as students have an underdeveloped sense of what they might achieve, potential job choices, and hence the ambition to pursue those potential jobs, are also impacted.

In summary, the unfreedoms of poverty discussed in this section are best summed up as creating a lack of *choice*. This is demonstrated in the payment of insufficient wages, which causes people to work multiple jobs to survive, rather than having a choice regarding the amount of time they would choose to work. This, in turn, restricts what a person can *choose* to do with their time, as it is otherwise constrained by addressing the needs of multiple employers. Both of these points are further impacted by limited state welfare which, through a combination of offering limited support and being difficult to access, effectively means there is no welfare support for people without work (or while they are trying to secure work), hence most Khmer must work to survive. Consequently, people take any available job, rather than having the luxury of job choice. Similarly, paid education can either limit access to more specialised work and/or prevent Khmer from pursuing the work they have reason to value, both of which also limits choice. Finally, limited education, educational resources, and/or diversity of jobs in the local market, restrict a student's knowledge of potential work options, which limits both choice and ambition.

8.3.3 Social exclusion, social inclusion, the creation of freedoms, and Sen

Poverty facilitates social exclusion, or exclusion from the benefits of society, as people place most of their energy into surviving, which then inhibits their ability to engage with higher order societal benefits such as health or education (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner 2006; Keleher & MacDougall 2022; Sen 2001). In contrast, the two locally controlled NGOs who participated in this study provide free education, skills training and basic health care (the last only offered at *NGO-1*), which Sen defines as an investment in human development that helps facilitate social opportunities (they are also examples of process freedoms). Sen (2001, p. 11) describes 'social opportunities' as '... facilitating economic participation', which is surprisingly limited in its scope, when compared to other ideas in *Development as freedom*. However, he does suggest that with increased social opportunities, people can '... effectively shape their own destiny' (Sen 2001, p. 11). The preferred concept for this section is social inclusion, which is a social justice concept based on the idea of increasing opportunities for disadvantaged people (not just economic participation), so they are

better equipped to take advantage of the social benefits of society (Keleher & MacDougall 2022a). This is due to the NGOs in this study helping recipients of their services to improve their access to societal benefits, beyond increased economic participation. Moreover, the concept of social inclusion is a better fit with Sen's greater argument concerning the benefits of investing in human development.

The NGOs promoted social inclusion through several, literal means, the first of which was by helping recipients to address their basic needs. This was accomplished through the provision of free food, books, pencils, uniforms, bicycles and a nursery, which made it possible for students and their families to overcome limitations that may have otherwise prevented the child from attending services (see sections 6.3.2.1 and 6.3.2.2 above). This is an example of an 'opportunity freedom', as the intervention improves the individual/family circumstances sufficiently to enable the child/family to look beyond survival, and engage with the NGO. The nursery is an interesting example, as it provides the parents with the necessary freedom from parenting to work, and/or frees older children from caring for their younger siblings, so they can attend classes. The NGOs also promote literal social inclusion through the provision of free education and skills training, which provides the foundation for *potential* employment, different work options, and/or higher education opportunities (see sections 6.3.2.2, 6.3.2.2.2, 6.3.2.4 and 7.3 above). This includes the teaching of English, which Beazley and Miller (2016, p. 284) note as enabling '... entry into the tourist economy beyond the menial level' in Siem Reap. Improving disadvantaged people's 'potential' is important, as one of poverty's noted impacts is the deprivation of *potential* capability (Miller 2020; Northover 2014; Sen 2001). Hence, the NGOs' 'process freedom' of free education, which the organisations also help students to access by increasing their 'opportunity freedoms' (by assisting with basic needs), work together to aid recipients to overcome poverty's deprivation of potential capability.

The education provided by the NGOs also increases the recipients' ability to produce 'transactional goods' in a market economy. This includes the training of skills which produce goods for sale, services for hire, or that make a person's labour more employable/valuable (Sen 2001). This is evidenced by people's successful outcomes after engaging with the NGOs (for example, see section 7.3 above). Examples of these outcomes included people gaining additional work sewing (producing goods or doing repairs as a service for hire) or as musicians (a service for hire), in the tourism industry (increased employability) or even going on to study a higher degree. In turn, the greater resources gained from an increased capacity to produce transactional goods, can be used in exchange (transaction) for other resources which address needs, and even wants (Sen 2001). Together, these work to increase a person's freedom and ability to perform different capabilities, including their ability to engage more effectively in society (it builds social inclusion). The final way in which the NGOs help to facilitate literal social inclusion is through *actual* employment. This

includes the employment of former students and people from the surrounding villages at the NGO, or as highlighted, students gaining work as a result of the organisation's interventions. The benefits of actual employment are twofold, the first of which is the income it provides, as it theoretically helps increase a person's ability to perform different functions (Sen 2001), while the second benefit is the actual employment itself, as it increases a person's capability by providing work experience. As Grossberg notes, the transition from student to employee means new skills must be learnt:

... they then have to learn the responsibilities of everything from positive role modelling, to punctuality, scheduling, time sheets, time management and financial management as they are working and earning for the first time in their lives. Grossberg (2013, p. 113)

Further, these factors also increase a person's *potential* freedoms as the experience and skills learnt at one place of employment, become transferable to other jobs, and hence further increase a person's potential employability (see sections 6.3.2.2.1, 7.2.4 and 7.3 above).

Social inclusion was also facilitated through several, less tangible means, by the NGOs. For example, other sections note how attendance at the NGO fosters socialisation that helped students to combat the social exclusion of poverty, build social networks, and understand and complete their schoolwork (see sections 6.3.2.2., 7.5.1 above, and 9.3.1 and 9.3.3 below). Another example of the NGOs' less tangible facilitation of social inclusion was the cumulative effect of the organisations' presence in a disadvantaged community, over time. For example, the cumulative effect of *NGO-1*'s presence in the village over time was suggested as helping to change its status from a registered slum to a deregistered slum (see sections 6.3.2.2, 6.3.2.3 and 7.4.1 above). Sen's (2001) discussion of oppression and woman's rights can aid understanding of this cumulative effect. Specifically, in an oppressive society, Sen notes that when women are afforded the freedom to work and earn a wage, they become less dependent on others (for example, their husbands or the 'breadwinners'), and are thus able to have more agency. Moreover, dual incomes contribute more resources to the household, which helps to raise poor families out of poverty. Hence, an increase in freedom in one area, will generally accumulate, and/also help create, freedoms in others (Sen 2001). Similarly, the NGOs' continued presence in the village over time, helped create freedoms that accumulated, and which then produced other freedoms that eventually resulted in the change of the village's status.

A specific example of a freedom accumulating and creating other freedoms connected to the NGOs' presence in the village, over time, was the change in community attitude towards education. For example, M2 noted that when they first opened *NGO-1* in 2007 there was a lack of confidence from local people towards education. This was due to the older generation having had limited opportunities for an education, which engendered scepticism about its potential, whereas, during data collection in 2019, many participants discussed how students' parents in the local village promoted the NGO's educational interventions to others. Parents' promotion of the

NGO, came after observing their children's increase in skills as a result of their attendance there. This effect accumulated over time, as more students attended and more parents observed their children's increase in skill, who then went on to promote the NGO to ever more people, to eventually help change attitudes towards education in the local village from sceptical, to openly supportive. In addition to parents promoting the NGO, a student's attendance can also encourage their siblings to attend (as similarly discussed in section 9.3.3 below). This, as well as being a cumulative freedom for the family, from having multiple children receive an education, also helps overcome the potential unfreedom of limited exposure, as observation of a brother's or sister's success can drive the siblings' ambition. All of this helps people to engage more effectively with the benefits of society.

Finally, skills training in a second language on a practical level, opens up different job options for Khmer living in Siem Reap (such as tour guide), while computer literacy training helps get people online. On a less tangible level, training in these two areas facilitates access to different knowledge sources in the online environment (a freedom), which can be lacking in Cambodia due to the civil war and/or limited investment in Khmer language education resources (a considerable unfreedom). Consequently, training in a second language and computer skills helps fill an information void. Moreover, online access to new information can help expose young Khmer to new ideas, which can then drive ambitions beyond that which is observable in their local environment. Taken together, the different social inclusion activities of the two NGOs creates significant chances for social mobility, or movement through different social strata, such as moving out of poverty (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner 2006).

8.3.4 The substantive freedom

Sen's (2001, p. 74) core message in *Development as freedom* is that people should have the 'substantive freedom – the capabilities – to choose a life that one has reason to value'. This concept was not explicitly investigated in this study, as the Cambodian government's ongoing restrictions on civil and political rights makes potential criticism of their current systems (let alone advocating for something resembling Sen's ideas) by NGOs or myself, ill-advised (Amnesty International 2021; Human Rights Watch 2021) (see section 4.3 above). Rather, the research considered whether the NGOs' interventions increased a recipient's ability to perform new and/or different capabilities. The investigation of enhanced capabilities focused on the thesis's study propositions of education and employment, given that NGO interventions were predominately concentrated in these areas. Moreover, while education will undoubtedly improve a person's capabilities overall, a strong focus of the two organisations was providing education that helped people gain work. Sen (2001) suggests that focusing on the capacity of an education to increase a person's employment capabilities is a 'human capital' approach. Evidence to support the NGOs'

ability to increase human capital has already been presented in previous sections (see sections 7.3 and 8.3.3 above) as has the beneficial flow-on effect.

Sen (2001) is critical however, of focusing on a 'human capital' approach as he suggests it only helps increase a person's commodifiable output, rather than helping people to achieve outcomes they have reason to value (which Sen calls a 'human capability' approach). Helping vulnerable people to, at the least, increase their human capital, in the absence of being able to facilitate a human capability model is, I argue, a progression in the right direction. As demonstrated in the previous section, the creation of freedoms in one area, especially where few or none, existed previously can lead to freedoms accumulating over time, and help develop new freedoms. These new freedoms can, in turn, act as a foundation from which people can work towards a life, they have reason to value. Abstract evidence of this process was demonstrated in section 7.2.4 (above) where participants discussed gaining work in jobs that were both achievable and available locally, after engaging with NGO interventions. Employment in these industries provided, in turn, the income necessary for a disadvantaged student to save and then attend university in order to pursue one of the commonly listed desired jobs such as teacher, nurse, doctor or accountant. Hence, NGO interventions which help build human capital represent steps in a process of accumulating freedoms, which can eventuate in a person gaining a job they desire, or even value. Finally, there were two direct examples from the interviews of the NGOs providing recipients with the capability to pursue an outcome they had reason to value. For example, F2 noted how they wanted to be a tour guide, and that the NGOs' English language training had helped them to achieve their dream (see section 7.2.2.1 above). Similarly, V4, a long-term volunteer, mentioned a student who, after receiving an education at the NGOs, was able to pursue their love of all things Japanese by gaining work in a Japanese shop. Both examples demonstrate that the NGOs' interventions can help people develop the capability 'to choose a life that one has reason to value' (Sen 2001, p. 74) or, at the least, provide them with the foundation necessary to pursue one.

8.4 Postcolonialism

The opening section of postcolonialism utilises concepts from the theory, such as diaspora and hybridity, to explore how and why Khmer use English, and to consider its impact. Next, the dualisms identified in the research results are examined. These dualisms include a continuation of ideas explored in section 8.3 (above) concerning freedoms/unfreedoms, noted differences in views of participants from the Global North/Global South, and differences between older and younger generations of Khmer, and their relationship with education.

8.4.1 Neocolonial English

Though colonised by the French, and with many older Khmer still able to speak the language, many signs and services now appear in Khmer and English in Cambodia (Tourism Cambodia

2022; WorldAtlas 2022). Similarly, English is used to communicate in many hospitality, tourism and business interactions (Tourism Cambodia 2022; WorldAtlas 2022). For example, participants identified being able to speak English as a requirement for employment in the tourism sector, particularly when working as a tour guide, in hospitality when working in a hotel, bar or restaurant (especially when Khmer were employed by expatriates), or when working for the government. The importance of learning the English language for Khmer people living in Siem Reap was such that Beazley and Miller (2016, p. 280) described it as ‘... a necessity for moving beyond the cycle of poverty that engulfs the poor Khmer’. Equally, Grossberg’s (2013) study from Phnom Penh noted how Khmer students came to associate learning English with better paid jobs. In fact, one participant (G9) suggested that being able to speak English was potentially more important than his native tongue, when it came to interviews and gaining work (see section 7.2.2.1 above). The importance of Khmer being able to speak another language was also recognised by the two NGOs in this study, as both organisations offer English language training as one of their core interventions (see sections 1.2 and 6.3.2.4 above). Undertaking higher education also requires proficiency in a second language as unfortunately many specialist education texts are not available in the Khmer language. This, in turn, is suggestive of neocolonialism, as rather than GN countries helping Cambodians to produce specialised texts in their own language, they remain reliant on English language versions, or worse, reliant on experts from the Global North (Conway & Heynen 2014; Schafer, Haslam & Beaudet 2017).

The requirement of being able to communicate in English for those Khmer seeking employment in the tourism and/or hospitality industries in Siem Reap, can be examined using a postcolonial lens. The tension here is that Khmer in the region are dependent on global tourism to generate income, which in turn requires English language skills to accommodate the needs of tourists. This creates a Khmer diaspora through the displacement of their traditional language, and even practices (those that remained after the Khmer Rouge) with the English language (or similar) and adoption of GN customs in order to accommodate international tourists (Gandhi 1998). Moreover, traditional dances and practices become commodified as ‘tourist attractions’ to feed the tourist interest, which has the potential to alter their original significance. The diaspora suggests in turn that global tourism produces a type of ‘hybridity’ from its interaction with local Khmer, as their practices change to accommodate the industry, while also having to balance remaining ‘exotic’ enough to attract, and ultimately impact, tourists visiting Cambodia (Gandhi 1998). An interesting, if simplistic, example of the hybridity can be found in the local Khmer attitudes towards tuk-tuk drivers, who are perceived as acting corruptly by locals when exploiting tourists who lack local knowledge and are overcharged. However, in the absence of international tourists, the exploitative practices of tuk-tuk drivers, and the resulting attitudes of other Khmer, would not exist. Another point of consideration is that one group is significantly less impacted by the transaction in comparison to the other. For example, tourists are unlikely to learn Khmer in order to visit the country, which means Khmer

must learn another language in order to accommodate international tourists. Hence, a level of exploitation already exists in the exchange, as one group is required to change in order to accommodate the needs of the other, but the relationship is not reciprocal. The NGOs might also be considered complicit in this exploitation as they help Khmer to learn English. It is more likely, though, that the NGOs are helping Khmer to take advantage of a situation that already existed, as even *NGO-1*, the oldest of the two organisations, did not open until 2007, whereas the country opened to foreigners in 1999, with tourist numbers expanding quickly thereafter (for example tourism to Cambodia almost doubled from 1,055,202 in 2004 to 2,015,128 in 2007 [Cambodian Ministry of Tourism n.d.]). Also, the contention of exploitation outlined above does not consider the employment created for Khmer, from tourists visiting the country, which will be explored next.

A more considered example of the hybridity formed between global tourism and local Khmer can be demonstrated in the potential pros and cons arguments of the resulting diaspora (Gandhi 1998). For example, the impact on Khmers' traditional space from having to learn a new language and adjust culturally in order to accommodate tourists from the Global North (the diaspora, or the con) is offset by the employment created by the tourist industry, which produces work for impoverished Khmer that would otherwise not exist (the pro). However, as also identified in section 7.2.2.1 (above), the people employing local Khmer are often expatriates who come from GN locations similar to those of the international tourists. Hence, while Cambodians benefit from the work that tourism creates, people other than Khmer can be the ultimate beneficiaries of the created work. The hybridity of the situation is demonstrated in the Khmer who, after exposure to international tourists and identifying their potential benefits, alter their traditional selves to produce something new, in order to take part in the industry. Likewise, tourists and expatriates from the Global North also produce something new from the exchange, including gaining an experience of a novel cultural encounter, and/or profit. The last point again indicates the neocolonial nature of the exchange, as those who can benefit the most are from the Global North, and do so through the potential exploitation of poor Khmer workers from the Global South (for an extreme example, see section 2.3.2.1 above) (Allina 2021). Again, though, the benefits to the impoverished Khmer must be considered, as expatriates create businesses that hire and train local people, and provide a wage to those locals that might otherwise not exist without GN people visiting and deciding to settle in the country.

8.4.2 Dualisms

This section explores the dualisms identified in participant responses. These dualisms include freedom/unfreedom, which draws on Amartya Sen's ideas of the same name to compare and explore responses from different strata of Khmer society. The different levels of Khmer freedom/unfreedom were then considered against participants from the Global North. The second dualism explores Global North/Global South divides, including cultural differences noted by GN

participants, and their assumptions about Khmer children from the Global South. The last dualism explores different generations of Khmer, and their relationship with education.

8.4.2.1 Freedom/unfreedom dualism

NGO staff and recipients of services (all Khmer) identified different wants in comparison to Khmer managers. For example, the former discussed wanting things that were described as 'simple', 'small' or 'not too big', whereas the managers described things that were 'modern' or 'big'. Further, on my return to Cambodia in December 2019 to verify data, two managers (the Khmer managers of *NGO-1* and the GN husband of *NGO_2*'s manager, who ran the sister organisation) contested some of the research findings. Specifically, both managers suggested that the interpretations were not necessarily wrong, but were reflective of how Cambodia 'was', rather than how it is 'now'. Chapter 5 noted that the two managers who challenged the research interpretations were in the minority, as the results were otherwise confirmed by the much larger cohort of Khmer staff, students and graduates. Moreover, the much larger cohort of Khmer staff, students and graduates represented those whom the NGO was set up to help, and who were arguably more influential on the research, due to their larger numbers. Hence, the research findings are more representative of their view rather than that of the managers, which provides further evidence for the difference in world views between managers and Khmer staff and students. It is especially notable that the Khmer manager of *NGO-1* held similar views to the GN husband of *NGO_2*'s manager.

The simple explanation for the observed differences was the managers' higher levels of education and/or income/wealth. For example, a higher level of education affords greater insight into potential opportunities (a freedom) (Sen 2001). This was demonstrated by two Khmer who were either completing, or who had, a higher degree, as they associated success with a master's degree or higher (see section 7.2.5.1 above), a view shared by short-term GN volunteers visiting Cambodia as part of their university studies (a demonstration of considerable freedom). However, these views on success were potentially beyond the grasp of those Khmer who have continuously struggled to survive. For example, S7 discussed how students who gained work 'love money', and that it stopped them from considering staying in school and achieving something more significant (see section 6.3.1.3 above). Hence, access to some income, particularly if one has constantly struggled, potentially blinds the person to considerations of further education, especially if taking up that education implies a return to circumstances where the person again struggles. The second explanation as to why managers' views differed from those of Khmer students and staff was higher levels of income and/or wealth, as this facilitates access to increased opportunities. As Sen (2001, p. 72) notes 'income ... has an enormous influence on what we can or cannot do'; he argues the similar possibilities of wealth, but cautions that the *potential* of both is also dependent on other influences. For instance, limited education may restrict insight/knowledge into what can be

achieved with more money (as similarly raised in section 6.2.1) as much as restrictive/oppressive government policies can severely limit how money can be spent, which makes income and wealth a *potential* freedom (Sen 2001).

A final explanation for the observed difference in responses from Khmer of different strata was identified in the interviews with GN managers (current and former), and concerned the concept of exposure. Specifically, the GN managers' discussion in section 6.2.1 implies that a person's level of exposure impacts their perceived wants or needs. This insight is similar to the argument above concerning education and income/wealth, in that an increase in one, affects the other. However, exposure may also be passive. For example, the increasing urban footprint of Siem Reap has slowly absorbed satellite villages meaning people have become exposed to new realities, regardless of any active measure on their behalf to do so. A person's ability to increase their education, income or exposure might be better considered against Sen's concepts of freedom/unfreedom (as discussed in sections 4.3 and 8.3). Take, for example, M2's discussion in section 6.2.1 regarding how Khmer who own a brick home with electricity, a toilet, bathroom and a roof that didn't leak, are potentially in the Cambodian elite. Conversely, Khmer who lack these things (shelter, power and/or sanitation), potentially spend a considerable amount of time impacted by the unfreedom of this lack. Moreover, like freedoms, unfreedoms tend to cause other unfreedoms; most prominently from the examples above is the potential sickness caused by exposure and/or a lack of proper hygiene/sanitation facilities (Sen 2001). This in turn limits the ability of a person living in these circumstances from having the freedom of opportunity to pursue an education, gain steady employment, or be exposed to new possibilities. This is especially true when other basic needs such as food and income are considered, as the unfreedoms impacting shelter are, in all likelihood, affecting these also, and will similarly need addressing. All of these will significantly contribute to severely limiting a person's freedom, overall.

In contrast, GN volunteers demonstrated the increased freedoms available to them as citizens of a more affluent country, by simply being present in Cambodia. Furthermore, when short-term GN participants were asked in interviews about volunteering, they noted the number of international destinations they could have chosen from, including Thailand, Indonesia, Nepal or Cambodia, in which to volunteer. Whereas a simple statement of fact by M5 sums up the contrast of freedoms available to participants from the Global North, in comparison to Khmer participants: 'No we cannot fly to see the foreigner but we can bring the foreigner, come to see us.' Evidence of the GN volunteers' greater freedoms was also apparent in their responses to the question 'what is a good lifestyle?' as they discussed wanting to 'be healthy', 'have a balanced lifestyle' or 'travel'. These more carefree responses differed considerably from the average Khmer response of wanting enough money to support the family, or to have a house that was 'not too big', which represent more concrete concerns. Put simply, access to the greater resources of the Global North creates

freedoms for its citizens that are simply not available to those in the Global South. Moreover, the quote above is from M5 who represented the 'higher' strata of Khmer freedoms considered earlier, in this section's opening discussion. Hence, even those Khmer with some freedoms, cannot hope to match the freedoms demonstrated by those from the Global North, and so a dualism of freedoms/unfreedoms exists which provides either considerable benefits or considerable limitations to a person, dependent on their geography.

8.4.2.2 Global North/Global South dualisms

In addition to the contrast of freedoms highlighted at the end of the last section, participants from the Global North also identified several distinctions between their own cultures and that of the Khmers. For example, they noted the difference in respect shown by Cambodian children to their teachers in comparison to GN children, or commented on the Khmer collectivist focus, in comparison to their own more individualistic values. The former point was summarised well by participant V5 who described children in his home country of the Netherlands as 'spoilt' and rude to teachers while, in comparison, students in Cambodia demonstrated much more respect (see section 6.2.2 above). Respect was identified in Chapter 6 as a significant aspect of Khmer culture (see section 6.2.2 above), which appeared to be instilled from an early age. Moreover, Chapter 5 discussed how respect for one's educator was deep-seated in Khmer culture, and that disrespect towards a teacher was considered a great sin (Um 2015). A potential consequence of this deeply ingrained respect was explored in the same chapter where, for example, I surmised that Khmer might be participating in the study due to a perceived obligation they felt they owed to the NGOs (which also demonstrates that my GN background was informing my understandings of Khmer participants' motivations). However, after the review of several interviews, it was identified that Khmer often discussed wanting to give back to the organisation, that had helped them. This observation links the discussion of Khmer respect above, especially to one's teacher, to the country's major religion of Buddhism and the concept of merit making. In short, merit is built through virtuous or kind acts, so giving back to the organisation that helped you, may go some way to levelling the merit owed (Chandler 2008; Ledgerwood 2008; Peou & Zinn 2015; Um 2015). It also affords respect to one's former teacher, as they made the original request to take part in the interview. In summary, in a culture where respect forms a significant part of the national psyche, it is not surprising that this feature stands out to those who are on the outside, looking in.

Global North participants also commented on the strong Khmer cultural characteristic of focusing on the family/community. For example, volunteer V2 told a story involving Khmer students who were asked what they would do with a hundred dollars, and their responses focused universally on buying items for the family (see section 6.2.3.2 above). At the end of the story, V2 emphasised the lack of attention that Khmer paid to themselves. Participant V2 was volunteering in Cambodia as part of a wider school group from the University of Florida. In the Glossary of key terms, in the

Eurocentrism (or Western perspective) entry, the United States is noted as having similar ideals to other Western nations (Said 1978), of which 'individuality' is a core element (Pokhrel 2011). Hence, in a culture where the focus is heavily situated on the family/community, and as similarly noted in the discussion of respect above, it is not surprising that Khmer collectivism stood out to GN participants, especially those from Western nations (Pokhrel 2011). This statement is also supported by Hofstede's (1986, p. 307) four-dimensional, or '4-D', model of cultural differences discussed in Chapter 2, which notes that 'Individualism as a characteristic of a culture opposes Collectivism'.

The second part of this dualism concerns assumptions made by several GN participants, which were suggestive of a potential lack of insight (whether deliberate or otherwise) regarding Khmer children and their relationship with school, work, and the surrounding environment. For instance, several GN volunteers noted how some Khmer children did not attend school, as they worked to help support their family (see V5's comment in section 6.3.1.1 above, for example). An initial review of the statement might not detect the issue, but concentrating on the 'school or work' aspects identifies a black and white assumption about Khmer children and their circumstances. Miller's (2022, p. 4) study from Siem Reap noted a similar dualism of 'earn or learn' where NGOs, informed by Western perspectives of the child, suggested that children who sold goods on the street were not attending school. These black and white, one or the other, binaries are problematic, as they inhibit insight into more considered investigations of the child and their circumstances. For example, Khmer NGO teacher S2 discussed a student who, up until recently, had been studying at the organisation, but then had to stop and work to help support the family (see section 6.3.1.1 above). Specifically, S2 tells a tale of a family who had once had the circumstantial freedoms necessary to send their child to the NGO, but over time, as their circumstances changed, so did the child's ability to attend the organisation (Sen 2001). Though not discussed further, it is possible that the NGO then followed up with the student's family, as they did with others, and then attempted to find a way to help the child to re-engage.

Similarly, Khmer head teacher H2, in his discussion of Khmer living in the slum districts, identified that without the proper supports, families would not have the circumstantial freedoms necessary to attend the NGO (Sen 2001). Hence, while GN volunteers made black and white assumptions about the child either working or going to school, H2 and S2 help identify that the relationship between the child, school and work is a more dynamic issue that affects groups, over a period of time, and is one that, with the proper support, the NGOs can help families to address. Furthermore, Miller's (2022) study identifies (similar to the youth miners in the study by Maconachie and Hilson [2016]) that a child's work can help facilitate access to an education. Western perspectives of the child, which suggests children should not work, and be in school (as raised by Miller [2022] above, and discussed in the Glossary of key terms) fail to appreciate this

link between the child's work and their education. Furthermore, this discussion helps demonstrate that childhood as a phenomenon, is not universal, but rather it is influenced, in part, by the circumstantial freedoms/unfreedoms of the child's environment (a reality where one needs to work to gain an education versus one where the child has the necessary freedoms needed to attend an education without financial concerns) (Prout & James 2015; Clarke 2004; Rogers 2003; Sen 2001). These insights can also help explain the figures presented in Chapter 2, which identified that while 9.4% of 5 to 14 year-old Khmer worked without attending school, another 9.1% worked *and* attended school (one helping to facilitate the other). Moreover, these figures demonstrate that children are capable of more than a black or white, work or education binary, by identifying that a considerable number do both (BILA 2017; Miller 2022).

The second common assumption identified in responses from GN participants was the concept of the NGOs acting as a safe, structured and/or clean environment, which helped Khmer students escape the reality of their existence outside of the organisation. Words used by participants from the Global North to describe the children's external environment included, for example, 'slums', 'terrible', and 'pretty ordinary'. These ideas reflect similarly to dualisms identified in academic literature (see section 4.4.6 above) which discuss the NGO worker who acted as the 'humanitarian' who aided the 'sufferer' (O'Loughlin 2014). Though, the difference here is that it is the physical ground of the NGO which is offering 'safety' to the 'sufferer' (albeit filtered through the perception of GN participants), rather than the aid worker acting as the 'saviour'. In contrast, when Khmer participants were asked a similar set of questions concerning why people attended the NGO, most responses concentrated on the organisation and its services, including the services being free (both NGOs), the provision of free materials (both NGOs), and free food (*NGO-1*). To give fair consideration though, there was one example of a Khmer teacher discussing safety that was similar to some GN participants' responses:

'... so when they feel safe here, and uh they feel security ...' (S11) ⁵

Though, on further investigation, this quote was explained as children feeling loved and secure in the Khmer teacher's care, rather than being in a space that was considered safe in comparison to their external environment. Moreover, there were no identifiable examples from Khmer participants, of the NGOs helping students to escape their external reality, meaning these notions were exclusive to GN participants. A potential consequence of this way of thinking was summarised well by long-term expatriate M4, who noted that if a person from the Global North could not adapt their thinking to a Cambodian context, then a situation where nobody benefits could result (see section 6.3.2.4 above), a lesson which appears to have been learnt by other

⁵ Please note, this quote does not appear in the results chapters.

longer-term GN participants. For example, H1 discussed how when they first started volunteering in Siem Reap, they did the teaching and the Khmer assisted, but over time, they realised this was wrong and changed the roles to have the Khmer teacher in charge, and the GN volunteer assisting (see section 7.4.1 above). Hence, rather than H1 continuing to do in Cambodia what they had done in Australia (teaching) and only have Khmer assist, so that neither gained much from the encounter, the focus turned to increasing the capability of the Khmer teacher by having them lead (so that at least one gained, and arguably the one in need). The idea of exposure changing people's perceptions over time, is again evident here, but this time it concerns those from the Global North, who may come to Cambodia with the best intentions, but whose intentions also start out being informed by their GN way of thinking. However, over time a type of hybridity forms, and a GN person's views adapt to local ways of thinking, and hence their intentions/interventions change to match.

8.4.2.3 Different generations of Khmer and their relationships with education

In section 4.4.5, the Khmer Rouge were noted as being responsible for the destruction of a considerable amount of traditional Khmer, French, and even hybrid French-Khmer knowledge (Brinkley 2011; Chandler 2008; Clayton 1998; Um 2015). Consequently, a postcolonial critique of the French impact on Cambodia was considered a difficult, if not impossible, task. However, it was also argued that because the existence of the Khmer Rouge was, in part, a consequence of their leader's French education, that a postcolonial critique of the Khmer Rouge and their impact, was also a critique of one of France's colonial impacts on Cambodia. A consistent idea concerning the Khmer Rouge and their impact on Cambodia, in participant responses, concerned different generations of Khmer and their relationship with education. These differences result from the Khmer Rouge's destruction of books and institutions, and the killing of educated people, which left limited opportunities for education in the years during their reign, or in the ones that followed their ousting (Chandler 2008; Clayton 1998; Miller 2020; Tully 2005). This, in turn, resulted in a generation with limited knowledge regarding an education's potential benefits, which is especially true for those Khmer who manage to earn a decent income, without one (see H3's comment in section 7.2.5.3 above).

The impact of the Khmer Rouge was also felt in the recovery of the education system, where in the aftermath of the civil war, it failed to modernise. For example, Khmer participants discussed the authoritarian method of education delivery after the war, where the 'teacher knows best', and the students listen and take notes. Moreover, they discussed teachers using sticks to reprimand students, indicating that corporal punishment was both accepted, and used (see section 7.2.5.3 above). In contrast, the younger generation of Khmer are demonstrated throughout the results chapters, especially former students or those working at the NGO, as enthusiastic about education and its potential benefits. These benefits include the actual employment that students had

achieved, or higher education they now studied, as a result of their engagement with the NGOs (see section 7.3 above). Furthermore, the education received by students at the NGO helped them gain employment in industries outside of traditional areas such as agriculture, which is in stark contrast to the Khmer Rouge's emptying of cities in pursuit of an agrarian society of equals (Chandler 2008; Um 2015). Agriculture is also reasonably assumed as the industry in which most older Khmer would have previously been successful in earning a wage, without the benefit of an education (as noted by H3 in section 7.2.5.3). For example, even in 2018, only 23.8% of all Khmer are recorded as living in urban areas (UNDP 2018). Moreover, from 1991 to 2000, approximately 75% of all Cambodian employment was in agriculture, which in 2019 still made up 32.3% of all employment (UNDP 2020). However, Khmer participants in Miller's (2020, p. 4) research noted that agriculture in modern times was: '... insecure and unprofitable, and that crops failed regularly due to an excess or lack of rain'. The quote suggests the importance for younger Khmer, especially rural youth, of diversifying into new industries, given the vulnerability of traditional ones.

Of the younger generation of Khmer who are now teachers, many have been influenced by foreign innovations in education; this represents another conflict between the ideas held by current generation, and the Khmer Rouge, who had an anti-foreign/anti-education agenda (Chandler 2008; Um 2015). Arguably, being influenced by international trends was also not possible for the older generation of Khmer, given the considerable unrest in the country until the late 1990s, which kept most foreigners away (Chapman 2013; Cook & Gong 2011; Hughes 2009; Klutz 2015). This lack of exposure, along with witnessing an education delivered by the younger generation in a manner that contradicted the authoritarian method to which the older generation had become accustomed (for those able to receive one), caused hesitation in parents towards the NGOs at first, with some even withdrawing their children for a time (see M5, section 7.2.5.3 above). However, despite the noted differences between generations, the younger Khmer are not dismissive of the older generation, as Miller notes in her research from Siem Reap:

They remained respectful of the older generation because, as they reflected, their parents and grandparents had experienced a traumatic past, lack of education and had limited exposure to, or understanding of new ways. Miller (2020, p. 6)

Interestingly, the resulting differences in relationships to education between the older and younger generations, the dualism, can be attributed again to the level of exposure one group had to education, in comparison to the other. The older generation's level of exposure was, as noted, impacted by the Khmer Rouge, whose actions limited both their access to an education and their knowledge regarding the benefits of gaining one (especially for their children). This is in stark contrast to the younger generation of Khmer interviewed in this study, who actively pursued education and/or who were very much aware of the potential benefits of gaining one. Moreover, the use of punishment, or, in the best-case scenario, where a teacher stood at the front of a classroom and dictated lessons to members of the older generation, is strikingly different from the

new methods of education, such as learning through play, as discussed by the younger generation. These differences are a result of changing attitudes and exposure to new ideas, as the country settled down and opened to global influences, which powerfully contradict the era of the Khmer Rouge and the ways in which they attempted to force people to live.

8.5 The External Control of Organizations

The External Control of Organizations by Pfeffer and Salancik (2003), considers the impact of the external environment on an organisation's ability to operate. Two concepts from Pfeffer and Salancik's (2003) work, diversification and legitimacy, were drawn on to aid in the re-interpretation of the research results. Specifically, the concept of diversification helped understand how the two NGOs in this research overcame, in part, the impacts of their external environment, while the concept of legitimacy helped establish how the community and external suppliers perceived the work of the organisations.

8.5.1 The external environment and diversification

Participant responses provided some evidence of the external environment's impact on NGOs operating in Siem Reap, which came mostly in the form of unpredictable funding. For example, S9 discussed applying for a job at *NGO_2*, as their employment at their previous organisation had ceased when the 'big sponsor' withdrew funding (see section 7.2.3 above). Participant S1 discussed similarly how they had looked for work at a new NGO, as the organisation they had been working for stopped paying their salary, which again suggests issues with funding (see section 7.2.4 above). Unpredictable funding was also noted as an issue for NGOs in the research literature, which caused problems with the continuation of programs and/or future planning (Hayhurst 2014; Williams & Yazdani 2009). *The External Control of Organizations* (ECO) (Pfeffer and Salancik 2003, p. 1) is mostly focused on 'for profit' organisations. However, based on the examples above, and in the light of quotes from ECO such as 'Organisations are inescapably bound up with the conditions of their environment' (Pfeffer and Salancik 2003, p. 1) their ideas seem to be applicable to NGOs too. Pfeffer and Salancik's statement is especially accurate if an NGO's funding comes from external donors only (for example, if an NGO has no internal method of revenue raising), and those donors withdraw their support (Khieng & Dahles 2015). Unfortunately, research by Khieng and Dahles (2015) implies that this is a reality for many NGOs in Cambodia whose funding, many exclusively, comes from external international donors. One method of overcoming a sole reliance on external funders identified by Pfeffer and Salancik (2003, p. 126) is diversification, which helps organisations to '... avoid previous patterns of dependence ...'.

Pfeffer and Salancik (2003) discuss diversification as the production of new and different goods, which helps make the organisation less reliant on one or two dominant suppliers (as the production of new goods means drawing on new suppliers). As noted, Pfeffer and Salancik's work was mainly

aimed at 'for profit' organisations. However, diversification as a strategy has been adapted/adopted by many NGOs to help them identify, and use, different revenue sources (suppliers) (Khieng & Dahles 2015). The adoption of diversification is a response, in part, by NGOs to external funding being unpredictable, as having multiple revenue streams means operations can continue, if one source fails (Froelich 1999; Khieng & Dahles 2015; Khieng & Dahles 2015a; Pfeffer & Salancik 2003). It also lessens the chance of an NGO being caught in an asymmetrical relationship, where those with the resources, dictate how they are used, by those in need (Khieng & Dahles 2015; Mitchell 2014; Pfeffer & Salancik 2003). Of the organisations that took part in this research, *NGO-1* diversified its resource gathering through a training restaurant and partnerships with local tour companies. The partnership helped bring tourists to the organisation to dine, and who then potentially spent money on souvenirs, or sponsored the NGO through more direct means like cash donations. The diversification of *NGO-1*'s resource gathering, made it less dependent on the potential demands of its one big benefactor (who supplied approximately 25% of their funding). However, this diversification, as predicted by Pfeffer and Salancik (2003), appeared to come at the expense of requiring more staff, to undertake the additional activities created by the increase in diversification. This is evidenced by *NGO-1* having a dedicated department to 'make an income' (M3) in addition to those dedicated to its educational and administrative functions.

Contrastingly, M5 noted how *NGO_2* gathered its diversified resources from donations provided by international student groups and organisations (both physical and financial) (see section 7.4.1 above), selling souvenirs, and through a sister NGO run by M5's husband, which billeted international volunteers at responsible NGOs around Siem Reap, for a fee. All of *NGO_2*'s revenue was also self-generated, without the aid of a major donor, meaning they had complete say over how those resources were used (complete local ownership). It should be noted, though, that this made them reliant on people donating, or on people wanting to volunteer through their sister NGO, which links to the concept of legitimacy raised by Pfeffer and Salancik (2003) (to be explored in the next section). Finally, despite both NGOs demonstrating an ability to limit the impact of external funding by utilising diversification, some required resources were still beyond the NGOs' ability to completely control. For example: having enough staff to cover all needs (see section 7.4.1.1 above); being able to deliver services to all who might need them (as some children were turned away because the organisations were at capacity) (see section 7.4.1.3 above); or having access to teaching materials that were relevant to the culture of the students, and/or their needs (see section 7.4.1.2 above). These situations should be understood as being dynamic, though, as resources change, finances increase and decrease, and students who are turned away one day, can take the place of those who leave on another, and as such are not necessarily limitations, but situations to be managed, over time.

8.5.2 Legitimacy

Pfeffer and Salancik (2003) provide a succinct explanation for the concept of organisational legitimacy:

Because organisations are only components of a larger social system and depend upon that system's support for their continued existence, organisational goals and activities must be legitimate or of worth to that larger social system. (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003, p. 193)

It should be noted also that legitimacy is a conferred status, by those external to the organisation (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003). Legitimacy being conferred, means that an organisation's positive legitimacy can be inferred by continued funding, and/or from continued participation of the community with the NGO and its interventions (Froelich 1999; Pfeffer & Salancik 2003).

Interestingly, there were some concerns raised about the NGOs' legitimacy by those working internally. Specifically, an NGO staff member noted the lack of an MOU between *NGO-1* and the Ministry of Education. Not having an MOU would suggest to those external to the NGO that the education provided by *NGO-1* was not the equivalent of the state's schools, which might cause parents to reconsider sending their children to the NGO (see section 6.3.2.3 above). The head teacher from *NGO_2*, H3, identified similarly that some students were absent from his organisation due to prioritising their attendance at their 'private school' (see section 6.3.2.3 above).

Despite these internal concerns regarding the organisation's legitimacy (and similar to the points raised about retention in section 9.3.3 below), H3 discussed how *NGO_2*'s student numbers had continued to grow from approximately 100 students in the beginning (around 2010), to around 400 at the time of data collection in 2019 (see section 6.3.2.3 above). In contrast, an example of legitimacy potentially being an issue and affecting patronage was G13's description of having to leave two previous organisations due to the teacher ceasing classes because of a lack of students (see section 7.2.4 above); whereas both organisations in this study discussed being at capacity and having to turn students away, which would not be an issue if legitimacy in the community was problematic for either organisation. Finally, both NGOs' continued existence, from approximately 2007 for *NGO-1* and 2010 for *NGO_2*, including an ability to move to larger premises as services expanded (both NGOs), speaks to their legitimate status with external suppliers. Moreover, at the time of writing (August 2022) both organisations have managed to navigate the downturn in tourism caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, and continued to deliver services to disadvantaged youth, further demonstrating their continued legitimacy.

8.6 The Importance of Indigenous control

This final section utilises concepts discussed throughout this chapter, and Chapter 4, such as neocolonialism (Allina 2021; Khieng & Dahles 2015; Veltmeyer 2021; Wallace 2004), ideas from

The External Control of Organizations by Pfeffer and Salancik (2003) and Sen's (2001) *Capability and Freedom* to demonstrate:

- how the NGOs' unique use of GN resources addresses two issues related to organisations working in a development context (section 8.6.1)
- the importance of GN resources to the organisations, including the local control of those resources (section 8.6.1)
- the importance of Indigenous-controlled NGOs (including the Indigenous control of resources) for Khmer people (section 8.6.2).

8.6.1 Neocolonial exploitation versus the local control of Global North resources

The discussion of NGOs in the development literature can be summarised in two main ways. The first relates to the work of BINGOs (big international non-government organisations) who have been described as top-down organisations whose priorities are often set by their aid donors (for some, not all) (Desai 2014; Temple 2014; Veltmeyer 2021; Wallace 2004; Willis 2011). As discussed in Chapter 4, BINGOs, at their worst, have been accused of acting like a 'trojan horses' for global capitalism in developing countries, by teaching locals about the 'virtues' of capitalism (Desai 2014; Temple 2014; Veltmeyer 2021; Wallace 2004; Willis 2011). Moreover, the neocolonial nature of some BINGOs is evident in the location of their headquarters being in the Global North (GN), and only having 'branches' in the Global South (Khieng & Dahles 2015; Wallace 2004). Equally, neocolonialism is present when BINGOs fund NGOs in the Global South, who then must adjust their activities to meet the goals of their 'partners' in the Global North (Khieng & Dahles 2015; Wallace 2004). Worse, perhaps, are plans that are made in collaboration with locals in the Global South, which then become altered by people in the Global North, for any number of reasons, but which essentially represents GN agendas being prioritised over those of the Global South (Desai 2014; Khieng & Dahles 2015; Mitchell 2014; Wallace 2004).

The second type of NGO discussed in development literature are grassroots organisations, which are described as issue based, bottom-up, and/or empowering (Desai 2014; Veltmeyer 2021). These organisations work towards localised poverty alleviation through various methods, including the provision of services (such as education, health care, and/or skills development), and through advocacy (Desai 2014; Veltmeyer 2021; Willis 2011). Grassroots NGO interventions are normally developed with local input, which Desai (2014, p. 804) notes as bringing '... legitimacy and community mobilisation to programmes and projects'. However, these types of NGOs, especially small local organisations, can also be limited in what they can achieve, due to a lack of resources (Aransiola & Zarowsky 2014; Ferguson & Heidemann 2009; Hayhurst 2014). The two NGOs in this study, appear to have merged the positive aspects of both approaches. For example, both NGOs are run by local Khmer, who direct *how* GN resources are used (such as volunteers and

donations). This removes the insidious suggestions of the first approach (for example, funding from the Global North with neocolonial directives attached), while retaining the benefit of increased access to GN resources. This is important, as the research literature notes how resources were often stretched for NGOs delivering services in the Global South (for example, Aransiola & Akinyemi 2010; Aransiola & Zarowsky 2014; Ferguson & Heidemann 2009; Hayhurst 2014; Khieng & Dahles 2015).

Specific examples of GN resources being utilised/controlled by local Khmer in this study include:

- the brokering of sponsorships, from GN donors, for Khmer students to attend university or similar higher education (see section 6.3.2.4 above)
- GN donors and/or volunteers providing materials and donations to help students attend the NGOs, as well as helping the NGOs financially to keep operating
- GN volunteers sharing their teaching knowledge and expertise to help build the capability of Khmer staff and students (see sections 6.3.2.4 and 7.4.1 above)
- GN volunteers helping to build structures (such as toilets) in nearby villages which helped improve infrastructure for locals, while simultaneously increasing their freedoms through the provision of shelter and sanitation.

The terms 'local Khmer who direct' or 'utilised/controlled by local Khmer' are used in relation to GN resources above because: volunteers assisted with, but did not run, classes; their expertise was drawn on to help build the capability of staff, not replace them; and donations/sponsorship from volunteers were filtered through Khmer staff and managers. Another point of interest in the examples above is that much of the work undertaken by the NGOs to help students/families address their basic needs (such as the provision of free food, books, pencils, uniforms, bicycles and a nursery; see section 6.3.2.1 above) was achievable by the organisations with the assistance/aid provided by GN volunteers and/or donors. Hence, GN resources also help build the capacity of local NGOs beyond what the organisation itself might otherwise be capable of, by increasing their available labour, knowledge, and expertise, in addition to the donation of actual physical resources like food and books.

In the specific case of *NGO_2*, donations such as clothing, books and pencils were only allocated/distributed by local staff, as the organisation had a focus on not creating dependence on handouts, as they wanted people to develop independence, and not rely on help from foreigners. Similarly, the manager of *NGO_2* discussed how her organisation would not accept donations if they were demand driven. Khieng and Dahles's (2015) work on Cambodian NGOs noted similar cases of organisations turning down funding from external sources if the potential donor did not accept/respect the NGO's mission. Work by Mitchell (2014) terms this approach 'selectivity',

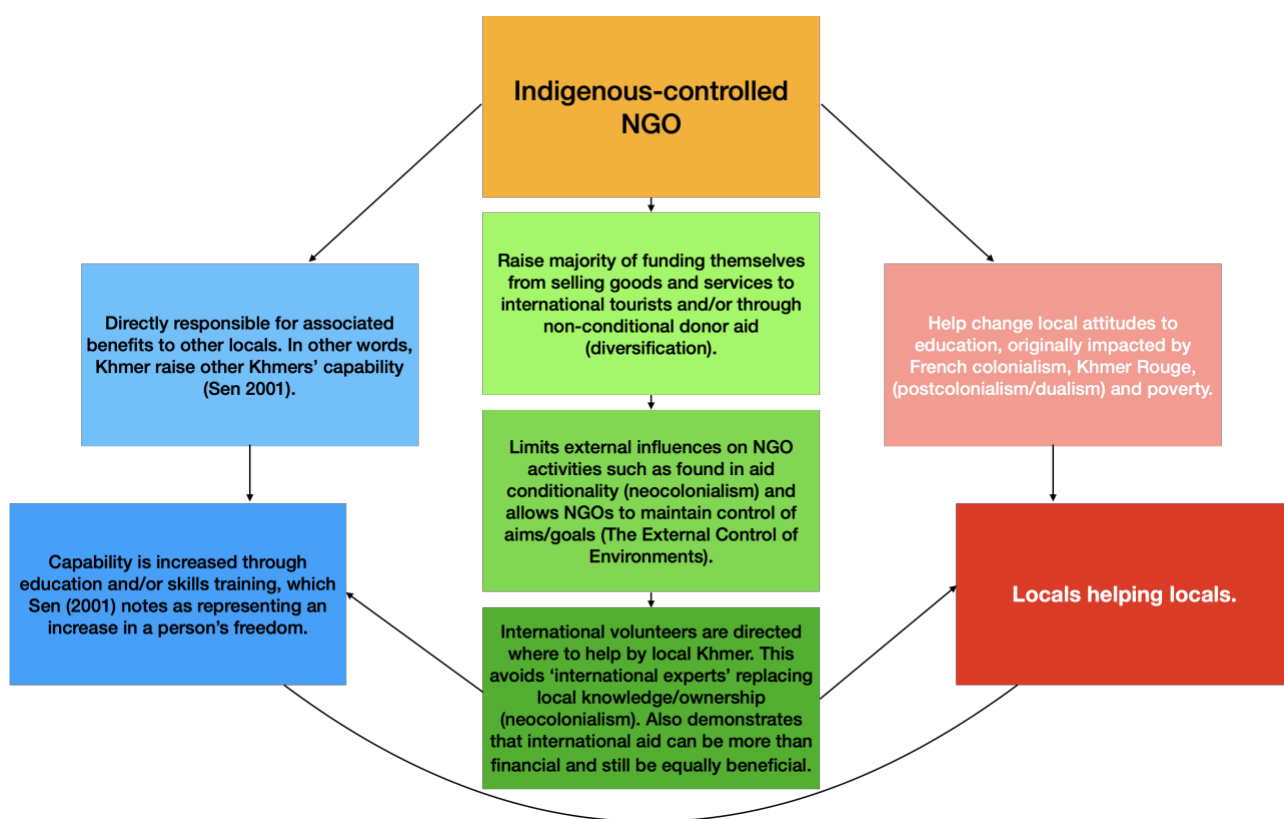
whereby organisations reject funding sources that place demands on donations that do not align with the NGO's mission or goals. It should be noted that Mitchell's study investigated NGOs operating out of the United States, who sourced funding mainly from a US clientele (note, a country from the Global North with access to significant resources). However, as noted in section 8.5.1 (above), a considerable number of Cambodian NGOs were only able to access funding from international donors, due to a lack of local opportunities (Khieng & Dahles 2015). Hence, the practice of selectivity in Cambodia is much harder, due to the dearth of local funding opportunities, and a concentrated market of NGOs who all seek revenue opportunities from the same finite sources (Khieng & Dahles 2015; 2015a). Consequently, the flat refusal to accept donations that are demand driven by one of the NGOs in this study, becomes all the more striking, given the noted restraints of local funding.

8.6.2 A summary of ideas – the importance of Indigenous-controlled NGOs for Khmer people

The two NGOs in this study generated most, if not all, of their own funding by selling goods and services to international tourists and/or through donor aid (diversification). This limited the external influence on both NGOs and their activities, such as that found in aid conditionality (neocolonialism), while simultaneously and consequently allowing both organisations to maintain considerable control over their own aims and goals (The External Control of Organisations [ECO]) (Allina 2021; Pfeffer & Salancik 2003; Temple 2014). Moreover, the managing directors of both *NGO-1* and *NGO_2*'s were Cambodian nationals, as were all staff members. This meant that it was Khmer who made decisions on the behalf of other Khmer, which Desai (2014) notes as increasing organisational legitimacy (ECO). Moreover, it avoided issues associated with 'othering' such as placing people from the Global North in control, so they are making decisions on the behalf of people from the Global South (neocolonialism) (Allina 2021; Wallace 2004). Local Khmer also directed how international volunteers were used. This avoided similar issues associated with neocolonialism, such as 'international experts' replacing local knowledge/ownership, while also demonstrating how international aid can be something other than financial, and still be highly beneficial.

Having Khmer in management and leadership positions also meant they were directly responsible for the associated benefits that flowed on to the other Khmer receiving the organisations services. In other words, Khmer were responsible for raising other Khmers' capability (which also helped to increase a person's freedoms (Sen 2001)). It should be noted, though, that the potential existed for NGO resources to be used to help Khmer who were family-related to those working at the organisations (nepotism). However, there was no evidence of this practice within the data, and more importantly, the concept might not be considered problematic for Khmer given their strong collectivist focus (though future research might consider the influence of nepotism on Indigenous-run NGOs in collectivist cultures). Finally, the NGOs' continued presence and delivery of education

in the local villages over a period of years helped change local attitudes to education. Khmer attitudes to education were originally impacted by French colonial disregard (see section 4.4.3 above), the Khmer Rouge destruction of educational resources and institutions, the killing of the educated, and the considerable poverty that followed these events (postcolonialism/dualism). Moreover, and as similarly noted in section 8.3.2 (above), the impacts of the Khmer Rouge and their civil war on other Cambodians were manifold, but a prominent one was turning Khmer on Khmer, which resulted in Khmer fighting Khmer (Chandler 2008; Tully 2005; Um 2015). However, when the various points presented here are considered together, as, for example, they are in Figure 8.1 (below), they demonstrate how the two NGOs in this study are representative of locals helping other locals, which hopefully goes some way towards healing the rifts caused by the Khmer Rouge.



• **Figure 8.1 The benefits of Indigenous-controlled NGOs**

8.7 Conclusion

Chapter 8 answered the thesis's main research question by presenting the ways in which the different stakeholder groups perceived the activities of NGOs working with disadvantaged children in Siem Reap, Cambodia. The chapter then presented the re-interpretation of the research results (outlined in Chapters 6 and 7), after their review against the three theoretical discussions, presented in Chapter 4. Furthermore, the literature reviewed in Chapter 3, along with the various Cambodian contextual discussions presented in Chapters 1, 2, 4 and 5, were utilised to help

expand and extend the analysis and understanding of the discussed results. In particular, the small number of studies from Cambodia on the topic of NGOs and/or disadvantaged youth were used throughout this chapter to help provide context to the discussion. The chapter also intertwined several ideas from the different theoretical discussions to demonstrate the importance of GN resources for the NGOs, including the Khmer control of those resources, and the organisations. The final chapter presents a review of the thesis chapters to demonstrate how they contributed to, and helped establish, the thesis argument. It also addresses the thesis objectives, and explores the thesis's limitations.

CHAPTER 9: THE PRIMARY, SECONDARY, AND TERTIARY OBJECTIVES; AND CONSIDERING THE STUDY LIMITATIONS

9.1 Introduction

Chapter 9 begins with a review of the thesis chapters to demonstrate how they contributed to, and helped establish, the thesis argument. The opening section also presents the thesis argument. Chapter 9 then presents a review of the thesis findings, which address the secondary research objectives; these findings are considered against relevant literature from Chapter 3, to help interpret, critique and expand on their meaning. The tertiary research objective is also addressed in this section. The primary objective of the research is then addressed, by presenting recommendations for the betterment of services. These recommendations represent a direct extension of ideas presented in Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9 and hence, as per the primary objective, are grounded in participants' contributions to the research. Finally, this chapter considers the thesis's limitations.

9.2 Chapter reviews, their contribution, and the thesis argument

A primary issue with establishing the main argument of this thesis was that the research started out being exploratory, which meant a clear vision for what might be found/argued in the thesis, was not initially known. Hence, it was not until late in the analysis/re-analysis of the research results that the thesis argument started to emerge. Though the research was exploratory, there were a number of objectives identified from the literature review, as well as the adoption of study propositions (from the case study methodology), which focused areas for investigation, as the study evolved (outlined in more detail below, in Chapters 3 and 5's entries). How each chapter, including the development of the knowledge for each chapter, played a role in contributing to the thesis argument, is explained sequentially below.

Chapter 1 introduced the main research focus of 'NGOs working with disadvantaged children in Siem Reap, Cambodia'. This chapter also established the considerable, and continuing, scale of poverty in Cambodia, and the limited academic literature investigating the multiple NGOs which operate in the country to address it (as identified in a pilot search of literature to inform my original research proposal). This discussion acted as a background to, as well as providing support for, the need for the research and concluded in the presentation of the research question of:

- **How do diverse stakeholder groups perceive the activities of non-government organisations (NGOs) working with disadvantaged children in Siem Reap, Cambodia?**

Of note is the open and exploratory nature of the question, given the limited literature on the subject. The chapter then provided an overview of the thesis content including a discussion of how the literature review in Chapter 3 helped to both broaden and focus the research question parameters, and establish the research objectives (outlined in the Chapter 3 and 5 entries). Chapter 1's overall contribution to the thesis argument was establishing the need for the research, introducing the thesis question, and providing an overview of the thesis's content to demonstrate the breadth of the investigation.

Chapter 2 was a Cambodian primer that explored historical events of significance. These events include French colonisation, the Khmer Rouge, Vietnamese occupation, and the ongoing conflict until the late 1990s that, when combined, help demonstrate the impact of decades of war, and again emphasise the continued need for NGOs in the country. Cambodian demographics, including population, education and employment were then presented, as was religion and culture. Overall, Chapter 2's contribution to the thesis argument was to 'set the scene', so that the research, especially the analysis of the results, could be considered in context to the setting (additional context is developed in Chapter 3 – NGOs working globally with disadvantaged children, Chapter 4 – the French colonisation of Cambodia, and Chapter 6 – common constructs shared between Khmer participants). Furthermore, though not appreciated in the early thesis development, the knowledge of how Cambodia came to its current situation helped to establish the importance of Khmer helping Khmer in Indigenous-controlled NGOs, especially as a counter to the actions of the Khmer Rouge, which resulted in Khmer fighting Khmer.

Chapter 3 was a review of academic literature on the topic of 'NGOs working with disadvantaged children in developing countries'. This review investigated literature from 1990, which coincided with the signing of the Paris Peace Agreements (a UN-backed process to establish a ceasefire between the Khmer Rouge and Cambodian government forces), and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) (a legally binding document signed by 194 countries [Save the Children 2015], which guides the activities of organisations working with children), to mid 2022. A pilot review of literature, to inform the original research proposal, suggested there were limited studies investigating NGOs working with disadvantaged children in Cambodia. Consequently, the scope of the literature review was widened to all developing countries. The results of the review provided the background necessary to help focus the research question (for example, the investigation of 'multiple stakeholders' over a single population), strengthen the need for the research (the review confirmed the findings of the pilot search of only three studies directly related to the research topic), and broaden the research investigation (by identifying aspects of the research topic that needed further investigation, which became the research objectives). As with Chapter 2, the literature review also helped to establish the research context by identifying similar investigations that would help frame the discussion of the results. Hence, the chapter's contribution

to the thesis argument was in establishing a background to the main ideas of the research topic (for example, NGOs working with disadvantaged children in developing countries), which helped define the scope of the research, and the data to be collected.

Chapter 4 presented four theoretical discussions that had two distinct purposes. The purpose of the initial discussion on social constructionism was to establish the research ontology and epistemology, and to act as a foundation for the case study methodology (Norum 2008; Patton 2015). The purpose of the three remaining theoretical discussions was to establish a framework of ideas that would be used in re-interpretation of the research findings. These three theoretical discussions drew ideas from *Development as freedom* by Amartya Sen (2001); *postcolonialism* (Allina 2021; Gandhi 1998; Loomba 2005; McEwan 2009); and *the External control of organizations* by Jeffrey Pfeffer and Gerald Salancik (2003). Together, these theoretical discussions would provide the insights needed when re-interpreting the research results, to establish the thesis argument (presented below in Chapter 8's entry).

Chapter 5 began by outlining the research objectives, including the primary objective based on the main research question:

- **To establish how different stakeholder groups perceive NGO services with disadvantaged children so that a more complete picture of the benefits, impacts and effects of services can be understood and evaluated in order to make recommendations for the betterment of services.**

As well as the secondary research objective:

- **To examine, and better understand, the 'pull factors' of NGO services (such as play and friendship forming) including a consideration of factors that help draw children to the organisation (recruitment) and keep them there (retention).**

And the tertiary research objective:

- **To provide a voice to children receiving services, which traditionally has been neglected.**

The secondary and tertiary objectives were based on the observed limitations in the reviewed literature (see Chapter 3) and helped broaden and refine the scope of the investigation. The chapter then presented the case study methodology, and demonstrated how multiple groups could be investigated, and have different answers for, the same shared case, which helped establish its fit within a social constructionism paradigm. Another factor that helped define the scope of the investigation was the adoption of Yin's (2014) 'study propositions' which focused inquiry on important aspect of the research case. The study propositions in this research concentrated on the

NGOs' education and employment training. These propositions, similar to the research objectives, again expanded the scope of the investigation to topics not initially addressed by the research question, but which helped refine the study to topics of relevance to those engaging with the organisations. Descriptions of the research methods were then given, including the sampling (purposeful and chain) and recruitment approach, the data collection process (semi-structured interviews, focus groups and field notes), and how the collected data was analysed (thematic analysis using NVivo). Chapter 5 also outlined the ethics process (both local and Cambodian), as well as establishing the study's credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. Hence, this chapter's contribution to the thesis argument was finalising the scope of the investigation, which in turn informed the data to be collected, how it would be collected and analysed, and the steps taken to increase the quality of those processes. This resulted in the raw participant responses necessary to establish the research findings which, in turn, represented one of two steps necessary to establish the thesis argument.

Chapters 6 and 7 presented the common constructions identified in participant interviews and focus groups as six themes. Specifically, Chapter 6 presented Theme 1 – *Culture: Common characteristics of Khmer participants*, and Theme 2 – *Constructs of poverty*. Chapter 7 presented Theme 3 – *Jobs, desired jobs and what do I do to get these jobs? Education!*, Theme 4 – *Student outcomes from NGO interventions*, Theme 5 – *Resource limitations*, and Theme 6 – *Socialisation, friendships and benefits*. As similarly noted above, these practical findings, developed from the views of the various stakeholders, were foundational for the later theoretical re-interpretations that underpin the thesis argument.

Chapter 8 began by answering the thesis's main research question. It then took the insights gained from participants' descriptions of the NGOs and their work, and re-interpreted these findings in light of the three theoretical discussions presented in Chapter 4. These re-interpretations, along with several key ideas that emerged from the thematic analysis presented in chapters 6 and 7 including:

- former student outcomes after engaging with the NGOs
- how the NGOs gathered and utilised resources
- how volunteers were utilised by the NGOs
- how the NGOs were staffed
- the impact of the NGOs on the surrounding communities

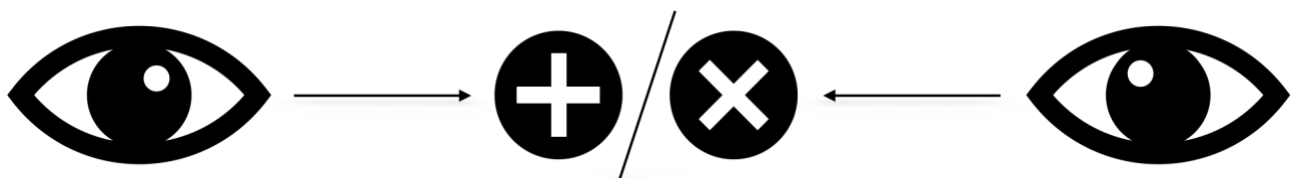
Provided the underpinning for the theoretical argument that Indigenous control contributes to the success of NGOs. For example, Sen's capability model helped establish the importance of Khmer-run NGOs in raising other Khmers' capability, which also represented an increase in freedoms.

Moreover, Sen's ideas helped demonstrate how an increase in freedoms can accumulate over time, to increase the freedoms of the community as a whole (as seen in the changing attitudes to education). These gains represent significant successes for Indigenous-controlled organisations, and supports the overall basis of the argument.



The accumulation of freedoms over time.

The theoretical concept of postcolonialism indirectly demonstrated two ideas important to the thesis argument, the first of which was the negative impact of the Khmer Rouge, which resulted in Khmer fighting Khmer, and the success of the Indigenous-controlled NGOs to counter that impact by having Khmer help Khmer. Secondly, a social constructionism ontology helped establish how GN (Global North) perceptions differed from those of local Khmer, while a postcolonial frame helped highlight GN misconceptions about local realities. These insights highlight the importance of Indigenous-controlled NGOs by demonstrating that what the GN people perceived as needed can be different from what the Khmer actually need.



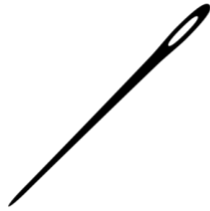
Social constructionism helps establish different people's views on the same shared object, while postcolonialism aids understanding of those differences.

Furthermore, it helps avoid acts of neocolonialism by having locals make decisions, rather than local decisions being influenced/controlled by GN interests.

Ideas from *The External Control of Organizations* (Pfeffer & Salancik 2003) demonstrated the benefits of Indigenous-controlled NGOs in diversifying their funding, as it helped to continue operations if one funding source was lost. Moreover, these discussions helped demonstrate the importance of the NGOs gathering their own resources, through diverse means, as it gave them the freedom to make decisions on how those resources were used.



Training restaurant, which attracts tourists



Creating/ having items for sale



Gifts or donations



Partnerships with other organisations

Several of the diverse means by which the NGOs in this study generated their own income/resources.

This, importantly, leads to some of the demonstrated success of the Indigenous-controlled organisations as it is Khmer working at the organisations who are able to make decisions on the use of resources, on behalf of other Khmer. This, in turn, helped raise the capability of local Khmer to gain work or study for a higher degree, while also increasing the organisation's legitimacy with those external to it, through observations of their successful outcomes.

9.3 Secondary and tertiary objectives

The secondary and tertiary objectives represent features of the research topic which were considered in need of further investigation, following the review of academic literature in Chapter 3. These features included socialisation, or more specifically aspects of socialisation such as play and friendship forming that were discussed in the literature as 'pull factors' which helped lure disadvantaged children to a street-frequenting existence (Bordonaro 2012; Droz 2006; Kudrati, Plummer & Yousif 2008; Nieuwenhuys 2001; Rizzini & Butler 2003). However, a comparable investigation of NGO 'pull factors', for NGOs who delivered services to a similar cohort, did not exist in published research. Similarly, the literature review suggested there was limited published research on the factors that help draw disadvantaged children to NGO services (recruitment), and/or help keep them there (retention) once they commenced. These two points formed the basis of the secondary objective:

- **To examine, and better understand, the 'pull factors' of NGO services (such as play and friendship forming) including a consideration of factors that help draw children to the organisation (recruitment) and keep them there (retention).**

The literature review also identified that research regarding children's experiences of organisational interventions came mostly from an adult perspective, with only limited studies regarding the child's perspective. This led to the tertiary objective:

- **To provide a voice to children receiving services, which traditionally has been neglected.**

The secondary and tertiary objectives are addressed sequentially in this section. In the case of the secondary objective, it is reviewed below in sub-sections including: 9.3.1 Socialisation and its benefits; 9.3.2 Unintentional recruitment; and 9.3.3 Socialisations, retention and other benefits. Finally, the evidence from this study which addresses the secondary objective, is compared against published literature to help interpret, critique and expand its meaning.

9.3.1 Socialisation and its benefits

As noted, aspects of socialisation such as play and friendship forming acted as 'pull factors' that helped attract young people to a street-frequenting existence (Bordonaro 2012; Droz 2006; Conticini 2005; Kudrati, Plummer & Yousif 2008; Nieuwenhuys 2001; Rizzini & Butler 2003). When outlining the secondary objective in section 5.2.1, this thesis asked if NGOs with comparable cohorts of children, were capable of generating similar social ties? And if they were, what aspect of the NGOs' service helped in their formation? The interviews resoundingly indicated that students made friends during their time at the NGO (see section 7.5.1 above). The formation of these friendships was aided by students learning together in class and through socialising and play on the NGO grounds, between classes. Hence, engagement with the NGOs provided similar social benefits for Khmer children, as those reported in the research on street children (Bordonaro 2012; Conticini 2005; Kudrati, Plummer & Yousif 2008; Nieuwenhuys 2001; Rizzini & Butler 2003).

However, being able to engage with an NGO was noted as problematic for some children. For example, the head teacher of *NGO-1* noted how some students would not be able to attend his organisation if it only focused on providing an education, as a lack of money and/or food caused by ongoing poverty, needed to be addressed first (see section 6.3.1.1 above). Moreover, a potential consequence of only focusing interventions on education, rather than helping children to address their basic needs, was identified in the literature as hunger, which distracted the child and made them unable to concentrate (Nieuwenhuys 2001; Riley 2013). This, in turn, makes the education redundant, if the child is unable to benefit from it. In Chapter 6, the various ways in which the NGOs helped students to address basic needs were illustrated, and while not offering direct economic assistance (beyond *NGO-1*'s indirect support through brokering sponsorships for higher education), or food in the case of *NGO_2*, their efforts did appear to assist students to attend the NGOs. For example, G13 noted being gifted a bicycle, which enabled them to travel the long distance to the NGO, which would have otherwise impacted their ability to attend the organisation (see section 6.3.2.1 above). Hence, some of the limitations of the child's existence were addressed by the NGO, so they could attend class and gain an education, which in turn had the wider potential to help them out of poverty (as similarly discussed in section 8.3.3 above).

Once able to engage with the NGOs, several staff noted how it helped students to overcome other detrimental aspects of poverty, such as the social exclusion⁶ it causes, with the social inclusion the organisations helped to foster. For example, staff member S11 discussed how if students only stayed at home, they would only play alone, and not learn how to interact with one another, whereas, through the child being socially engaged from attendance at the NGO, they learnt how to share, communicate, and help each other (see section 7.5.1 above). A similar phenomenon was noted in the literature concerning street-frequenting children, where the street was described as helping children to ‘... enjoy friendships, engage in recreation by playing football or cards, enjoy themselves just hanging around and gossiping ...’ (Nieuwenhuy 2001, p. 548). Relatedly, the manager of *NGO_2* also discussed how she purposefully kept the English language school open to both rich and poor students, so that ‘connections’ could be made between different strata of Khmer society. Of course, children make friends independently of their attendance at the NGOs, and hence it would be incorrect to suggest that children were incapable of forming friendships in an environment outside of the organisation. However, the density of children grouped in one location, such as those discussed in the literature who inhabited the street, or those in this research who learnt together at the NGO, appeared to enhance the chances of these friendships being formed (Beazley & Miller 2016; Bordonaro 2012; Conticini 2005; Kudrati, Plummer & Yousif 2008). Moreover, in some instances these friendships were long term; as Grossberg (2013) notes, the first students in their study to attend a Phnom Penh-based NGO were still friends many years later, in their third year of university.

The final noted benefit of students making friends at the NGOs was being able to work together in class, as peer learning helped them understand and master course work. Similarly, Beazley and Miller’s (2016) research from Siem Reap noted the benefits of children working together to overcome obstacles (namely police) so they could engage tourists and sell their goods. Beazley and Miller (2016, p. 278) also note how solidarity (such as the examples of children working together for beneficial outcomes) is ‘... a characteristic of the poor the world over’ as a lack of resources makes people band together to address need. Similarly, they discuss how a shared location, such as being from the same village (like those serviced by the investigated NGOs), helps strengthen ties between people (Beazley & Miller 2016). These two points can help explain, not just the unanimous agreement in interviews that children made friends while attending the NGOs, but also the strong language used by participants to describe those friendships (see section 7.5.1

⁶ Sen (2000, pp. 4–5) describes social exclusion broadly as ‘being excluded from social relations’ that can ‘...lead to other deprivations as well, thereby further limiting our living opportunities’ which he further links to poverty and capability deprivation.

above). Clearly, similar and/or shared circumstances, such as being from the same village and learning together at the same organisation, helps produce strong social ties between children.

9.3.2 Unintentional recruitment

Participants' responses did not identify a specific method of recruitment used by the NGOs to recruit people to the organisations. Rather, the NGOs' work, including positive perceptions of that work, resulted in a by-product-like effect which attracted students to the organisation, and/or encouraged them to promote it. Moreover, observations of students' increased capability from attendance at the NGOs produced a similar by-product-like effect, whereby those external to the organisation wanted to attend themselves, or of people promoting the NGOs to others in the community. These unintentional means of recruitment differ from the findings in most of the research literature, which mostly discuss intentional methods of recruitment attached to a specific program/NGO (for example, Almeida & de Carvalho 2002, Jones 1997, McEvoy et al. 2013), though some examples of unintentional recruitment were also identified in the research literature and are noted, when relevant, below.

A specific example of the by-product-like effect of the NGOs' work is seen in students from *NGO-1* and *NGO_2*'s stated reasons for attending the organisations, which included:

- the education being free (see section 6.3.2.2 above)
- the perceived good quality of the school and/or education (see section 6.3.2.2 above)
- lessons in English (majority) and/or computer classes (less so) (see sections 7.2.2.1 and 7.2.2.2 above)
- the presence of volunteers, who enabled the student to:
 - practise English with native speakers (see section 6.3.2.4 above)
 - learn about other countries (see section 6.3.2.4 above)
 - gain potential sponsorship (see sections 6.3.2.2.1 and 6.3.2.4 above)
 - receive materials that helped them learn (see section 6.3.2.1 above).

Hence, the actual work of the NGO, the good quality in which that work is perceived to be delivered, and the presence of volunteers (potentially more relevant to *NGO_2* due to the greater number of volunteers present – see section 6.3.2.4 above) produces a by-product-like effect that attracts students to the organisations. Further, when participants were asked what they would recommend to their friends, in order to convince them to attend the NGOs, their answers reflected those stated above, which lends further support to the listed reasons. The recruitment of students to the organisation being an unintended by-product of the NGOs' work shares similarities to a study by Grossberg (2013) from Phnom Penh. In this article, a hip hop program run by the

organisation became popular among street youth, which drove the NGO's recruitment through word-of-mouth promotion.

Another example of the by-product-like effect of the NGOs' work was identified in interviews with Khmer staff, and with both long-term and short-term GN participants. These participants discussed how parents of students who attended the NGOs gained an appreciation of the organisation's work through observation of their child's increased knowledge and skill (see sections 6.3.2.2 and 6.3.2.3 above). This, in turn, encouraged parents to promote the NGOs to other parents in the village, a point supported by the two parents whose children attended the NGOs in this study (see section 6.3.2.3 above). The by-product-like effect of the NGOs' work was also present in an example by staff member S3, who noted observing an NGO student in the local village who gathered children and gave lessons (see section 6.3.2.3 above). This helped promote the NGO, as the children receiving the lessons then asked the student teaching them, where they had learnt. Interestingly, Miller (2022) notes a similar scenario in which two Khmer youths started an English language class in their village to help younger children sell goods to tourists. These separate, but similar examples resonate with the collectivist culture of Cambodia, as they demonstrate the children working for the benefit of the group, rather than simply for themselves. This is similarly demonstrated in section 6.2.3 Positive collectivism (above), where the focus of the interviewed Khmer is consistently on the betterment of others, rather than themselves. This insight can help explain why Khmer actively promote services they perceive as beneficial among the community, as it helps the group overall.

The by-product-like effect of the NGOs' work was also demonstrated in responses from current students (see section 7.5.1 above). For example, students discussed learning about the NGO from their friends who already studied there (students promoting the NGO amongst themselves) or noted how their siblings wanted to attend the organisation, after observing their own increase in capability and then wanting similar improvement for themselves. The last point is similar to research by Dejaeghere, Wiger and Willemsen (2016) who noted how a student's attendance at an NGO school made them a role model for their siblings to want to attend, and succeed also. In summary, though no formal recruitment process was identified in interviews, the results of the NGOs' work drove some Khmer to promote the organisations, while other students actively (without prompting from the NGO) recruited on their behalf. Together, the various listed points, in addition to the friendships that students made at the organisations, can be described as the NGOs' 'pull factors' that both encourage students to attend the NGOs, and continue on, once there.

9.3.3 Socialisations, retention, and other benefits

When outlining the secondary objective in section 5.2.1, the thesis raised the proposition that if NGOs could emulate aspects of street life that helped lure children to a street-frequenting existence, such as friendship forming and/or the development of a sense of belonging to the organisations, then this could aid retention. Sections 7.5.1 and 9.3.1 established that students

made friends while attending the NGOs. The importance of having friends to aid retention was demonstrated in research by Conticini (2005) who noted how street children left a street-based NGO education program, due to not having any friends in class. If, in addition to friendships, the children developed a sense of belonging to the organisations, then this should theoretically increase retention. A sense of belonging to the organisations was evident in several participant responses. For example, participant G13, a former student, said she had happy memories from her time playing and learning with friends at the NGO (see section 7.5.1 above), while an NGO teacher discussed how their students described feeling love and joy when attending the organisation, and how it felt like family (see section 6.3.2.1 above). Students actively encouraging their friends and/or family to attend the NGOs also speaks to a sense of belonging to the organisations. Hence, the NGOs have been successful in creating environments where students make friends and develop a sense of belonging.

Unlike friendships however, the way in which students developed a sense of belonging to the organisations, was not clear in participant responses. In addition, the link between friendships and/or developing a sense of belonging to the organisations and its effect on retention could not be established, though successful retention at the organisations could be inferred from several quotes. For example, both organisations discussed being at capacity and having to turn students away (see section 7.4.1.3 above); this would not be an issue if recruitment or retention was problematic. Similarly, a long-term GN volunteer noted the commitment that some students demonstrated when they rode to classes scheduled for 5 pm to 6 pm, as it was dark and rainy at this time, during that part of the year (see section 6.3.2.3 above). Finally, when discussing the follow-up of students who had been absent, head teacher H3 implied that absenteeism was minimal, indicating that even general attendance was good (see section 6.3.2.1 above). The strong discussion of friendships in section 7.5.1 (above), coupled with the limited issues associated with retention implied in participant responses, suggests a correlation could exist between the two factors. However, further research is needed to investigate this claim.

The discussion above regarding the follow-up of students who had been absent, and the NGOs' attempts to then find ways to help them re-engage, also works to increase retention. This is similarly demonstrated in research by Dejaeghere, Wiger and Willemsen (2016) where, for example, an NGO helped secure medicine for a student's mother, so she could continue to care for the student's child, which allowed the student to continue their education and graduate. Another potential benefit of continued attendance at an NGO, in addition to increasing one's capabilities, and even graduating, was noted by two long-term GN participants as the deterrence of some students, from a life of crime. This was loosely supported in students' focus groups when they reported that some children did not attend classes as they wanted to play, do drugs, or steal (see section 6.3.1.2). Similarly, NGOs can help shield some children from being victims of crime (or at

least reduce the frequency of the perpetrators access to them – see section 6.3.1.2 above). Research by Dejaeghere, Wiger and Willemsen (2016, p. 466) identified similar benefits of NGO attendance in that it helped prevent females from a life of ‘transactional sex’ in relation to domestic violence. Hence, NGOs (whether intentionally or otherwise) appear to play a role in helping some students (especially females) to avoid perpetrators of crime by offering a place where the child can go to avoid them. Moreover, NGOs provide students with the resources, such as skills and education, to be able to remove themselves from the situation entirely (Dejaeghere, Wiger & Willemsen 2016). The mechanism by which this happens, including how NGOs assist children to avoid criminal activity (inadvertently or otherwise), requires further investigation. This is especially important as poverty and domestic violence are both listed as ‘push factors’ which help drive children to street life (Beazley 2014; Bordonaro 2012; Dybicz 2005; McAlpine et al. 2010; Rizzini & Butler 2003; Thomas de Benitez 2003), so research investigating means of curbing either can help prevent further decline.

9.3.4 Children’s voice

The tertiary objective states: ‘Provide a voice to children receiving services, which traditionally has been neglected’. The rationale for this objective was initially established from the review of academic literature in Chapter 3. The review explored ‘NGOs working with disadvantaged children in developing countries’ and found that people’s experiences of organisational interventions come mostly from the adult’s perspective. In fact, only 3 of the 47 studies reviewed had clear evidence of the child’s experience of NGO interventions (Dejaeghere, Wiger & Willemsen 2016; Kudrati, Plummer & Yousif 2008; Nieuwenhuys 2001). The rationale for this objective was also developed from discussions in the social construction of the child and childhood section (4.2.5), which noted how children’s inclusion in research has traditionally been limited. The reasoning for this was linked to universal concepts of childhood, which suggest that children are ‘pre-adults’ whose contributions to research lack an adult’s complexity/maturity (Norozi & Moen 2016; James & Prout 2015; Burr & Montgomery 2003). The inclusion of the child’s voice in this study was accomplished firstly by incorporating children into the research design, as shown in sections 5.4.1 ‘Defining the research cohort’ and 5.4.2 ‘Sample and recruitment’, where children/current students, and even former students who were mostly youths themselves, were identified as cohorts to be consulted, with sample sizes equal to the adult groups. The equal sample sizes to adult cohorts, helped acknowledge Prout and James (2015) assertion that children are social actors worthy of study in their own right, while also adhering to article 12 of the UNCRC, by providing children with a voice regarding the services they receive.

Similarly, both cohorts (current and former students) were identified in the data analysis section (5.7) as groups to be analysed independently, and separately from, others, so that their individual contributions could be clearly established and used to help tell the story of the research. This is

evidenced by the extensive use of the two cohorts' quotes throughout the results chapters, Chapters 6 and 7, which present their unique (and occasionally shared) contributions to the various themes. For example, in section 6.3.1.2 children identified wanting 'happiness' and not 'separation', which on further investigation (during member checking) was clarified as parents moving, sometimes internationally, for work. Moreover, children's quotes implied that this separation impacted them emotionally/psychologically, all of which might have been missed had the investigation adopted more universal concepts of childhood, and only explored adult participants and their perceptions of the children receiving services (Prout & James 2015). Another example of including the child's voice was demonstrated in the major theme 'Student outcomes from NGO interventions', which discussed many examples of former students' (the majority of whom were youth) outcomes after NGO intervention.

9.4 Addressing the primary objective

The primary objective of the research was stated as:

- **To establish how different stakeholder groups perceive NGO services with disadvantaged children so that a more complete picture of the benefits, impacts and effects of services can be understood and evaluated in order to make recommendations for the betterment of services.**

To address the primary objective, this section draws on the thematic analysis of the participants' responses presented in Chapters 6 and 7, the consideration of those responses to address the secondary objective in Chapter 9, and the re-interpretation of thesis findings presented in Chapter 8, to make recommendations for the betterment of services. It should be noted, however, that these recommendations are suggestions only, based on my own observations/analysis of the research results. Furthermore, I acknowledge that the recommendations I make here are informed by my cultural lens, and may not be of concern, or helpful, to Khmer people. In the future, I hope to discuss the research with Khmer participants and see what recommendations may evolve from the results with the aid of their insights (that has not been possible in recent times due to COVID-19 travel restrictions).

The first recommendation concerns Khmer students and their limited exposure to different occupations and professions, and a method by how this might be improved. For example, it was identified in the interviews that Khmer students have limited exposure to diverse job types in the local environment, and/or a limited range of educational resources to teach students about more diverse work options (see sections 7.2.1.1 and 8.3.2 above). These two points work to inhibit a student's understanding of what they might achieve, which can also impact on ambition. A method that might help students to explore and consider employment opportunities, beyond those few represented in the local job market (or those taught by the limited education resources), is having

students research and imagine alternative futures (similar ideas appear in Dejaeghere, Wiger and Willemsen (2016) and Appadurai (2004)). Imagining and researching, or researching and imagining, different futures can help students overcome the unfreedoms of exposure caused by the local environment, while also potentially helping with ambition. Moreover, it could even result in students creating new industries to address gaps in the local market. This recommendation also fits well with the NGOs offering training in a second language and computer skills, as when these two skills are combined (as discussed in section 8.3.3), they can help students to overcome the other noted limitation concerning Khmer language resources. This may, in turn, encourage Khmer to produce resources in their own language.

The second recommendation concerns the need for GN volunteers to be more orientated to Khmer history, customs and culture, as well as to be reflective of their own culture, and how it might be informing their responses and actions. This recommendation is based on the identification of several incidents where it was obvious that the GN volunteers had limited insight concerning local realities (for example see sections 6.3.1.1, 6.3.2.1 or 8.4.2.2 above). This can be achieved by first teaching GN participants about common Khmer cultural characteristics such as collectivism, Buddhist influences such as respect and morality, and the history of the civil war, to help people understand why the country is disadvantaged (an activity already carried out by *NGO_2*). Then, an emphasis could be placed on having GN participants keep an open mind about the differences they encounter, and to encourage reflection on their reaction to challenging situations. For example, is a given environment unfriendly for children? Or am I being informed by my GN perspective? If the child knows no different, is it an environment they are unhappy in? Or is it one that they need protection from? The concept might be equally summarised by asking GN participants to try walking 'a mile in Khmer shoes' or similar. This, in turn, can assist people with culture shock, and even help them adapt to local realities. This type of education may also help avoid well-intentioned but poorly understood acts of neocolonialism such as placing GN people in charge of decisions which impact on people from the Global South, or the use of GN expertise in place of local knowledge and expertise (see sections 8.6.1 and 8.6.2 above). Moreover, newly arrived GN people who wish to develop new organisations in Cambodia could benefit from similar training and/or working with locals to help develop interventions, so that Khmer hybridity seeps through and helps develop services that cater to local needs (see section 8.4.2.2 above).

The final recommendation concerns the potential need for more support and/or education of older students by the NGOs, to help them attend, or understand the benefits of gaining, an education. This recommendation is based on a former student who left the NGO's vocational training, as they felt they were not learning much and wanted to return to their old job selling noodles. A closer inspection of the participant's transcript identified that they left school in Year 6 (now an adult with children) and had sold goods for a living since then (see sections 7.3 and 8.3.2 above). Hence,

older students with limited prior education, and who work, may need additional information regarding the potential benefits of an education, and/or additional assistance, to attend an NGO intervention. This is especially true if attendance at the NGO affects their ability to earn an income, as Cambodia's limited state welfare offers no support to attend training that might increase/diversify a person's commodifiable output (deRiel 2017; Phnom Penh Post 2019). Moreover, people attend the NGOs as they have limited resources to pay for a paid alternative, and/or may even need extra assistance, in addition to the services being free, to help them engage with the organisation. Hence, this makes the likelihood of a person having the resources necessary to support themselves without working, while they study at the NGO, unlikely (at least before receiving training at the organisation, as some participants noted gaining work to save for university after gaining an education). Consequently, more support from NGOs (if feasible/possible), as well as more education about the benefits of continued learning, are recommended to help older students with limited education to overcome their knowledge and opportunity unfreedoms (of income and education, including the insights of its potential benefits).

9.4.1 Recommendation for further research

One opportunity for further research is an investigation of the mechanism by which NGOs helped recipients of services, especially females, to avoid being victims of crime (see section 9.3.3 above). The importance of this research is considerable given domestic violence was listed as a 'push factor' that helps drive children to a street-frequenting existence (Beazley 2014; Bordonaro 2012; Dybiczyk 2005; McAlpine et al. 2010; Rizzini & Butler 2003; Thomas de Benitez 2003). Another opportunity for further research concerns the limited understanding of how NGOs develop a 'sense of belonging' in recipients of services, to the organisation, and whether a 'sense of belonging' and/or friendships, benefits retention (see section 9.3.3 above). There is also a need for further research into the concept of nepotism in Indigenous-run NGOs, within collectivist cultures (see section 8.6.2 above). Finally, though beyond the scope of this project, there is need for an investigation into how both organisations have managed to stay legitimate within the community, and with their donors/supporters; this would help similar organisations to understand how they might better maintain, or even strengthen, the own organisations.

9.5 Study limitations

A number of limitations were noted throughout this study. For example, the majority of the research literature reviewed in Chapter 3 related to urban areas, which made its applicability to regional and rural geographies, problematic. However, several articles did note the investigation of rural families who had migrated to urban areas for better opportunities, suggesting that the results might be more universal. Section 5.4.2.1 noted the limitation of chain sampling, as recruitment was filtered through others, which can be problematic if participants are not monitored for relevance, or for recruiters' bias. Attempts to overcome this limitation included discussing recruitment strategies with

recruiters, and being inclusive of the NGOs' various roles, to help reduce bias. Section 5.8.1 noted the limitation of my outsider (etic) investigation of Indigenous Khmer, and limited ability to spend time in the country conducting fieldwork. To strengthen the case for the research, I discussed my prior travel in the region, my continued reading of literature concerning Cambodia, and the maintaining of relationships with Khmer to aid interpretation of the results. The study also used member checking and participants' quotes to demonstrate the trustworthiness of the interpretations, as well as adopting Spivak's (1983) points on the importance of reflecting on one's position to limit impact when presenting the 'other' (Kapoor 2004). However, none of these are a valid replacement for being Khmer, or spending longer in the country. A potential advantage of my etic position was being able to interpret situations with 'fresh eyes', as being too engaged within a system (emic), can blind people to other potential realities (Berger & Luckmann 1991).

9.6 Final thoughts

When I initially started this journey, Cambodia existed in my thoughts as a destination with a grand history in the form of the temples of Angkor, but also as a place of considerable sadness due to the civil war, and subsequent poverty that resulted from those events. As noted in chapter 1, in my first journey to the country in 2005, I had never witnessed poverty on that scale before and the children, despite having little, demonstrated considerable drive/will to want to better themselves. This experience left a significant impact on me. Through the benefit of having conducted this research, I have now witnessed the drive I first saw in Khmer children, in Khmer of all ages, and observed the fruits of that drive in the Indigenous controlled organisations I studied. Moreover, whereas I started this journey with no contacts in the country, I now have the honour of calling a number of Khmer people, friends. I must also acknowledge and congratulate the considerable dedication and aid given by expatriates and international volunteers, who help to keep these organisations running.

Regarding the representation of Khmer people in my research (as originally discussed in section 5.8.1) there was an 'ah-ha' moment when, after having reviewed a number of interviews, I realised that Khmer participants regularly discussed wanting to give back to the organisation, that had originally helped them. Initially, I had been concerned with the lack of refusal by participants, when they were asked to participate in the research, as this was suggestive of coercion or that people may have felt some form of obligation to the organisations, which made them participate. However, on reflection of the interviews and the altruism that was being demonstrated by Khmer participants, I realised I was considering events too much through the lens of my own experience, and that I needed to step back. Reflecting on Spivak's (1983) 'Can the subaltern speak?' also helped with this journey; it also made me realise that despite the steps I took, I would always be the outsider looking in when investigating another culture. Despite this limitation, I took what steps I could (for example, member checking, using participant quotes to help demonstrate results, and conferring with locals) to make sure my results were as accurate a reflection of Khmer responses, as they

possibly could be. In the future, I plan to address the other concerns raised by Spivak (1983), through the dissemination of my research, as this will allow the subaltern to speak.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Logic Grid

The logic grid is presented below:

Problem	Population	Place	Intervention
<i>Key concept:</i>	<i>Key concept:</i>	<i>Key concept:</i>	<i>Key concept:</i>
Disadvantaged	Children	Developing countries	NGO
<i>Key words:</i>	<i>Key words:</i>	<i>Key words:</i>	<i>Key words:</i>
Disadvantage*	Child*	Developing	NGO*
Homeless*	Youth*	Less developed	Charit*
Poor	Kid*	Low resource	Non-government
Poverty*	Adolescen*	Disadvantaged	Non-profit
Displaced	Young people	Resource limited	Not for profit
Underprivileged	Young person*	Low* income	Humanitarian
Street*	Urchins	3 rd world	Aid
At risk	Teen*	Third world	Organisation*
		Underdeveloped	Organization*
		Countr*	Institut*
		Region*	Agenc*
		Nation*	
		Area*	

* asterisks denote a truncation to capture all forms of the given word.

Appendix 2: ProQuest and Web of Science database search strings and reasoning

Search strategy coded for the ProQuest and Web of Science databases including list of developing countries established from the United Nations: World Economic Situation and Prospective 2015 and the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade list of developing countries (2015). This list was used alongside the descriptive terms for developing nations to increase the sensitivity of database searches. The list of countries and regions used in this search appear below under the title 'Search 3 (S3)'.

All synonyms of child were searched within 3 words of the synonyms for disadvantaged to increase the likelihood of capturing the term in sentences/titles used within the literature. For examples the mix of child* and street were found in various associations like 'street children' used by Bordonaro (2012) and Dybicz (2005) or 'Street frequenting children' as used by Beazley and Miller (2016) or 'children of the street' as used by Rose (2002). Another consideration was the proximity of the word organisation, agency or institute to terms like NGO and not-for-profit; in all considerations, the terms appear next to each other for example 'aid agency' or 'not-for-profit organisation'.

Search 1 (S1) Problem and Population:

(child* NEAR/3 (disadvantage* OR homeless* OR poor OR poverty* OR displaced OR underprivileged OR street* OR "at risk")) OR (youth* NEAR/3 (disadvantage* OR homeless* OR poor OR poverty* OR displaced OR underprivileged OR street* OR "at risk")) OR (kid* NEAR/3 (disadvantage* OR homeless* OR poor OR poverty* OR displaced OR underprivileged OR street* OR "at risk")) OR (adolescen* NEAR/3 (disadvantage* OR homeless* OR poor OR poverty* OR displaced OR underprivileged OR street* OR "at risk")) OR ("young people" NEAR/3 (disadvantage* OR homeless* OR poor OR poverty* OR displaced OR underprivileged OR street* OR "at risk")) OR ("young person*" NEAR/3 (disadvantage* OR homeless* OR poor OR poverty* OR displaced OR underprivileged OR street* OR "at risk")) OR urchin*

Search 2 (S2) Intervention:

NGO* OR charit* OR ((organisation* OR organization* OR institut* OR agenc*) NEAR/1 (non-government OR non-profit OR "not for profit" OR humanitarian OR aid))

Search 3 (S3) Place:

((Developing OR "Less developed" OR "low resource*" OR disadvantaged OR "resource limited" OR poor OR "low* income*" OR "3rd world" OR "third world" OR underdeveloped) NEAR/1 (countr* OR region* OR nation* OR area*) OR (europe OR albania OR armenia OR azerbaijan OR belarus OR bosnia herzegovina OR georgia OR kosovo OR macedonia OR moldova OR montenegro OR serbia OR turkey OR ukraine OR caribbean OR west indies OR barbados OR cuba OR dominica* OR guyana OR haiti OR jamaica OR "trinidad and tobago" OR central america OR "antigua and barbuda" OR belize OR costa rica OR el salvador OR grenada OR guatemala OR honduras OR montserrat OR nicaragua OR panama OR "st. lucia" OR "st. vincent and the grenadines" OR latin america OR mexico OR south america OR argentina OR bolivia OR brazil OR chile OR colombia OR ecuador OR paraguay OR peru OR suriname OR uruguay OR venezuela OR asia OR brunei OR china OR hong kong OR cambodia OR east timor OR indonesia OR kazakhstan OR korea OR kyrgyzstan OR laos OR malaysia OR myanmar OR burma OR "papua new guinea" OR philippines OR singapore OR taiwan OR thailand OR vietnam OR bangladesh OR bhutan OR india OR afghanistan OR bahrain OR iran OR iraq OR israel OR jordan OR kuwait OR lebanon OR mongolia OR oman OR qatar OR saudi arabia OR "united arab emirates" OR syria OR turkey OR yemen OR "west bank and gaza strip" OR nepal OR pakistan OR sri lanka OR tajikistan OR turkmenistan OR uzbekistan OR "cook islands" OR fiji OR kiribati OR "marshall islands" OR micronesia OR nauru OR niue OR palau OR samoa OR "solomon islands" OR tokelau OR tonga OR tuvalu OR vanuatu OR "wallis and futuna" OR maldives OR micronesia OR guam OR palau OR samoa OR tonga OR africa OR algeria OR egypt OR libya OR mauritania OR morocco OR tunisia OR cameroon OR central african republic OR chad OR congo OR equatorial guinea OR gabon OR "soa tome and principe" OR burundi OR comoros OR djibouti OR eritrea OR ethiopia OR kenya OR rwanda OR somalia OR st. helens OR sudan OR "south sudan" OR swaziland OR tanzania OR uganda OR angola OR botswana OR lesotho OR malawi or mauritius OR mozambique OR namibia OR south africa OR zambia OR zimbabwe OR benin OR burkina faso OR cabo verde OR cote d'ivoire OR gambia OR ghana OR guinea OR guinea-bissau OR liberia OR madagascar OR mali OR niger OR nigeria OR senegal OR seychelles OR sierra leone OR togo))

Appendix 3: Scopus search string

The Scopus database search used the same reasoning and search strings as the ProQuest and Web of Science search but has been re-coded to match the Scopus database syntax requirements.

Search 1 (S1) Problem and Population:

TITLE-ABS-KEY(((child* W/3 (disadvantage* OR homeless* OR poor OR poverty* OR displaced OR underprivileged OR street* OR "at risk")) OR (youth* W/3 (disadvantage* OR homeless* OR poor OR poverty* OR displaced OR underprivileged OR street* OR "at risk")) OR (kid* W/3 (disadvantage* OR homeless* OR poor OR poverty* OR displaced OR underprivileged OR street* OR "at risk")) OR (adolescen* W/3 (disadvantage* OR homeless* OR poor OR poverty* OR displaced OR underprivileged OR street* OR "at risk")) OR ("young people" W/3 (disadvantage* OR homeless* OR poor OR poverty* OR displaced OR underprivileged OR street* OR "at risk")) OR ("young person*" W/3 (disadvantage* OR homeless* OR poor OR poverty* OR displaced OR underprivileged OR street* OR "at risk")) OR urchin*))

Search 2 (S2) Intervention:

TITLE-ABS-KEY(NGO* OR charit* OR ((organisation* OR organization* OR institut* OR agenc*) W/1 (non-government OR non-profit OR "not for profit" OR humanitarian OR aid)))

Search 3 (S3) Place:

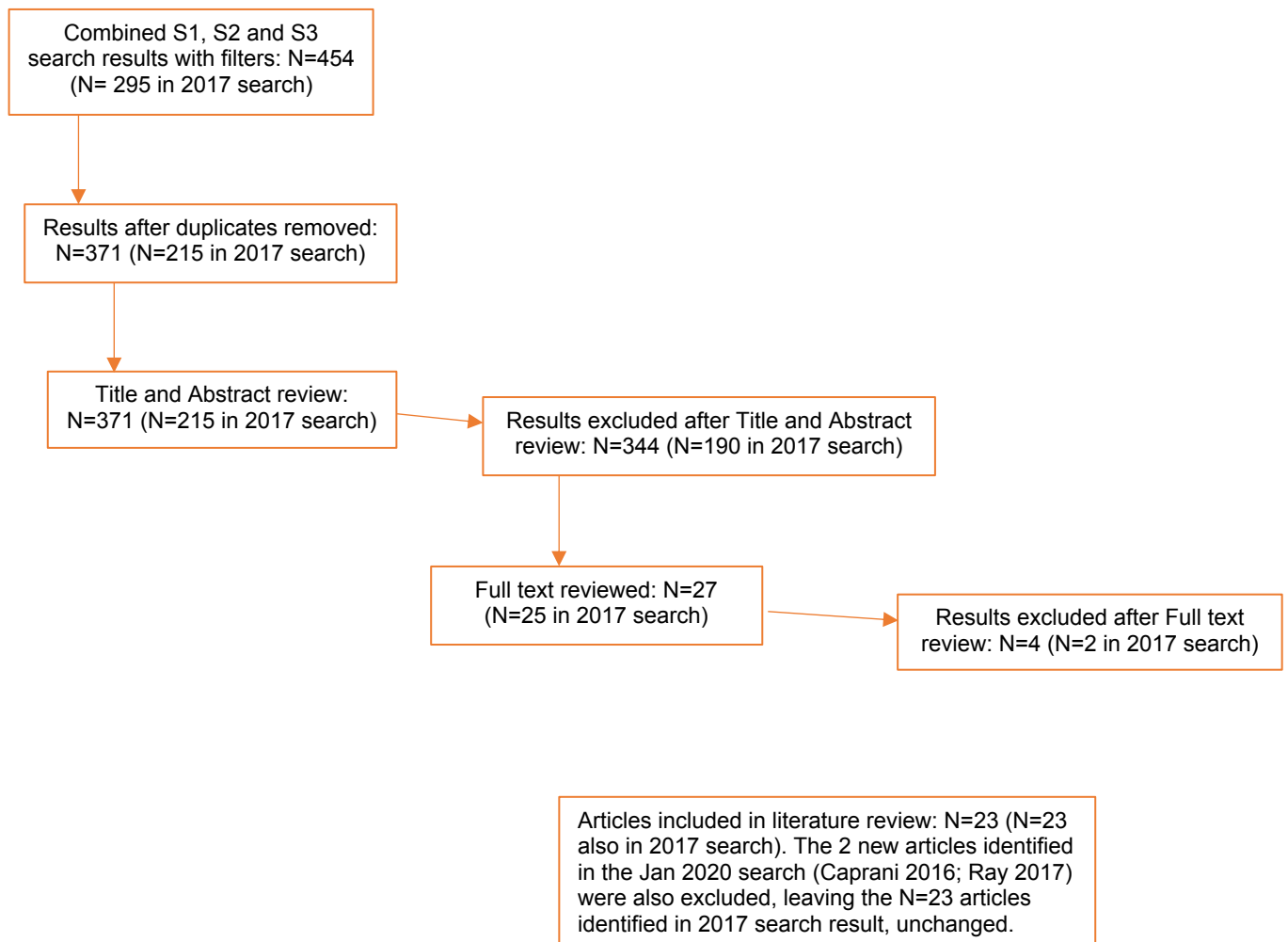
(TITLE-ABS-KEY(((Developing OR "Less developed" OR "low resource*" OR disadvantaged OR "resource limited" OR poor OR "low* income*" OR "3rd world" OR "third world" OR underdeveloped) W/1 (countr* OR region* OR nation* OR area*)) OR (europe OR albania OR armenia OR azerbaijan OR belarus OR "bosnia herzegovina" OR georgia OR kosovo OR macedonia OR moldova OR montenegro OR serbia OR turkey OR ukraine OR caribbean OR "west indies" OR barbados OR cuba OR dominica* OR guyana OR haiti OR jamaica OR "trinidad and tobago" OR "central America" OR "antigua and barbuda" OR belize OR "costa rica" OR "el Salvador" OR grenada OR guatemala OR honduras OR montserrat OR nicaragua OR panama OR "st. lucia" OR "st. vincent and the grenadines" OR "latin america" OR mexico OR "south America" OR argentina OR bolivia OR brazil OR chile OR colombia OR ecuador OR paraguay OR peru OR suriname OR uruguay OR venezuela OR asia OR brunei OR china OR "hong kong" OR cambodia OR "east timor" OR indonesia OR kazakhstan OR korea OR kyrgyzstan OR laos OR malaysia OR myanmar OR burma

OR "papua new guinea" OR philippines OR singapore OR taiwan OR thailand OR vietnam
OR bangladesh OR bhutan OR india OR afghanistan OR bahrain OR iran OR iraq OR israel
OR jordan OR kuwait OR lebanon OR mongolia OR oman OR qatar OR "saudi arabia" OR
"united arab emirates" OR syria OR turkey OR yemen OR "west bank and gaza strip" OR
nepal OR pakistan OR "sri lanka" OR tajikistan OR turkmenistan OR uzbekistan OR "cook
islands" OR fiji OR kiribati OR "marshall islands" OR micronesia OR nauru OR niue OR
palau OR samoa OR "solomon islands" OR tokelau OR tonga OR tuvalu OR vanuatu OR
"wallis and futuna" OR maldives OR micronesia OR guam OR palau OR samoa OR tonga
OR africa OR algeria OR egypt OR libya OR mauritania OR morocco OR tunisia OR
cameroon OR "central african republic" OR chad OR congo OR "equatorial guinea" OR
gabon OR "soa tome and principe" OR burundi OR comoros OR djibouti OR eritrea OR
ethiopia OR kenya OR rwanda OR somalia OR "st. helens" OR sudan OR "south sudan" OR
swaziland OR tanzania OR uganda OR angola OR botswana OR lesotho OR malawi OR
mauritius OR mozambique OR namibia OR "south Africa" OR zambia OR zimbabwe OR
benin OR "burkina faso" OR "cabo verde" OR "cote d'ivoire" OR gambia OR ghana OR
guinea OR "guinea-bissau" OR liberia OR madagascar OR mali OR niger OR nigeria OR
senegal OR seychelles OR "sierra leone" OR togo)))

Appendix 4: Database specific searches

ProQuest search (17/01/2020):

The ProQuest search was originally conducted in 2017, and then again in Jan 2020 to update results. Search numbers for both the 2020 search, and 2017 search are provided in the Prisma style graphic below and are based on the combined search strings of S1, S2 and S3 from appendix 2, with filters. Search filters in ProQuest included investigating articles in 'anywhere but full-text' on the advice of the research librarian to ensure searches focused on identifying key words in titles and abstracts, rather than random passages found within an article's full text. Other filters used in the search included limiting articles to scholarly journals, conference papers/proceedings, or academic books; an age range from 1990 to present; and English language text only. Monthly email alerts of the combined search strings with filters were also set up. The process is given in the table below:

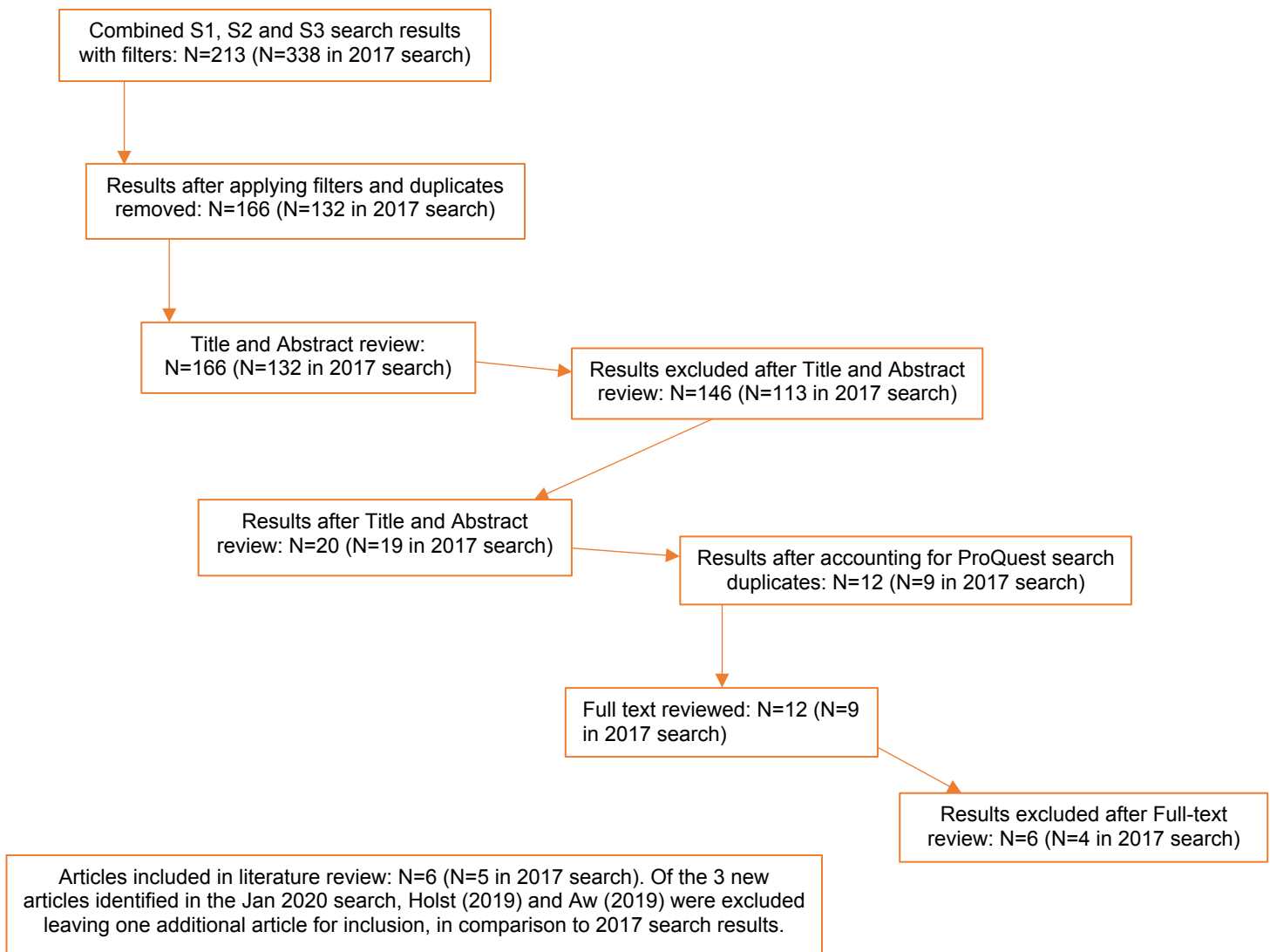


Articles excluded and reasoning:

One article was an editorial regarding children's agency but lacked specific discussion of NGO's and included youths up to 25 years (Bordonaro & Payne 2012). Another article explored a private education provider that offered some limited mentoring to street girls but offered no follow up, analysis of intervention, or further aid after the mentoring session meaning the cohort gained limited benefit from the intervention (Sperandio 2008). The third article was a critique of the sustainable development goal in comparison to the millennium development goal (Caprani 2016). Finally, an article by Ray (2017) focused on the grief experience of street children with limited reference to NGO experiences, and with quotes that did not reflect the discussed content suggesting questionable research quality.

Scopus search (17/01/2020):

The Scopus search was originally conducted in 2017, and then again in Jan 2020 to update results. Search numbers for both the 2020 search, and 2017 search are provided in the Prisma style graphic below and are based on the combined search strings of S1, S2 and S3 from appendix 3, with filters. Filters used in the Scopus search included limiting the document type to articles, book chapter's, conference paper's, books, and articles in press; documents were sourced from journals, books, conference proceedings and book series. Filters were also used to set an age range from 1990 to present and to search for articles in English language text only. Finally, articles from the hard sciences were filtered out including Earth and Planetary Sciences, Biochemistry, Genetics and Molecular Biology, Materials Science, Mathematics, Veterinary, Chemical engineering, Chemistry, Physics and Astronomy. Monthly email alerts for the combined search strings with filters were also set up. The process is given in the table below:

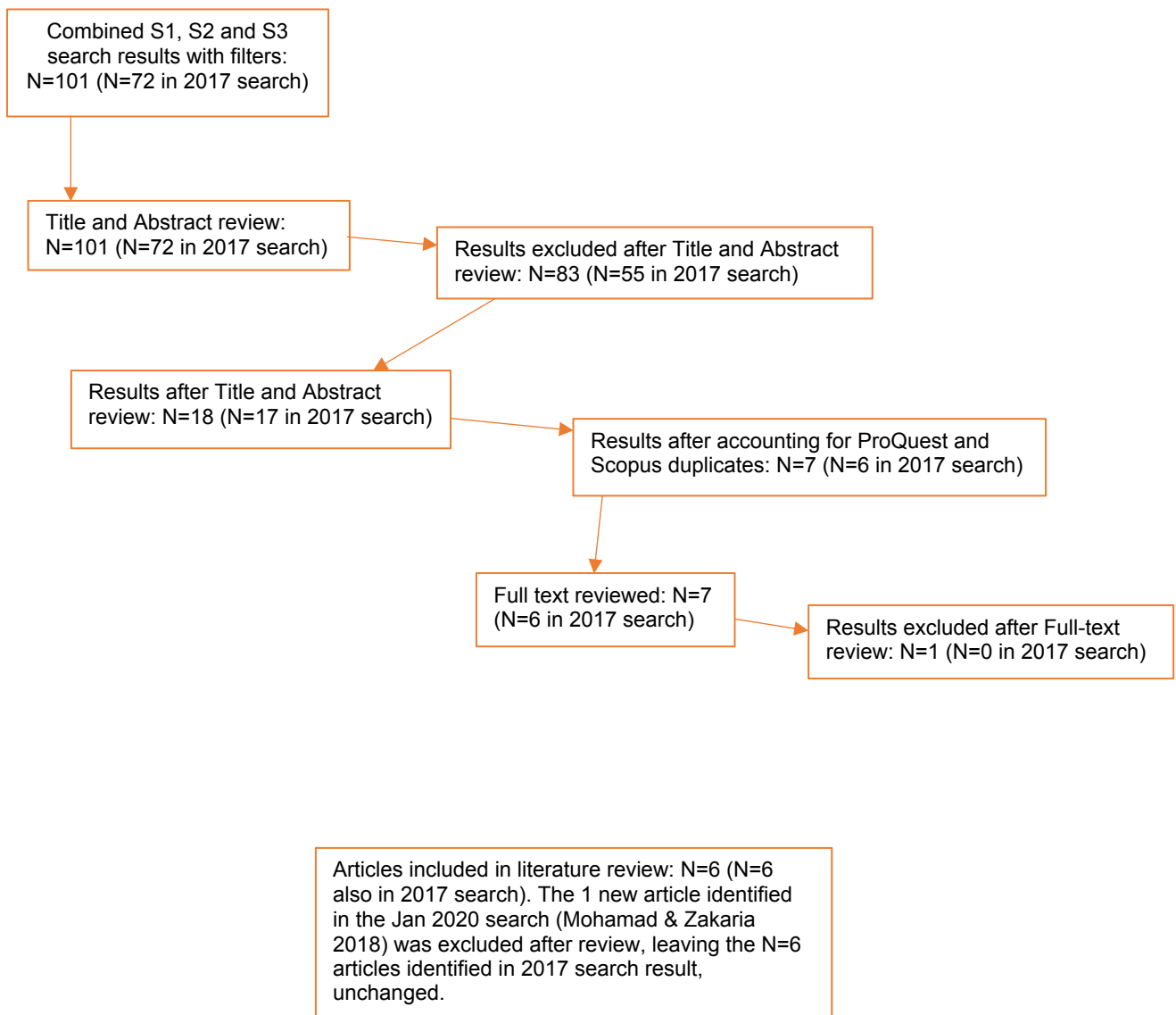


Articles excluded and reasoning:

An article by Fechter (2016) while based in Cambodia, related to the children of international aid workers and their experiences rather than NGO children receiving services. Another article by Kennedy and Pearson (2014) focused on testing an assessment scale regarding the effectiveness of NGO life skills interventions and not on the NGO, or its people. Similarly, Wong, Ma and Chan's (2017) article focused on a Multiple Family Group Therapy intervention rather than an NGO, or the people who engaged with it. Hart and Kvittingen's (2016) study broadly investigated institutional responses to displaced Iraqi youth in Jordan, but lacked specific discussion of NGO services, or of the people engaged with them. Holst's (2019) article focused on the commodification of former street children's experiences that were sold to tourists with limited discussion of NGOs or of people's experience of them. Finally, Aw's (2019) article focused primarily on the communication abilities of social workers with limited discussion of NGOs or service users.

Web of Science search (17/01/2020):

The Web of Science search was originally conducted in 2017, and then again in Jan 2020 to update results. Search numbers for both the 2020 search, and 2017 search are provided in the Prisma style graphic below and are based on the combined search strings of S1, S2 and S3 from appendix 2, with filters. Filters used in the Web of Science search included excluding document type 'reviews' and articles in languages other than English, though no year filter was set as all articles were published after 1990. Additional filters included the exclusion of articles on subject types: Astronomy and Astrophysics, Bioscience and Molecular Biology, Cell Biology, Engineering Electrical Electronic, Environmental Sciences, Immunology, Respiratory System. Monthly email alerts for the combined search with filters, were also set up. This process is given in the table below:



Article excluded and reasoning:

An article by Mohamad & Zakaria (2018) was excluded from the final review as it was primarily concerned with the evaluation of an English language camp for disadvantaged youths, and not the NGO, or youth experiences of the NGO.

Appendix 5: Managers Interview guide

Interview questions

First the questions are divided into different stakeholder groups including - NGO managers (who's series of questions are considerably longer than the other cohorts given their influence, limited number, and ability to inform discussion on macro influences of service delivery), NGO staff/volunteers, the children receiving services, parents/guardians of children receiving services, graduates of NGO services and community members.

Second, the main series of questions have been divided into themes including a review of the persons role, their views on services, their views on recruitment/retention/promotion and their views on socialisation.

Finally, questions have been numbered to indicate major theme questions, then questions are lettered; these questions explore important subthemes whilst also acting as prompts for the major themes questions. Additional prompts appear after lettered questions, where relevant, to help explore the major and sub themes in more depth.

NGO manager -

The Organisation –

1. Can you please tell me about your Organisation?
 - a. How long have you operated?
 - b. Why was the NGO started?
 - c. Why do people access your services?
2. Does the NGO have a guiding philosophy?
 - a. Could you please tell me about it?
 - b. How does this philosophy inform your delivery of services?
3. What services do you offer?
 - a. Education?
 - i. Which years?
 - ii. Are your classes based on an education standard/model?
 - ⇒ If yes, which one?
 - ⇒ What informs the choice of this model?
 - iii. What is the teacher-to-student ratio?
 - ⇒ What informs this ratio?
 - ⇒ Does this ratio help teacher provide attention to individual students?
 - b. Vocational training?
 - i. What do you offer training in?
 - ii. Who do you offer this training too?
 - iii. What percentage of students would you say, go on to find work in their area of training?
 - c. Do you offer a meal service?
 - i. What do you offer?
 - ii. How often do you offer this service?
 - iii. Is the meal service just for students?
 - ⇒ Who else receives these meals?
 - d. Clothing or other essentials?
 - i. Books? Pens/Pencils? Textbooks?
 - e. Any health services?
 - i. How about health education?
 - ii. Hygiene education?
 - f. Crisis care?
4. How many staff do you have?
 - a. What roles do your staff perform?
 - b. Volunteers?
 - c. What roles do your volunteers perform?
 - d. Are staff paid?
 - i. Voluntary?
 - ii. Percentage of paid vs voluntary?
5. How many people do you deliver services to?

- a. Where are the majority of these people from?
 - b. What is the age range of people receiving services?
 - c. What is the gender mix?
 - i. Is there a reason for why more M/F attend your services?
6. What is the end goal for people who partake in your services?

Impacts on service delivery –

7. What local legislation do you adhere to?
- a. How does this legislation affect service delivery?
 - b. Are their local accreditation requirements?
 - i. What impact does accreditation have on service delivery?
8. What international convention do you adhere to?
- a. Why these conventions?
 - b. How do these conventions affect service delivery?
9. (If you don't mind me asking) How are you funded?
- a. Do funders place stipulations on funding?
 - i. How does this impact service delivery?
 - b. Do you report to funders?
 - i. If yes, what do report on?
 - ii. Does this impact service delivery?
 - iii. Does the required reporting reflect the work carried out by your organisation?
 - c. Dose the NGO generate its own income?
 - i. If yes, how?
10. What else affects service delivery? (not already discussed)
- a. How do you address these issues?
11. Historically speaking, how did the local community react to your organisations presence?
- a. Was trust from the local community an issue?
 - i. If so, why?
 - ii. How did you build trust in the community?
 - iii. How are you viewed by the community now?
 - b. Did your organisation have to convince families of the benefits of your services?
 - i. If yes, how did you go about this?
12. Do you think Cambodia's unique and unsettled pass affects your ability to deliver services?
- a. If yes, how?
 - b. If no, have you experienced it's affect in other areas of Cambodian life?

(Questions regarding Cambodia's considerably unsettled past are only asked of NGO managers to help protect the more vulnerable members of the interview cohorts)

13. What barriers are there for children attending services?
- a. How does your organisation help address these barriers?
 - b. Do families need additional support if children participate in services?
 - i. If yes, what supports are commonly needed?
 - ⇒ Do you provide aid to parents? If yes, what?
 - ⇒ Where do families generally get these supports from?

Follow up, review and communication –

14. Do you collect data on your services?
- a. Is analysis of that data conducted?
 - i. Have services changed from analysis of collected data?
15. Do you follow up with graduates of your service?
- a. What do you follow up on?
 - b. Have services changed based on follow up with former students?
16. Do you communicate with other NGO's?
- a. What do you communicate on?
 - b. Do you share resources with other NGO's?
 - c. Do you help place people between services?

17. Are student's families involved with the NGO?
 - i. How are they involved?
 - ii. What prevents the family from being involved?
 - b. Is involvement of family encouraged?
 - i. Why/why not?
-
18. Is the community involved with the NGO?
 - i. How are they involved?
 - ii. What prevent the community from being involved?
 - b. Is involvement of the communities encouraged?
 - i. Why/why not?

Views on services –

(please note, from conversations with NGO managers, the concept of 'need' does not translate well into the Khmer language so questions that directly ask 'what do you need?' receive limited or confused answers. Questions have been designed instead to explore Khmer views on education, employment and lifestyle to gauge perceived need).

19. What do you consider a good level of education for your students to achieve?
 - a. Why this level?
 - b. What helps your students achieve this level of education?
 - i. How does your organisation help?
20. What do you believe your students value about their education?
 - i. Why this aspect?
21. What is not a good level of education?
 - a. What prevents students from achieving a good level of education?
22. What represents a good job for your students (in Cambodia)?
 - a. How might your students achieve this job?
 - i. What training/education/experience is needed?
 - b. What training does your organisation offer that helps your students achieve this employment?
 - i. What is missing?
23. What is a good lifestyle in Cambodia?
 - a. How might students achieve this lifestyle?
 - b. What can prevent people from achieving a decent lifestyle?
24. What does the average student aspire to?
 - a. What informs this, do you think?
25. What part of your organisations services do you think are most beneficial for your students?
 - a. Why?
26. What part of your services do you think needs improvement?
 - a. Why?
27. Does your education include Khmer content?
 - i. If yes, what is taught?
 - ii. If no, why not?
 - b. What cultural content would you like to see taught?

Retention/Recruitment/Promotion –

28. What parts of your services do you think your students would recommend to their peers?
 - a. Why these services?
29. What part of your services do you think attracts students to your organisation?
30. Are active steps taken to identify vulnerable children in services?
 - a. What steps are taken to aid/retain vulnerable students?

Socialisation –

31. How do children *feel* about your services? (may be answered in questions above)
 - a. What informs this?
32. Do children make friends at your organisation?
 - i. Where have you witnessed this happening?
 - ii. Why do you think this does not happen?
33. Do children have time between classes/lessons?
 - a. What do they do with time?
 - b. Should more time be set aside for children to play?
34. Do class activities encourage student interaction?
 - i. If yes, how is this achieved?
 - ii. If no, why not?
 - b. What impacts your organisations ability to encourage play?
35. What other efforts are made to encourage interaction between students?
 - a. Are children taught to look out for each other?
 - i. Why?

Appendix 6: Staff interview guide

Questions for NGO staff –

Role -

1. What is your role here?
2. What does your average day at the NGO consist of?

Views on services –

3. Why do people access the NGO services?
4. How do services benefit the child?
5. How has the service benefitted you?
6. Could you please tell me what you think a good level of education is?
 - a. Why this level?
 - b. How might your students achieve this level of education?
 - i. How does the NGO help them to achieve this level of education?
7. What part of your student's education do you think they value the most?
 - i. Why?
8. What is not a good level of education?
 - a. What prevents students from achieving a good level of education?
9. What is a good job (in Cambodia)?
 - a. How can students achieve this job?
 - i. What training, education or experience is required?
 - b. What training does the NGO supply that might help students achieve this job?
 - i. What is missing?
10. What is a good lifestyle (in Cambodia)?
 - a. How might your students achieve this lifestyle?
 - b. What might prevent a student from achieving this lifestyle?
11. What do your students aspire to?
 - a. What informs this?
12. What part of the NGO services do you think is most beneficial for students?
 - a. Why?
13. What part of the NGO services do you think needs attention?
 - a. Why?
14. Does the curriculum have Khmer content?
 - i. If yes, can you please tell me about it?
 - ii. If no, why do you think this is?

Retention/Recruitment/Promotion –

15. What parts of the NGO services do you think students would recommend to their peers?
 - a. Why these services?
16. What part of the NGO services do you think would attract children to the NGO's services?
17. Are steps taken to identify vulnerable students?
 - a. How are vulnerable students helped?

Socialisation –

18. How do students feel about the NGO?
 - a. What informs this?
19. Do students make friends at the NGO?
 - i. Where have you witnessed this?
 - ii. Why do you think this has not happened?
20. Are students given time between classes/lessons?
 - a. What do they do with this time?
 - b. Could more time be set aside?
21. Do school activities encourage students to engage with each other?
 - i. If yes, how is done?
 - ii. If no, why do you think this is so?
22. What activities could be introduced to increase interactions between students?
 - a. Are children encourage to look out for each other?
 - i. Why?

Appendix 7: Former students interview guide

Questions for Former students -

Role -

1. When did you attend the NGO services?
 - a. What do you do know?
 - i. Do you think the NGO helped you achieve this?
 - ii. What helped you achieve this position?
2. Please tell me about your time at the NGO?

Views on services –

3. Why do people access the NGO services?
4. Could you please tell me what you think a good level of education is?
 - a. Why this level?
 - b. How does a person achieve this level of education?
 - c. Do you think the NGO helps students to achieve this level of education?
 - i. If so, how?
 - ii. If no, why not?
5. What did you value about your education?
 - a. Why did you value___ ?
6. What is not a good level of education?
 - a. What prevents people from achieving a good level of education?
7. What is a good job?
 - a. How do people get employed in this job?
 - i. What training/education/experience do they need?
 - b. What training did the NGO supply that might help people achieve this job?
 - i. What else could be offered?
8. What is a good lifestyle?
 - a. How do people achieve this lifestyle?
 - b. What prevents people from achieving this lifestyle?
9. What did you aspire to be?
 - a. Do you still aspire to this?
 - i. How might you achieve this?
10. What part of the NGO services did you find most beneficial?
 - a. Why?
11. What part of the NGO services do you think is not beneficial?
 - a. Why?
12. Was Khmer culture taught as part of your education?
 - i. What was taught?
 - ii. Why do you think it wasn't taught?
 - b. What parts of Khmer culture would you like to see taught?

Retention/Recruitment/Promotion –

13. What parts of the NGO services would you recommend to your peers (friends)?
 - a. Why these services?
14. What part of the NGO services do you think would attract people to their services?
15. Did the NGO offer additional services that helped you to attend classes?
 - i. If yes, what?
 - b. What might help struggling students to attend services?

Socialisation –

16. Did you make friends at the NGO?
 - i. How did this happen?
 - ii. Why do you think this did not happened?
17. Was there time between classes/lessons?
 - a. What did you do with this time?
18. Did classroom activities encourage interaction with other students?
 - i. If yes, how?
 - ii. If no, why do you think this happened?
19. What activities could the NGO foster to increase interaction between students?
 - a. Were students encouraged to look out for each other?

Appendix 8: Volunteers interview guide

Questions for Volunteers –

Role -

1. What is your role here?
2. What does your average day at the NGO consist of?

Views on services –

3. Why do people access the NGO services?
4. How do services benefit the child?
5. How has the service benefitted you?
6. Could you please tell me what you think a good level of education is?
 - a. Why this level?
 - b. How might your students achieve this level of education?
 - i. How does the NGO help them to achieve this level of education?
7. What part of your student's education do you think they value the most?
 - i. Why?
8. What is not a good level of education?
 - a. What prevents students from achieving a good level of education?
9. What is a good job (in Cambodia)?
 - a. How can students achieve this job?
 - i. What training, education or experience is required?
 - b. What training does the NGO supply that might help students achieve this job?
 - i. What is missing?
10. What is a good lifestyle (in Cambodia)?
 - a. How might your students achieve this lifestyle?
 - b. What might prevent a student from achieving this lifestyle?
11. What do your students aspire to?
 - a. What informs this?
12. What part of the NGO services do you think is most beneficial for students?
 - a. Why?
13. What part of the NGO services do you think needs attention?
 - a. Why?
14. Does the curriculum have Khmer content?
 - i. If yes, can you please tell me about it?
 - ii. If no, why do you think this is?

Retention/Recruitment/Promotion –

15. What parts of the NGO services do you think students would recommend to their peers?
 - a. Why these services?
16. What part of the NGO services do you think would attract children to the NGO's services?
17. Are steps taken to identify vulnerable students?
 - a. How are vulnerable students helped?

Socialisation –

18. How do students feel about the NGO?
 - a. What informs this?
19. Do students make friends at the NGO?
 - i. Where have you witnessed this?
 - ii. Why do you think this has not happened?
20. Are students given time between classes/lessons?
 - a. What do they do with this time?
 - b. Could more time be set aside?
21. Do school activities encourage students to engage with each other?
 - i. If yes, how is done?
 - ii. If no, why do you think this is so?
22. What activities could be introduced to increase interactions between students?
 - a. Are children encourage to look out for each other?
 - i. Why?

Appendix 9: Children's focus group guide

Interview questions for child participants -

Role –

1. Please tell me about the NGO?
2. Please tell me what an average day at the NGO is like?

View on services –

3. Why do you think people access the NGO's services?
4. Could you please tell me what you think a good level of education is?
 - a. Why this level?
 - b. How might people achieve this level of education?
 - i. How could the NGO help people achieve this level of education?
5. What do you value about your education?
 - a. Why do you value ____?
6. What is not a good level of education?
 - a. What prevents people from achieving a good level of education?
7. What is a good job?
 - a. How do you think people achieve this job?
 - i. What training/education/experience is needed to achieve this job?
 - ii. How might people get this education/training?
 - iii. What education/training could the NGO supply that might help you achieve this job?
8. What is a good lifestyle?
 - a. How might people achieve this lifestyle?
 - b. What prevents people from achieving this lifestyle?
9. What do you aspire to be?
 - a. How might you achieve this?
10. What part of the NGO services do you find most beneficial?
 - a. Why?
11. What part of the services do you think is not beneficial?
 - a. Why?
 - b. How would you change this?
12. Dose your education have Khmer content?
 - a. If yes, can you please give me some examples?
 - b. If no, what Khmer content would you like to learn about?

Retention/Recruitment/Promotion –

13. What parts of the NGO services would you recommend to your peers (friends)?
 - a. Why these services?
14. What part of the NGO services do you think would attract people to their services?
15. What motivates you about the NGO's services?

Socialisation –

16. Please tell me how you *feel* about the NGO?
17. Have you made friends at the NGO?
 - i. How did this happen?

ii. Why do you think this has not happened?

18. Are you given time between classes?
 - a. What do you do with this time?
19. Does the NGO give you time to engage with other students?
20. What school activities allow you to engage with other students?
21. What activities could be introduced to increase your interactions with your friends?
 - a. Are you encourage to look out for your peers?
 - b. Why do you think this is encouraged?

Appendix 10: Flinders University Social and Behavioral Research Ethics Committee confirmation email

Human Research Ethics 21 August 2018 at 2:54 pm HE

8083 SBREC Final approval notice (21 August 2018)
To: Matt Ankers

Dear Matthew,

The Chair of the [Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee \(SBREC\)](#) at Flinders University considered your response to conditional approval out of session and your project has now been granted final ethics approval. This means that you now have approval to commence your research. Your ethics final approval notice can be found below.

FINAL APPROVAL NOTICE

Project No.: **8083**

Project Title: **A case study analysis of the multiple realities engaged with Non-Government Organizations work with disadvantaged children in Siem Reap, Cambodia**

Principal Researcher: **Mr Matthew Ankers**

Email: [REDACTED]

Approval Date: **21 August 2018** Ethics Approval Expiry Date: **1 December 2021**

The above proposed project has been **approved** on the basis of the information contained in the application, its attachments and the information subsequently provided with the addition of the following comment(s):

Additional information required following commencement of research:

- Other Ethics Committees**
Please provide a copy of the ethics approval notice from the Cambodian Ministry of Health - National Ethics Committee for Health Research (NECHR) on receipt. Please note that data collection should not commence until the researcher has received the relevant ethics committee approvals (Item G1 and Conditional approval response - number 6).
- Translations and Translation Accuracy Certificate**
Please provide translations of the final versions of the documents / information to be distributed to potential participants and the signed copy of the Translation Accuracy Certification document on receipt (Item D3 and Conditional approval response - number 7).

RESPONSIBILITIES OF RESEARCHERS AND SUPERVISORS

- Participant Documentation**
Please note that it is the responsibility of researchers and supervisors, in the case of student projects, to ensure that:
 - all participant documents are checked for spelling, grammatical, numbering and formatting errors. The Committee does not accept any responsibility for the above mentioned errors.
 - the Flinders University logo is included on all participant documentation (e.g., letters of Introduction, Information Sheets, consent forms, debriefing information and questionnaires - with the exception of purchased research tools) and the current Flinders University letterhead is included in the header of all letters of introduction. The Flinders University international logo/letterhead should be used and documentation should contain international dialling codes for all telephone and fax numbers listed for all research to be conducted overseas.
 - the SBREC contact details, listed below, are included in the footer of all letters of introduction and information sheets.

This research project has been approved by the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (Project Number 'INSERT PROJECT No. here following approval'). For more information regarding ethical approval of the project the Executive Officer of the Committee can be contacted by telephone on 8201 3116, by fax on 8201 2035 or by email human_researchethics@flinders.edu.au
- Annual Progress / Final Reports**
In order to comply with the monitoring requirements of the [National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research \(March 2007\)](#) an annual progress report must be submitted each year on the **21 August** (approval anniversary date) for the duration of the ethics approval using the report template available from the [Managing Your Ethics Approval SBREC web page](#). Please retain this notice for reference when completing annual progress or final reports.

If the project is completed before ethics approval has expired please ensure a final report is submitted immediately. If ethics approval for your project expires please submit either (1) a final report; or (2) an extension of time request and an annual report.

Student Projects
The SBREC recommends that current ethics approval is maintained until a student's thesis has been submitted, reviewed and approved. This is to protect the student in the event that reviewers recommend some changes that may include the collection of additional participant data.

Your first report is due on **21 August 2019** or on completion of the project, whichever is the earliest.

- Modifications to Project**
Modifications to the project must not proceed until approval has been obtained from the Ethics Committee. Such proposed changes / modifications include:
 - change of project title;
 - change to research team (e.g., additions, removals, principal researcher or supervisor change);
 - changes to research objectives;
 - changes to research protocol;
 - changes to participant recruitment methods;
 - changes / additions to source(s) of participants;
 - changes of procedures used to seek informed consent;
 - changes to reimbursements provided to participants;
 - changes / additions to information and/or documentation to be provided to potential participants;
 - changes to research tools (e.g., questionnaire, interview questions, focus group questions);
 - extensions of time.

To notify the Committee of any proposed modifications to the project please complete and submit the *Modification Request Form* which is available from the [Managing Your Ethics Approval SBREC web page](#). Download the form from the website every time a new modification request is submitted to ensure that the most recent form is used. Please note that extension of time requests should be submitted **prior** to the Ethics Approval Expiry Date listed on this notice.

Change of Contact Details
Please ensure that you notify the Committee if either your mailing or email address changes to ensure that correspondence relating to this project can be sent to you. A modification request is not required to change your contact details.
- Adverse Events and/or Complaints**
Researchers should advise the Executive Officer of the Ethics Committee on 08 8201-3116 or 8201-7938 human_researchethics@flinders.edu.au immediately if:
 - any complaints regarding the research are received;
 - a serious or unexpected adverse event occurs that affects participants;
 - an unforeseen event occurs that may affect the ethical acceptability of the project.

Kind regards



Research, Development and Support Union Building Basement
Flinders University
Sturt Road, Bedford Park | South Australia | 5042
GPO Box 2100 | Adelaide SA 5001

CRICOS Registered Provider: The Flinders University of South Australia | CRICOS Provider Number 00114A.
This email and attachments may be confidential. If you are not the intended recipient, please inform the sender by reply email and delete all copies of this message.

Appendix 11: Cambodian National Ethics Committee for Human Research confirmation letter

12



ក្រសួងសុខាភិបាល
MINISTRY OF HEALTH
គណៈកម្មាធិការជាតិក្រមសីលធម៌
សំរាប់ការស្រាវជ្រាវសុខភាពដែលទាក់ទងនឹងមនុស្ស
National Ethics Committee for Health Research

N° 005/NECHR

ព្រះរាជាណាចក្រកម្ពុជា
KINGDOM OF CAMBODIA
ជាតិ សាសនា ព្រះមហាក្សត្រ
NATION RELIGION KING

Phnom Penh, January 10, 2019

Mr. Matthew Ankers

Project: A case study analysis of the multiple realities engaged with Non-Government Organizations work with disadvantaged children in Siem Reap, Cambodia/ How do diverse stakeholder groups perceive the activities of Non-Government Organisations working with disadvantaged children in Siem Reap, Cambodia. Version N° 1, dated 08th October 2018

Reference: 28th December 2018 NECHR meeting minute

Dear Mr. Matthew Ankers,

I am pleased to notify you that your study protocol entitled “A case study analysis of the multiple realities engaged with Non-Government Organizations work with disadvantaged children in Siem Reap, Cambodia/ How do diverse stakeholder groups perceive the activities of Non-Government Organisations working with disadvantaged children in Siem Reap, Cambodia. Version N° 1, dated 08th October 2018” has been approved by National Ethics Committee for Health Research (NECHR) in the meeting on 28th December 2018. This approval is valid for twelve months after the approval date.

The Principal Investigator of the project shall submit following document to the committee’s secretariat at the National Institute of Public Health at #80 Samdach Penn Nouth Blvd, Sangkat Boeungkok2, Khan Tuol Kork, Phnom Penh. (Tel: 012 842 442, 012 528 789, 012 203 382, Email: sarayvannat@gmail.com and nouthsarida@gmail.com):

- Annual progress report
- Final scientific report
- Patient/participant feedback (if any)
- Analyzing serious adverse events report (if applicable)

The Principal Investigator should be aware that there might be site monitoring visits at any time from NECHR team during the project implementation and should provide full cooperation to the team.

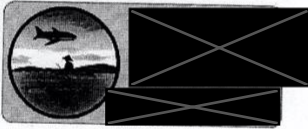
Regards,

Chairman



Appendix 12: *NGO_2* Acceptance letter

Kingdom of Cambodia
Nation Religion King



To whom it may concern

Date 27th November 2018

Letter of support for fieldwork research

My name is Mrs [redacted] I am the Executive Director of [redacted]

[redacted] is a Cambodian NGO, registered with the Ministry of Interior, registration number [redacted] (ឧបករណ៍ ស ជ ណ).

We run a school called [redacted] that is located in [redacted] Siem Reap commune, Siem Reap district, Siem Reap, Cambodia and have an MoU with the provincial department of vocational training in Siem Reap.

I am writing to confirm [redacted] support of Matthew Ankers' PhD research. I believe that his work into looking at how local Cambodians feel about NGOs programmes will help NGOs to provide more appropriate services for my country.

Matthew has [redacted] permission to conduct his fieldwork on site at [redacted] under the supervision of our staff.

Yours truly

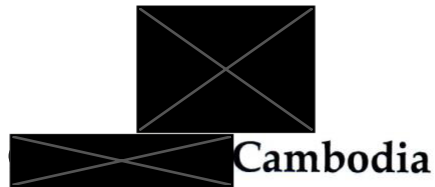
Mrs [redacted]
Executive Director

Email: [redacted]

Phone [redacted]

e-mail: [redacted] Siem Reap Town, Cambodia, H/P [redacted]

Appendix 13: *NGO-1* Acceptance letter



Kingdom of Cambodia
Nation Religion King

Letter of support for fieldwork research

To whom it may concern

28th November 2018

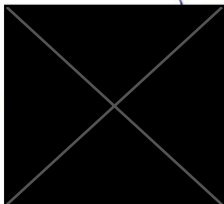
My name is [redacted] I am the Managing Director of [redacted] Cambodia.

[redacted] Cambodia is a Cambodian registered NGO with the Ministry of Interior, registration number [redacted]

[redacted] Cambodia provides free Education, Health Care, Vocational Training & Community Development from it's on site facilities that are situated in [redacted] age, [redacted] Siem Reap, Cambodia. We have an MOU with the Ministry of Education to provide this support.

I am writing to confirm [redacted] Cambodia's support of Matthew Ankers' PhD research, and that Matthew has [redacted] Cambodia's permission to conduct his fieldwork, on site at our NGO facilities.

Regards



Managing Director of [redacted] Cambodia

Email: [redacted]

Phone [redacted]

Address [redacted] Siem Reap City, Siem Reap Province, Cambodia

Appendix 14: Participant Information sheet English

Mr Matthew Ankers



College of Nursing and Health Sciences,

Flinders University.

GPO Box 2100

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Title: *How do diverse stakeholder groups perceive the activities of Non-Government Organisations (NGO) working with disadvantaged children in Siem Reap, Cambodia.*

Investigator:

Mr Matthew Ankers

College of Nursing and

Health Science,

Flinders University

Ph: +61 8 8201 3354

Primary Supervisor:

Dr Yvonne Parry

College of Nursing and

Health Science,

Flinders University

Ph: +61 8 8201 3354

Co-Supervisor:

Emeritus Professor Eileen Willis

College of Nursing and

Health Science,

Flinders University

Ph: +61 8 8201 3110

Description of the study

The research project investigates Non-Government Organisations (NGO) work with disadvantaged children, from the perspective of the key stakeholders affected by that work in Siem Reap, Cambodia. These key stakeholder groups include the children receiving services, the children's parents or guardians, graduates of NGO services, local community leaders, government officials and NGO managers and staff. Representatives from the different groups are interviewed (adults) or take part in a focus group (children); interview data from participants of the same group (for example: NGO staff) are analysed together to draw out common group responses. These common group responses are then compared against each other, for example the NGO staff responses are compared against responses from children receiving services. The interview/focus group data is also supported by the lead investigator fieldwork and involvement with the day to day activities of the NGO. This project is supported by Flinders University of South Australia, College of Nursing and Health Sciences.

Purpose of the study

The comparison of multiple stakeholders engaged with, or affected by, the NGO's work will provide an understanding of where common ideas on the NGO's work meet, and where they diverge, which gives insight that can reduce distortion between the different stakeholder groups including how services might be improved, refined or better applied. The use of multiple voices to inform service delivery also gives voice to those who may not otherwise be heard. In addition, the project is an opportunity to examine local macro influences on service delivery through interviews with NGO managers, local community leaders and government official that may offer insight into additional barriers to service delivery and how they might be addressed. The different approaches of NGO's are considered across service providers also to identify successful aspects of service delivery that can aid other NGO's in their delivery of services.

What will I be asked to do?

You are invited to attend a one-on-one interview (adults) or take part in a focus group (children), with the lead investigator (a PhD Candidate) who will ask you questions on the topic of NGO services, education, employment and lifestyle. Interviews will take place either on site at the NGO's facilities or at a mutually agreed, quiet location around Siem Reap. Focus groups will be conducted on site at the NGO facilities. Participation is entirely voluntary. The interview/focus groups should take no more than 60 minutes (shorter in most cases). The interview/focus group will be audio recorded using a digital voice recorder to help with reviewing the results. Once recorded, the interview/focus groups will be transcribed (typed-up) and stored as a computer file on an encrypted, password protected computer. Additionally, you may be observed at the NGO's facilities as part of the wider fieldwork. Observations will focus on interaction between groups such as those between children and teachers and of the general day-to-day activities of the NGO to increase insight of topics raised in interviews. No names or place of work will be recorded during observations, and you can choose to not be observed by informing the lead research, at any time.

What benefit will I gain from being involved in this study?

The sharing of your experiences will provide valuable insight into the NGO's services that can inform improvements to those services, which benefits both current and future students. Further, it provides a chance for your voice to be heard, which may not otherwise occur. The research will also be disseminated amongst fellow researchers and research institutes that increases awareness of the work done by the NGO. This ultimately increases knowledge in the field that can inform improvements in services delivery. Additionally, increased awareness may incentivise new funding sources, or increase the NGO's ability to advocate on behalf of their clients, which benefits those receiving their services.

Will I be identifiable by being involved in this study?

Participants who are interviewed at the NGO facilities may be known to others present at the time of interview. Additionally, anonymity in focus groups is not possible due to the group environment. However, please be assured that all steps to protect your identity will be taken through all stages of the research process, this includes removing your name, and any identifying information such as your age, or the NGO you attend from the research data, so that your comments are difficult to directly link to you. Additionally, all information and results obtained in this study are stored in a secure way, with access restricted to the research team identified at the start of this information sheet. Despite these precautions, in rare cases participants in interviews may still be identifiable. Please be assured that the NGO has stated there are no consequences for participants voicing opinions regarding the NGO services as part of their participation in interview. Audio recordings of interviews/focus groups may be transcribed (typed up) and/or translated into English by a third-party service, in which case a confidentiality agreement will be enacted with the third-party service to protect any and all information collected during interviews.

Are there any risks or discomforts if I am involved?

The researcher anticipates few risks from your involvement in this study, however, given the nature of the project, some participants could experience emotional discomfort. If any emotional discomfort is experienced, the NGO staff including the head teacher, nurse and manager are available to help talk through any encountered discomfort. Additionally, the lead investigator is an experienced nurse and will immediately stop interviews if any discomfort is noted and refer participants to the identified parties. If you have any concerns regarding anticipated or actual risks or discomforts, please raise them with the researcher.

How do I agree to participate?

Participation is voluntary. You may answer 'no comment' or refuse to answer any questions, and you are free to withdraw from interviews at any time without effect or consequences. Please note that while you can withdraw from participation in focus groups at any time, you cannot withdraw the information you have provided or ask that the recording be stopped. A consent form accompanies this information sheet. If you agree to participate, please read and sign the form and hand it back to the lead investigator.

How will I receive feedback?

Interview transcriptions and interpretation of data will be provided to all interview participants via email where possible, or in person upon the lead investigators return to Cambodia for confirmation and/or clarification of content. Additionally, the supplied email and

phone number on the top of this information sheet may be used at any time to contact the lead researcher, or research team to request access to audio recording, transcripts and interpretations of research findings linked to your personal involvement in the research.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet, and we hope that you will accept our invitation to be involved.

This research project has been approved by the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (Project number: 8083). For more information regarding ethical approval of the project only, the Executive Officer of the Committee can be contacted by telephone on +61 8 8201 3116, by fax on +61 8 8201 2035, or by email to human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au

Appendix 15: Participant information sheet Khmer



លោក Matthew Ankers

មហាវិទ្យាល័យគិលានុប្បដ្ឋាក និងវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រសុខភាព

សាកលវិទ្យាល័យ Flinders ។

GPO Box 2100

Adelaide SA 5001

សន្លឹកព័ត៌មានអំពីអ្នកចូលរួម

ចំណងជើង: គេីក្រុមអ្នកពាក់ព័ន្ធនានាយលំអើញដូចម្តេច ចំពោះសកម្មភាពនានា របស់អង្គការ មិនមែនរដ្ឋាភិបាល ដែលធ្វើការ ជាមួយកុមារ ជួបការលំបាក នៅក្នុងខេត្តសៀមរាប ប្រទេស កម្ពុជា។

អ្នកអង្កេតការ

អ្នកគ្រប់គ្រងបឋម:

សហអ្នកគ្រប់គ្រង:

លោក Matthew Ankers

វេជ្ជបណ្ឌិត Yvonne Parry

Emeritus Professor Eileen Willis

មហាវិទ្យាល័យគិលានុប្បដ្ឋាក និងវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រសុខភាព,

មហាវិទ្យាល័យគិលានុប្បដ្ឋាក និងវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រសុខភាព,

មហាវិទ្យាល័យគិលានុប្បដ្ឋាក និងវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រសុខភាព,

សាកលវិទ្យាល័យ Flinders ។

សាកលវិទ្យាល័យ Flinders ។

សាកលវិទ្យាល័យ Flinders ។

Ph: +61 8 8201 3354

Ph: +61 8 8201 3354

Ph: +61 8 8201 3110

ការពិពណ៌នាខ្លីអំពីការសិក្សា

គម្រោងស្រាវជ្រាវសិក្សាទៅលើ អង្គការមិនមែនរដ្ឋាភិបាល ដែលធ្វើការជាមួយកុមារ ជួបការលំបាក ដែលបានមកពីទស្សនៈរបស់អ្នកពាក់ព័ន្ធសំខាន់ៗដែលទទួលបានផលប៉ះពាល់ដោយ ការងារនោះនៅខេត្តសៀមរាបប្រទេសកម្ពុជា ។ ក្រុមអ្នកពាក់ព័ន្ធសំខាន់ៗទាំងអស់នេះរួមមាន កុមារដែលកំពុងទទួលសេវាកម្ម ឪពុកម្តាយឬអាណាព្យាបាលកុមារ សិស្សបញ្ចប់ការសិក្សាពី អង្គការមិនមែនរដ្ឋាភិបាល អ្នកដឹកនាំសហគមន៍មូលដ្ឋាន មន្ត្រីរដ្ឋាភិបាល និង អ្នកគ្រប់គ្រង អង្គការ ព្រមទាំងបុគ្គលិក ។ តំណាងមកពីក្រុមផ្សេងៗ (មនុស្សពេញវ័យ) នឹងត្រូវធ្វើការសម្ភាសន៍ ឬ ចូលរួមក្នុងការសិក្សា (ចំពោះកុមារ) ។ ទិន្នន័យដែលទទួលបានពីការសម្ភាសន៍អ្នកចូលរួម ក្នុងក្រុមដូចគ្នា (ឧទាហរណ៍: បុគ្គលិកអង្គការ) ត្រូវបានធ្វើការវិភាគរួមគ្នាដើម្បីស្រង់យក ចម្លើយរបស់ក្រុមដែលដូចគ្នា ។ ចម្លើយដូចគ្នាច្រើនយ៉ាងរបស់ក្រុមទាំងនោះ ត្រូវបានយកមកប្រៀបធៀបជាមួយគ្នា ឧទាហរណ៍ ការឆ្លើយតបរបស់បុគ្គលិកអង្គការមិនមែនរដ្ឋាភិបាល ត្រូវបានប្រៀបធៀបនឹងការឆ្លើយតបពីកុមារដែលទទួលសេវាកម្ម ។ ទិន្នន័យបានមកពីការ សម្ភាសន៍/ការវិភាគក្រុមត្រូវបានគាំទ្រដោយអ្នកដឹកនាំការ អង្កេត នៅកំឋាន់ធ្វើការ និង ការពាក់ព័ន្ធជាមួយនឹងសកម្មភាពប្រចាំថ្ងៃ របស់អង្គការមិនមែន រដ្ឋាភិបាលផងដែរ ។ គម្រោងនេះត្រូវបាន គាំទ្រដោយសាកលវិទ្យាល័យ Flinders នៃប្រទេសអូស្ត្រាលីភាគខាងត្បូង មហាវិទ្យាល័យគិលានុប្បដ្ឋាក និង វិទ្យាសាស្ត្រ សុខាភិបាល។

គោលបំណងខ្លីអំពីការសិក្សា

ការធ្វើការប្រៀបធៀបរបស់អ្នកពាក់ព័ន្ធជាច្រើន ដែលមានទំនាក់ទំនងជាមួយ ឬ រងផលប៉ះពាល់ ដោយការងាររបស់អង្គការមិនមែនរដ្ឋាភិបាល និងផ្តល់ការយល់ដឹងអំពីកិច្ចការ នៃការងាររបស់អង្គការមិនមែនរដ្ឋាភិបាល ដែលស្របគ្នា និង ដែលមិនស្របគ្នា ដែលអាចនឹងផ្តល់នូវការយល់ដឹងយ៉ាងស៊ីជម្រៅ ដែលអាចកាត់បន្ថយការបកស្រាយខុស រវាងក្រុមអ្នកពាក់ព័ន្ធផ្សេងៗមែន ថា គឺសេវាកម្មអាចនឹងត្រូវបានកែលម្អ ឬ កែសម្រួល ឬ អនុវត្ត អោយប្រសើរ ជាងមុនដោយរបៀបណា ។ ការប្រើប្រាស់សម្លេងជាច្រើនដើម្បីជូនដំណឹងពីការ ផ្តល់សេវាកម្ម ក៏ដូចជាផ្តល់សម្លេងដល់អ្នកដែលមិនទាន់ត្រូវបានគេរៀបចំផងដែរ ។ លើសពីនេះទៀត កម្រងនេះគឺជាឱកាសមួយ ដើម្បីពិនិត្យមើលកិច្ចការដែលមានទ្រង់ទ្រាយធំនៅក្នុងកំឡុងទៅលើការផ្តល់សេវាកម្មរបស់អង្គការមិនមែនរដ្ឋាភិបាល មេដឹកនាំសហគមន៍មូលដ្ឋាន និង មន្ត្រីរដ្ឋាភិបាល ដែលអាចផ្តល់នូវការយល់ដឹងស៊ីជម្រៅ អំពីឧបសគ្គនានាបន្ថែម ទៀតចំពោះការផ្តល់សេវា និង វិធីដោះស្រាយឧបសគ្គទាំងនោះ ។ យុទ្ធវិធីផ្សេងៗរបស់អង្គការមិនមែនរដ្ឋាភិបាល ត្រូវបានលើកយកមកពិចារណា ក្នុងចំណោម អ្នកផ្តល់សេវាកម្មនានា ដើម្បីកំណត់នូវកត្តាដែលជោគជ័យក្នុងការផ្តល់សេវាកម្ម ដែលអាចជួយដល់អង្គការមិនមែនរដ្ឋាភិបាល ផ្សេងៗក្នុងការផ្តល់សេវារបស់ពួកគេ។

តើផ្តល់ត្រូវបានគេស្នើសុំឬទេ?

អ្នកត្រូវបានអញ្ជើញឱ្យចូលរួមសំភាសន៍មួយទល់មួយ (មនុស្សពេញវ័យ) ឬចូលរួមក្នុងការពិភាក្សាក្រុម (ចំពោះកុមារ) ដោយអ្នកដឹកនាំការអង្កេត (បេក្ខភាពបណ្ឌិត) ដែលនឹងសួរសំណួរផ្សេងៗទៅអ្នកអំពីប្រធានបទស្តីពី សេវាកម្មរបស់អង្គការមិនមែនរដ្ឋាភិបាល ការអប់រំ ភាពមានការងារធ្វើ និង ជីវភាពរស់នៅ ។ ការសម្ភាសន៍នឹងធ្វើឡើង នៅទីតាំងរបស់ អង្គការមិនមែនរដ្ឋាភិបាល ឬ នៅទីតាំងដែលមានការឯកភាពគ្នាទៅវិញទៅមក ដែលជាកន្លែង ស្ងប់ស្ងាត់នៅជុំវិញខេត្តសៀមរាប ។ ការពិភាក្សាក្រុមនឹងត្រូវបានធ្វើឡើងនៅតាមទីតាំងរបស់ អង្គការមិនមែនរដ្ឋាភិបាល ។ ការចូលរួមគឺស្មើគ្នាទាំងស្រុង ។ ការសម្ភាសន៍/ក្រុមពិភាក្សា ប្រើពេលមិនលើសពី 60 នាទី (ការពិភាក្សាច្រើនគឺគឺជាងនេះ) ។ ការសម្ភាសន៍/ក្រុមពិភាក្សា នឹងត្រូវបានចែកសម្លេងដោយប្រើ ឧបករណ៍ចែកសំឡេងឌីជីថល ដើម្បីជួយរៀបចំការសម្ភាសន៍ឡើងវិញ ។ នៅពេលដែលបានចែកសម្លេងរួច ការសម្ភាសន៍/ក្រុមពិភាក្សា នឹងត្រូវបានចម្លងថាវាយ លក្ខណ៍អក្សរ (វាយបញ្ចូល) និង រក្សាទុកជាឯកសារ លើកិច្ចការដែលបានការពារដោយលេខកូដ និង ពាក្យសម្ងាត់ ។ លើសពីនេះទៀត អ្នកអាចនឹង ត្រូវបានគេសង្កេតមើលនៅទីតាំងអង្គការ មិនមែនរដ្ឋាភិបាល ដែលជាចំណែកនៃការចុះមូលដ្ឋានដ៏ទូលំទូលាយមួយ ។ ការសង្កេតនឹង យកចិត្តទុកដាក់លើ អន្តរកម្មរវាងក្រុមដូចជា រវាងកុមារ និង គ្រូបង្រៀន ឬក្រុមនិងសកម្មភាព ប្រចាំថ្ងៃរបស់អង្គការមិនមែនរដ្ឋាភិបាល ដើម្បីបង្កើនការយល់ដឹងស៊ីជម្រៅ លើប្រធានបទ ដែលបានលើកឡើងនៅពេលសម្ភាសន៍ ។ ឈ្មោះ ឬ ទីកន្លែងធ្វើការ នឹងមិនត្រូវបានគេកត់ត្រា ក្នុងអំឡុងពេលធ្វើការសង្កេត ហើយអ្នកអាចជ្រើសយកជម្រើសមិនឱ្យគេសង្កេតដោយជូនដំណឹង ដល់អ្នកដឹកនាំការស្រាវជ្រាវបានគ្រប់ពេលវេលា ។

តើផ្តល់ទទួលបានប្រយោជន៍ផ្សេងៗពីការចូលរួមក្នុងការសិក្សានេះឬ?

ការរំលែកបទពិសោធន៍របស់អ្នក នឹងផ្តល់នូវការយល់ដឹងស៊ីជម្រៅអំពីមានកម្ម ចំពោះ សេវាកម្មរបស់អង្គការមិនមែនរដ្ឋាភិបាល ដែលអាចប្រាប់ឱ្យមានការកែលម្អសេវាកម្មទាំងនោះ ដែលផ្តល់អត្ថប្រយោជន៍ដល់សិស្សនាពេលបច្ចុប្បន្ន និង ទៅអនាគត ។ លើសពីនេះទៅទៀត វាផ្តល់ឱកាសឱ្យសម្លេងរបស់អ្នកត្រូវបានគេស្តាប់ឮ ដែលឱកាសបែបនេះអាចមិនងាយនឹងកើត ឡើងនោះទេ ។ ការស្រាវជ្រាវក៏នឹង ត្រូវបានផ្សព្វផ្សាយក្នុងចំណោមមិត្តអ្នកស្រាវជ្រាវដូចគ្នា និងវិទ្យាស្ថានស្រាវជ្រាវផ្សេងៗ ដែលបង្កើនការយល់ដឹងអំពីការងារដែលធ្វើបានសម្រេចដោយ អង្គការ មិនមែនរដ្ឋាភិបាល ។ នៅទីបំផុត វាបង្កើនចំណេះដឹងនៅក្នុងវិស័យ ដែលអាចផ្តល់ ព័ត៌មានអំពីការកែលម្អក្នុងការផ្តល់សេវាកម្ម ។ ជានេះទៀតនោះ ការ បង្កើនការយល់ដឹងនេះ អាចលើកទឹកចិត្តឱ្យមានប្រកួតប្រជែងមួយទៀត ឬ បង្កើនសមត្ថភាពរបស់អង្គការ ក្នុងការ គិតស្មិតកំណែទម្រង់ អតិថិជនរបស់ពួកគេ ដែលផ្តល់ផលប្រយោជន៍ដល់អ្នកដែលទទួលសេវា កម្មរបស់ពួកគេ។

តើផ្តល់ត្រូវបានគេកំណត់អន្តរាគមន៍ណាមួយក្នុងការសិក្សានេះឬ?

អ្នកចូលរួមដែលត្រូវបានគេសម្ភាសន៍ នៅឯទីតាំងរបស់អង្គការមិនមែនរដ្ឋាភិបាល អាច អ្នកផ្សេងស្ទាត់ខណៈមានវត្តមាននៅពេលសម្ភាសន៍ ។ លើសពីនេះទៀត អនាមិកភាពនៅក្នុង ក្រុមពិភាក្សាគឺ មិនអាចធ្វើទៅបានទេដោយសារតែបរិយាសក្រុម ។ ទោះជាយ៉ាងណាក៏ដោយ សូមធានាថា គ្រប់ជំហានដើម្បីការពារអត្តសញ្ញាណរបស់អ្នក នឹងត្រូវបានធ្វើឡើងនៅគ្រប់ ដំណាក់កាលទាំងអស់ នៃដំណើរការស្រាវជ្រាវ រួមទាំងការដកឈ្មោះរបស់អ្នក និង ព័ត៌មានកំណត់អត្តសញ្ញាណដូចជា អាយុរបស់អ្នក ឬ អង្គការដែលអ្នកចូលរួម ចេញពីទិន្នន័យស្រាវជ្រាវ ដូច្នោះ មកិយោបល់របស់អ្នក មានការពិបាកនឹង ទាក់ទងទៅអ្នកដោយផ្ទាល់ ។ លើសពីនេះទៅទៀត វាលំបាកមាន និង លទ្ធផលដែលទទួលបានពីការសិក្សានេះ ត្រូវបានរក្សាទុកប្រកបដោយ សុវត្ថិភាពដោយដាក់កំណត់ក្នុងការចូលប្រើប្រាស់ ចំពោះក្រុមស្រាវជ្រាវ ដែលបានកំណត់នៅ ពេលចាប់ផ្តើមសន្លឹកព័ត៌មាននេះ ។ ក្រៅពីមានការប្រុងប្រយ័ត្នទាំងនេះ ការពិភាក្សាពេលវេលា អ្នកចូលរួមក្នុងការសម្ភាសន៍ អាចត្រូវបានគេកំណត់អត្តសញ្ញាណបាន ។ សូមធានាថា អង្គការបានថ្លែងបញ្ជាក់ មិនមានផលវិបាកអ្វីកើតឡើង ចំពោះអ្នកចូលរួមបញ្ចូលទស្សនៈ ទាក់ទងនឹងសេវាកម្មរបស់អង្គការមិនមែនរដ្ឋាភិបាល ដែលជាផ្នែកមួយនៃការចូលរួមរបស់ ពួកគេក្នុងការសម្ភាសន៍ ។ ការចែកសម្លេងពេលសម្ភាសន៍/ក្រុមពិភាក្សាអាចត្រូវបានចម្លង (វាយជាអត្ថបទ) និង/ឬ ត្រូវបានបកប្រែជាភាសាអង់គ្លេសដោយសេវាកម្មភាសាទីបី ដែលការពារ នេះតម្រូវឱ្យកាត់ផ្តល់សេវាកម្មទីបីចុះកិច្ចសន្យារក្សាការសម្ងាត់ ដើម្បីការពារព័ត៌មាន ណាមួយ ឬ ទាំងអស់ដែលប្រមូលបានពីការសម្ភាសន៍ ។

តើមានហានិភ័យធុនប្រហុនៗនៃផ្តល់ព័ត៌មាន?

អ្នកស្រាវជ្រាវ គិតទុកជាមុននូវហានិភ័យកិច្ចការ ពីការចូលរួមរបស់អ្នកនៅក្នុងការ សិក្សានេះ តែទោះបីយ៉ាងណាក៏ដោយ តាមលំនាំដើមនៃការប្រាងអ្នកចូលរួមខ្លះអាចមិន ស្រួលក្នុងចិត្ត ។ ប្រសិនបើកើតមានភាពមិនស្រួលក្នុងចិត្ត ឬគ្រូពិភាក្សាអង្គការមិនមែនរដ្ឋាភិបាល រួមទាំងនាយកសាលារៀន គឺធានាបង្ហាញ និង អ្នកគ្រប់គ្រងអាចជួយពិគ្រោះលើភាពមិន ស្រួលក្នុងចិត្តដែលកើតឡើងនោះបាន ។ លើសពីនេះទៀត អ្នក ដឹកនាំការអង្កេតគឺជាគិតធានាបង្ហាញ ដែលមានបទពិសោធន៍នឹងបញ្ឈប់ការសម្ភាសន៍ភ្លាមៗ បើសិនជាមានភាពមិនស្រួលណាមួយ ត្រូវបានកត់សម្គាល់ឃើញបញ្ហាអ្នកចូលរួមនោះទៅឱ្យកាត់ណាមួយដែលបានកំណត់ ។ ប្រសិនបើអ្នកព្រួយបារម្ភអំពីហានិភ័យផ្នែកសុខភាព ឬ គិតឃើញទុកជាមុន សូមលើកឡើងប្រាប់ទៅអ្នក ស្រាវជ្រាវ។

តើផ្តល់ប្រយោជន៍អ្វីខុសពីការចូលរួម?

ការចូលរួមគឺជាស្មើគ្នា ។ អ្នកអាចឆ្លើយ 'មិនមានយោបល់' ឬបដិសេធមិនឆ្លើយ សំណួរណាមួយបាន ហើយអ្នកអាចដកខ្លួនចេញពីការសម្ភាសន៍ នៅពេលណាមួយក៏បាន ដោយគ្មានផលប៉ះពាល់ ឬ ផលវិបាកអ្វីទាំងអស់ ។ សូមកត់ចំណាំថា អ្នកអាចដកខ្លួនចេញ ពីការចូលរួមនៅក្នុងក្រុមពិភាក្សានៅពេលណាមួយក៏បាន តែអ្នកមិនអាចដកព័ត៌មានដែលអ្នក បានផ្តល់ ឬ ធ្វើស្តីបញ្ឈប់ការចែកសម្លេងនោះទេ ។ ទំរង់កិច្ច ព្រមព្រៀង មានអមជាមួយសន្លឹកព័ត៌មាននេះ ។ ប្រសិនបើអ្នកយល់ព្រមចូលរួម សូមអាន និង ចុះហត្ថលេខាលើទម្រង់ និងប្រគល់វាទៅប្រធានក្រុម អ្នកស៊ើបអង្កេត។

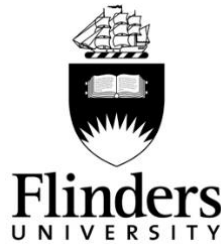
តើផ្តល់ទទួលបានព័ត៌មានផ្តល់ឱ្យវិញឬទេ?

សំឡេងពីការសម្ភាសន៍ដែលត្រូវបានកត់ត្រាជាលាយលក្ខណ៍អក្សរ និង ការបកស្រាយ ទិន្នន័យនឹងផ្តល់ជូនអ្នកចូលរួមសម្ភាសន៍ទាំងអស់ តាមរយៈ អ៊ីមែល តាមដែលអាចធ្វើទៅបាន ឬ ជូនដោយផ្ទាល់នៅពេលដែលប្រធានក្រុមអ្នកស៊ើបអង្កេត គ្រលប់មកប្រទេសកម្ពុជាវិញ ដើម្បីបញ្ជាក់ និង/ឬ បំភ្លឺមតិកា ។ លើសពីនេះទៀតអ៊ីមែល និង លេខទូរស័ព្ទដែលមាននៅលើសន្លឹកព័ត៌មាននេះ អាចត្រូវបានប្រើនៅពេលណាក៏បានដើម្បីទាក់ទងប្រធានក្រុមស្រាវជ្រាវ ឬ ក្រុមស្រាវជ្រាវដើម្បីស្នើសុំការចែកសំលេង សំឡេងដែលបានកត់ត្រាជាលាយលក្ខណ៍អក្សរ និងការបកស្រាយលទ្ធផលវិញពីការស្រាវជ្រាវដែលពាក់ព័ ទៅនឹងការចូលរួមដោយផ្ទាល់របស់អ្នកនៅក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវ។

សូមអរគុណលោកអ្នកដែលបានចំណាយពេលវេលាអានសន្លឹកព័ត៌មាននេះហើយយើងសង្ឃឹមថាអ្នកនឹងទទួលបានការអញ្ជើញរបស់យើងដើម្បីចូលរួម។

គម្រោងស្រាវជ្រាវនេះត្រូវបានអនុម័តដោយគណៈកម្មាធិការក្រុមសីលធម៌ពិនិត្យលើការស្រាវជ្រាវ សង្គមនិងអាកប្បកិរិយា នៃសាកលវិទ្យាល័យ Flinders
(លេខគម្រោង: 8083) ។ សម្រាប់ព័ត៌មានបន្ថែមទាក់ទងនឹងការអនុម័តគម្រោង មន្ត្រីប្រតិបត្តិគណៈកម្មាធិការ
អាចទំនាក់ទំនងបានតាមរយៈទូរស័ព្ទលេខ +61 8 8201 3116 តាមរយៈទូរសារលេខ +61 8 8201 2035 ឬតាមរយៈអ៊ីម៉ែលទៅកាន់
human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au

Appendix 16: Adult consent form English



CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH

(Interview)

How do diverse stakeholder groups perceive the activities of Non-Government Organisations (NGO) working with disadvantaged children in Siem Reap, Cambodia.

I

being over the age of 18 years hereby consent to participate, as requested, in an interview for the research project titled above.

1. I have read, or had read to me, the information provided.
2. Details of procedures and any risks have been explained to my satisfaction.
3. I agree to an audio recording of my information and participation.
4. I understand and agree that audio recordings may be transcribed (typed-up) and/or translated into English by a third-party service, in which case a confidentiality agreement will be enacted with the third-party service to protect any and all information collected during interviews.
5. I am aware that I should retain a copy of the Information Sheet and Consent Form for future reference.
6. I understand that:
 - I may not directly benefit from taking part in this research.
 - Participation is entirely voluntary, and I am free to withdraw from the project at any time; and can decline to answer particular questions.
 - The information gained in this study will be published as explained; additionally, if I am interviewed at the NGO facilities, I acknowledge that I may be identifiable by others present at the time of interview but understand that precautions have been taken by the research team to help keep my participation both anonymous and confidential.
 - Whether I participate or not, or withdraw after participating, will have no effect on any service that is being provided to me including progress in my course of study, or any results gained.
 - I may ask that the audio recording be stopped at any time, and that I may withdraw at any time from the session or the research without disadvantage.

Participant's name.....

Participant's signature.....**Date**.....

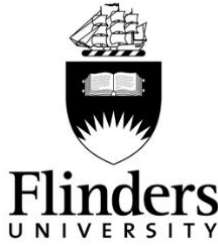
I certify that I have explained the study to the volunteer and consider that she/he understands what is involved and freely consents to participation.

Researcher's name.....

Researcher's signature.....**Date**.....

*This research project has been approved by the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (Project number: 8083).
For more information regarding ethical approval of the project please contact the Executive Officer on +61 8 8201-3116 or
human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au*

Appendix 17: Adult consent form Khmer



ទម្រង់ការយល់ព្រមចូលរួមក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវ

(ការសម្ភាសន៍)

តើក្រុមអ្នកពាក់ព័ន្ធនានាយល់យ៉ាងណាចំពោះសកម្មភាពរបស់អង្គការក្រៅរដ្ឋាភិបាល ដែលធ្វើការជាមួយកុមារដែលជួបការលំបាកនៅក្នុងខេត្តសៀមរាបប្រទេសកម្ពុជា។

.....

មានអាយុលើសពី 18 ឆ្នាំ យល់ព្រមចូលរួមសម្ភាសន៍ដូចដែលបានស្នើសុំ សម្រាប់គម្រោងស្រាវជ្រាវ ដែលមានចំណងជើងខាងលើ។

1. ខ្ញុំបានអានឬត្រូវបានគេអានឱ្យខ្ញុំស្តាប់នូវព័ត៌មានដែលបានផ្តល់។
2. ព័ត៌មានលម្អិតអំពីនីតិវិធីនិងហានិភ័យផ្សេងៗត្រូវបានគេពន្យល់ឱ្យខ្ញុំពេញចិត្ត។
3. ខ្ញុំយល់ព្រមនឹងការថតសម្លេងនូវព័ត៌មាន និងការចូលរួមរបស់ខ្ញុំ។
4. ខ្ញុំយល់ និងឯកភាពថា ការថតសម្លេងអាចត្រូវបានចម្លង (វាយជាអត្ថបទ) និង / ឬត្រូវបានបកប្រែជាភាសាអង់គ្លេសដោយសេវាកម្មភាគីទីបី ដែលករណីនេះតម្រូវឱ្យភាគីទីបីដែលផ្តល់សេវាកម្ម ចុះកិច្ចសន្យារក្សាការសម្ងាត់ ដើម្បីការពារព័ត៌មានណាមួយឬទាំងអស់ដែលប្រមូលបានពី ការសម្ភាសន៍។
5. ខ្ញុំយល់ដឹងថាខ្ញុំត្រូវតែរក្សាទុកនូវឯកសារថតចម្លងនៃសន្លឹកព័ត៌មាននិងទម្រង់យល់ព្រមសម្រាប់ជាឯកសារយោងនាពេលអនាគត។
6. ខ្ញុំយល់ថា៖
 - ខ្ញុំអាចមិនទទួលបានអត្ថប្រយោជន៍ដោយផ្ទាល់ពីការចូលរួមក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះទេ។
 - ការចូលរួមគឺស្ម័គ្រចិត្តទាំងស្រុងហើយខ្ញុំមានសិទ្ធិដកខ្លួនចេញពីគម្រោងនៅពេលណាមួយក៏បាន ហើយអាចបដិសេធមិនឆ្លើយសំណួរជាក់លាក់ណាមួយ។
 - ព័ត៌មានដែលទទួលបានក្នុងការសិក្សានេះ នឹងត្រូវបានផ្សព្វផ្សាយ ដូចដែលបាន ពន្យល់ លើសពីនេះទៀតប្រសិនបើខ្ញុំត្រូវបានគេសម្ភាសន៍នៅមណ្ឌលរបស់អង្គការក្រៅរដ្ឋាភិបាល ខ្ញុំទទួលស្គាល់ថាខ្ញុំអាចនឹងត្រូវបានអ្នកដទៃដែលមានវត្តមាននៅពេលសម្ភាសន៍ ស្គាល់អត្តសញ្ញាណរបស់ខ្ញុំ ឬនៃខ្ញុំយល់ថាការប្រុងប្រយ័ត្នជាមុនត្រូវបានធ្វើឡើងដោយក្រុមអ្នកស្រាវជ្រាវ ដើម្បីជួយរក្សាការចូលរួមរបស់ខ្ញុំទាំងមិនបញ្ចេញឈ្មោះនិងការណ៍សម្ងាត់។
 - មិនថាខ្ញុំចូលរួម ឬ មិនចូលរួម ឬ ដកខ្លួនចេញក្រោយពីការចូលរួម នឹងមិនមានផលប៉ះពាល់ដល់សេវាកម្មណាមួយដែលកំពុងត្រូវបានផ្តល់ឱ្យខ្ញុំរួមទាំងវឌ្ឍនភាពក្នុងការសិក្សារបស់ខ្ញុំ ឬ លទ្ធផលណាមួយដែលទទួលបាន។
 - ខ្ញុំអាចសុំឱ្យបញ្ឈប់ការថតសំឡេងគ្រប់ពេលវេលាហើយខ្ញុំអាចដកខ្លួនបានគ្រប់ពេលពីការស្រាវជ្រាវដោយគ្មានគុណវិបត្តិអ្វីឡើយ។

ឈ្មោះអ្នកចូលរួម

ហត្ថលេខារបស់អ្នកចូលរួម កាលបរិច្ឆេទ

ខ្ញុំបញ្ជាក់ថាខ្ញុំបានពន្យល់ពីការសិក្សាទៅអ្នកស្ម័គ្រចិត្តហើយពិចារណាថានាង/គាត់យល់ពីអ្វីដែលពាក់ព័ន្ធនឹងយល់ព្រមដោយសេរីក្នុងការចូលរួម។

ឈ្មោះអ្នកស្រាវជ្រាវ

ហត្ថលេខារបស់អ្នកស្រាវជ្រាវកាលបរិច្ឆេទ.....

គម្រោងស្រាវជ្រាវនេះត្រូវបានអនុម័តដោយគណៈកម្មាធិការពិនិត្យលើការស្រាវជ្រាវ សង្គមនិងអាកប្បកិរិយា នៃសាកលវិទ្យាល័យ Flinders (លេខគម្រោង: 8083) ។ សម្រាប់ព័ត៌មានបន្ថែមទាក់ទងនឹងការអនុម័តក្រុមសីលធម៌នៃគម្រោងស្រាវជ្រាវសម្រាប់ទាក់ទងមន្ត្រីប្រតិបត្តិ លេខ+61 8 8201-3116 ឬ human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au

Appendix 18: Child consent form English



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CONSENT FORM FOR CHILD PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH

(Focus Group)

How do diverse stakeholder groups perceive the activities of Non-Government Organisations (NGO) working with disadvantaged children in Siem Reap, Cambodia.

I

hereby consent to participate, as requested, in a focus group for the research project titled above.

1. I have read, or had read to me, the information provided.
2. Details of procedures and any risks have been explained to my satisfaction.
3. I agree to an audio recording of my information and participation.
4. I understand and agree that audio recordings may be transcribed and/or translated into English by a third-party service, in which case a confidentiality agreement will be enacted with the third-party service to protect any and all information collected during interviews.
5. I am aware that I should retain a copy of the Information Sheet and Consent Form for future reference.
6. I understand that:
 - I may not directly benefit from taking part in this research.
 - Participation is entirely voluntary, and I am free to withdraw from the project at any time; and can decline to answer particular questions.
 - While I can withdraw from participation at any time, I cannot withdraw the information I have provided or ask that the recording be stopped.
 - While no identifying information will be published, due to the nature of focus groups anonymity cannot be guaranteed.
 - Although participation will not be anonymous, the research team will protect the identity of participants and confidentiality of all discussions that occurs within the group to minimise risks to participants.
 - Whether I participate or not, or withdraw after participating, will have no effect on any service that is being provided to me including progress in my course of study, or any results gained.
7. I have had the opportunity to discuss taking part in this research with a family member or friend.

Participant's name.....

Participant's signature..... Date.....

I certify that I have explained the study to the volunteer and consider that she/he understands what is involved and freely consents to participation.

Researcher's name.....

Researcher's signature.....Date.....

This research project has been approved by the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (Project number: 8083). For more information regarding ethical approval of the project please contact the Executive Officer on +61 8 8201-3116 or human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au

Appendix 19: Child consent form Khmer



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ទម្រង់ការយល់ព្រមសម្រាប់ការចូលរួមរបស់កុមារក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវ

(ក្រុមពិភាក្សា)

តើក្រុមអ្នកពាក់ព័ន្ធនានាយល់យ៉ាងណាចំពោះសកម្មភាពរបស់អង្គការក្រៅរដ្ឋាភិបាលដែលធ្វើការជាមួយកុមារដែលជួបការលំបាក នៅក្នុងខេត្តសៀមរាបប្រទេសកម្ពុជា។

ឪ ឪ.....

អំណឹះតទៅ យល់ព្រមចូលរួមដូចបានស្នើសុំ ក្នុងការពិភាក្សាក្រុមសម្រាប់គម្រោងស្រាវជ្រាវដែលមានចំណងជើងខាងលើ។

1. ខ្ញុំបានអាន ឬ ត្រូវបានអានឱ្យខ្ញុំនូវព័ត៌មានដែលបានផ្តល់។
2. ព័ត៌មានលម្អិតអំពីនីតិវិធីនិងហានិភ័យផ្សេងៗត្រូវបានគេពន្យល់ឱ្យខ្ញុំពេញចិត្ត។
3. ខ្ញុំយល់ព្រមនឹងការថតសម្លេងនូវព័ត៌មាន និងការចូលរួមរបស់ខ្ញុំ។
4. ខ្ញុំយល់ និងឯកភាពថា ការថតសម្លេងអាចត្រូវបានចម្លង (វាយជាអត្ថបទ) និង / ឬត្រូវបានបកប្រែជាភាសាអង់គ្លេសដោយសេវាកម្មភាគីទីបី ដែលករណីនេះត្រូវបានឱ្យភាគីទីបី ដែលផ្តល់សេវាកម្ម ចុះកិច្ចសន្យារក្សាការសម្ងាត់ ដើម្បីការពារព័ត៌មានណាមួយ ឬទាំងអស់ដែលប្រមូលបានពីការសម្ភាសន៍។
5. ខ្ញុំយល់ដឹងថាខ្ញុំក្នុងកិច្ចការទុកនូវឯកសារថតចម្លងនៃសន្លឹកព័ត៌មាន និង ទម្រង់យល់ព្រមសម្រាប់ជាឯកសារយោងនាពេលអនាគត។
6. ខ្ញុំយល់ថា៖
 - ខ្ញុំអាចមិនទទួលបានអត្ថប្រយោជន៍ដោយផ្ទាល់ពីការចូលរួមក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះទេ។
 - ការចូលរួមគឺស្ម័គ្រចិត្តទាំងស្រុងហើយខ្ញុំមានសិទ្ធិដកខ្លួនចេញពីគម្រោងនៅពេលណាមួយក៏បាន ហើយអាចបដិសេធមិនឆ្លើយសំណួរជាក់លាក់ណាមួយ។
 - ខណៈពេលដែលខ្ញុំអាចដកខ្លួនចេញពីការចូលរួមនៅពេលណាមួយក៏បាន តែខ្ញុំមិនអាចដកព័ត៌មានដែលខ្ញុំបានផ្តល់ ឬ ស្នើសុំឱ្យបញ្ឈប់ថតសំឡេងនោះទេ។
 - ខណៈពេលដែលមិនមានព័ត៌មានកំណត់អត្តសញ្ញាណដែលនឹងត្រូវបានបោះពុម្ពផ្សាយ ដោយសារតែលក្ខណៈធម្មជាតិ នៃការពិភាក្សាក្រុម អនាមិកភាពមិនអាច នឹងធានាបាននោះទេ។
 - ទោះបីជាការចូលរួម មិនមែនជាអនាមិកភាពក្តី ក្រុមការងារស្រាវជ្រាវនឹងការពារអត្តសញ្ញាណអ្នកចូលរួមនិងរក្សាការសម្ងាត់នៃការពិភាក្សាទាំងអស់ដែលកើតឡើងនៅក្នុងក្រុមដើម្បីកាត់បន្ថយហានិភ័យដល់អ្នកចូលរួម។
 - មិនថាខ្ញុំចូលរួម ឬ មិនចូលរួម ឬ ដកខ្លួនចេញក្រោយពីការចូលរួម នឹងមិនមានផលប៉ះពាល់ដល់សេវាកម្មណាមួយដែលកំពុងត្រូវបានផ្តល់ឱ្យខ្ញុំទាំងអស់ឡើយនាពេលក្នុងការសិក្សារបស់ខ្ញុំ ឬ លទ្ធផលណាមួយដែលទទួលបាន ។
7. ខ្ញុំមានឱកាសដើម្បីពិភាក្សា ក្នុងការចូលរួមក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះជាមួយសមាជិកគ្រួសារឬមិត្តភក្តិ។

ឈ្មោះអ្នកចូលរួម.....

ហត្ថលេខារបស់អ្នកចូលរួម កាលបរិច្ឆេទ.....

ខ្ញុំបញ្ជាក់ថាខ្ញុំបានពន្យល់ពីការសិក្សាទៅអ្នកស្ម័គ្រចិត្តហើយពិចារណាថានាង/គាត់យល់ពីអ្វីដែលពាក់ព័ន្ធនិងយល់ព្រមដោយសេរីក្នុងការចូលរួម។

ឈ្មោះអ្នកស្រាវជ្រាវ

ហត្ថលេខារបស់អ្នកស្រាវជ្រាវ កាលបរិច្ឆេទ

គម្រោងស្រាវជ្រាវនេះត្រូវបានអនុម័តដោយគណៈកម្មាធិការពិនិត្យលើការស្រាវជ្រាវ សង្គមនិងអាកប្បកិរិយា នៃសាកលវិទ្យាល័យ Flinders (លេខគម្រោង: 8083) ។ សម្រាប់ព័ត៌មានបន្ថែមទាក់ទងនឹងការអនុម័តក្រុមសីលធម៌នៃគម្រោងសូមទាក់ទងមន្ត្រីប្រតិបត្តិ លេខ+61 8 8201-3116 ឬ human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au

Appendix 20: Guardian's consent form English



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GUARDIAN CONSENT FORM FOR CHILD PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH

(Focus Group)

How do diverse stakeholder groups perceive the activities of Non-Government Organisations (NGO) working with disadvantaged children in Siem Reap, Cambodia.

I

being over the age of 18 years hereby consent on behalf of child(s)

.....

to participate, as requested, in a focus group for the research project titled above.

1. I have read, or had read to me, the information provided.
2. Details of procedures and any risks have been explained to my satisfaction.
3. I agree to an audio recording of the child's information and participation.
4. I understand and agree that audio recordings of the child may be transcribed and/or translated into English by a third-party service, in which case a confidentiality agreement will be enacted with the third-party service to protect any and all information collected during interviews.
5. I am aware that I should retain a copy of the Information Sheet and Consent Form for future reference.
6. I understand that:
 - The child may not directly benefit from taking part in this research.
 - The child, or your support of the child partaking in the research, is entirely voluntary and can be withdrawn from the project at any time. Please note that the child is free to decline to answer particular questions.
 - While the child, or your support of the child, can be withdraw from participation at any time, I cannot withdraw the information that the child has provided or ask that the recording be stopped.
 - While no identifying information will be published, due to the nature of focus groups anonymity cannot be guaranteed.
 - Although participation will not be anonymous, the research team will protect the identity of participants and confidentiality of all discussions that occurs within the group to minimise risks to participants.
 - Whether the child participates or not, or withdraws after participating, will have no effect on any service that is being provided to the child including progress in their course of study, or any results gained.

Parent/Guardian signature.....Date.....

I certify that I have explained the study to the volunteer and consider that she/he understands what is involved and freely consents to participation.

Researcher's name.....

Researcher's signature.....Date.....

This research project has been approved by the Flinders University Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (Project number: 8083). For more information regarding ethical approval of the project please contact the Executive Officer on +61 8 8201-3116 or human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au

Appendix 21: Guardian's consent form Khmer



ទម្រង់យល់ព្រមរបស់អាណាព្យាបាលអនុញ្ញាតឱ្យកូមរួមក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវ

(ក្រុមពិភាក្សា)

គឺក្រុមអ្នកពាក់ព័ន្ធនានាយល់យ៉ាងណាចំពោះសកម្មភាពរបស់អង្គការក្រៅរដ្ឋាភិបាលដែលធ្វើការជាមួយកុមារដែលរងការរំលោភ
នៅក្នុងខេត្តសៀមរាបប្រទេសកម្ពុជា។

.....

មានអាយុលើសពី 18 ឆ្នាំយល់ព្រមជំនួសមុខឱ្យកូន

.....

ដើម្បីចូលរួមក្នុងក្រុមពិភាក្សាដូចបានស្នើសុំ សម្រាប់គម្រោងស្រាវជ្រាវដែលមានចំណងជើងខាងលើ។

1. ខ្ញុំបានអាន ឬ ត្រូវបានគេអានឱ្យខ្ញុំស្តាប់នូវព័ត៌មានដែលបានផ្តល់។
2. ព័ត៌មានលម្អិតអំពីនីតិវិធីនិងហានិភ័យផ្សេងៗត្រូវបានគេពន្យល់ឱ្យខ្ញុំដោយសេចក្តីពេញចិត្ត។
3. ខ្ញុំយល់ព្រមចំពោះការថតសំលេងនៃព័ត៌មាននិងការចូលរួមរបស់កុមារ។
4. ខ្ញុំយល់ និងឯកភាពថា ការថតសំលេងរបស់កុមារអាចត្រូវបានចម្លង (វាយជាអត្ថបទ) និង / ឬត្រូវបានបកប្រែជាភាសាអង់គ្លេសដោយសេវាកម្មភាសាទីបី ដែលករណីនេះត្រូវបានអនុញ្ញាតឱ្យដោយសេវាកម្ម ចុះកិច្ចសន្យារក្សាការសម្ងាត់ ដើម្បីការពារព័ត៌មានណាមួយ ឬ ទាំងអស់ដែលប្រមូលបានពីការសម្ភាសន៍។
5. ខ្ញុំយល់ដឹងថាខ្ញុំក្នុងតែរក្សាទុកនូវឯកសារថតចម្លងនៃសន្លឹកព័ត៌មាននិងទម្រង់យល់ព្រមសម្រាប់ជាឯកសារយោងនាពេលអនាគត។
6. ខ្ញុំយល់ថា៖

- កុមារអាចមិនទទួលបានអត្ថប្រយោជន៍ដោយផ្ទាល់ពីការចូលរួមក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះទេ។
- កុមារឬការគាំទ្ររបស់អ្នកឱ្យកុមារបានចូលរួមក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះគឺដោយស្ម័គ្រចិត្តទាំងស្រុងហើយអាចត្រូវបានដកខ្លួនចេញពីគម្រោងនៅពេលណាក៏បាន។ សូមកត់សម្គាល់ថាកុមារអាចបដិសេធមិនឆ្លើយសំណួរជាក់លាក់ណាមួយបាន។
- ខណៈពេលដែលកុមារឬការគាំទ្ររបស់អ្នកចំពោះកុមារ អាចដកខ្លួនពីការចូលរួមនៅពេលណាមួយក៏បាន ប៉ុន្តែខ្ញុំមិនអាចដកព័ត៌មានដែលកុមារបានផ្តល់ឬស្នើសុំឱ្យបញ្ឈប់ការថតសំលេងបានទេ។
- ខណៈពេលដែលមិនមានព័ត៌មានកំណត់អត្តសញ្ញាណដែលនឹងត្រូវបានបោះពុម្ពផ្សាយ ដោយសារតែលក្ខណៈធម្មជាតិ នៃការពិភាក្សាក្រុម អនាមិកភាពមិនអាច នឹងធានាបាននោះទេ។
- ទោះបីជាការចូលរួម មិនបង្ហាញអត្តសញ្ញាណក្តី ក្រុមការងារស្រាវជ្រាវនឹងការពារអត្តសញ្ញាណអ្នកចូលរួមនិងរក្សាការសម្ងាត់នៃការពិភាក្សាទាំងអស់ដែលកើតឡើងនៅក្នុងក្រុមដើម្បីកាត់បន្ថយហានិភ័យដល់អ្នកចូលរួម។
- មិនថាកុមារចូលរួម ឬ មិនចូលរួម ឬដកខ្លួនចេញក្រោយពីការចូលរួម នឹងមិនមានផលប៉ះពាល់ដល់សេវាកម្មណាមួយដែលកំពុងត្រូវបានផ្តល់ឱ្យកុមាររួមទាំងវឌ្ឍនភាពក្នុងការសិក្សារបស់គេឬលទ្ធផលណាមួយដែលទទួលបាន។

ហត្ថលេខានិងឥណ្ឌា / អាណាព្យាបាល កាលបរិច្ឆេទ.....

ខ្ញុំបញ្ជាក់ថា ខ្ញុំបានពន្យល់ពីការសិក្សាទៅអ្នកស្ម័គ្រចិត្ត ហើយពិចារណាថានាង/គាត់យល់ពីអ្វី ដែលពាក់ព័ន្ធ និងយល់ព្រមដោយសេរីក្នុងការចូលរួម។

ឈ្មោះអ្នកស្រាវជ្រាវ

គម្រោងស្រាវជ្រាវនេះត្រូវបានអនុម័តដោយគណៈកម្មាធិការពិនិត្យលើការស្រាវជ្រាវ សង្គមនិងអាកប្បកិរិយា នៃសាកលវិទ្យាល័យ Flinders
(លេខគម្រោង:8083)។ សម្រាប់ព័ត៌មានបន្ថែមទាក់ទងនឹងការអនុម័តក្រុមសីលធម៌ នៃគម្រោងសូមទាក់ទងមន្ត្រីប្រតិបត្តិ លេខ+61 8 8201-3116
ឬ human.researchethics@flinders.edu.au

Appendix 22: Confidentiality Agreement – Observation of focus group



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CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

Observation of focus group

How do diverse stakeholder groups perceive the activities of Non-Government Organisations (NGO) working with disadvantaged children in Siem Reap, Cambodia.

I, _____, the observer of this focus group, agree to maintain full confidentiality regarding any and all content either heard or observed during the focus group session conducted by Matthew Ankers for his doctoral research on the above titled study. Furthermore, I agree to hold in strictest confidence the identification of all individual who take part in the focus group to help protect their identity.

I am aware that I can be held legally liable for any breach of this confidentiality agreement, and for any harm incurred by individuals if I disclose identifiable information including information observed or heard during focus groups sessions.

Observer's name (printed) _____

Observer's signature _____

Date _____

Appendix 23: Letter of support *NGO-1*

[REDACTED]

Fw: Version 2

To: Matt Ankers

31 May 2018 at 5:15 pm



Hi Matt,

I have no problem with the requests made in this document so i am happy to send back to you as confirmed.

From: Matt Ankers <anke0004@flinders.edu.au>

Sent: Thursday, 31 May 2018 5:38 PM

To: [REDACTED]

Subject: version 2

To whom it may concern,

I, [REDACTED] as Managing Director, of [REDACTED] Cambodia Registration No. [REDACTED] am writing to endorse the research titled:

A case study analysis of the multiple realities engaged with Non-Government Organizations work with disadvantaged children in Siem Reap, Cambodia.

by Mr Matthew Ankers, a PhD candidate of Flinders University. I give permission for the research to be conducted at our NGO facilities (including promotion of the research, engagement with staff and clients and interviews with those who agree to participate) on the conditions that Matthew puts the welfare of participants first, and respects their privacy and anonymity at all times.

Please note in regards to our NGO that the majority of staff and students speak excellent English and a translator will not be required in most instances. Where a translator is needed, the NGO has several on staff who can assist or Matthew can arrange a third party to assist with translations if preparations for their visit are arranged in advanced, and the translator agrees to respect the privacy and confidentiality of participants at all times.

NGO staff including managers, teachers and health service staff are available to aid interviewees in the rare case that any emotional discomfort is encountered as part of their participation in interview process.

The NGO confirms there are no consequences for participants voicing opinions regarding the NGO services as part of their participation in interviews or research fieldwork.

Regards

[REDACTED]
Managing Director

Appendix 24: Letter of support *NGO_2*

 31 May 2018 at 5:40 pm 

To: Matt Ankers

 Siri found new contact info in this email: Michael Horton michael@concertcambodia.org [add to Contacts...](#)

To whom it may concern,

I,  Chairman and Founder, of  am writing to endorse the research titled:

A case study analysis of the multiple realities engaged with Non-Government Organizations work with disadvantaged children in Siem Reap, Cambodia.

by Mr Matthew Ankers, a PhD candidate of Flinders University. I give permission for the research to be conducted at our NGO facilities (including promotion of the research, engagement with staff and clients and interviews with those who agree to participate) on the conditions that Matthew puts the welfare of participants first, and respects their privacy and anonymity at all times.

Please note in regards to our NGO that the majority of staff and students speak excellent English and a translator will not be required in most instances. Where a translator is needed, the NGO has several on staff who can assist or Matthew can arrange a third party to assist with translations if preparations for their visit are arranged in advanced, and the translator agrees to respect the privacy and confidentiality of participants at all times.

NGO staff including managers, teachers and health service staff are available to aid interviewees in the rare case that any emotional discomfort is encountered as part of their participation in interview process.

The NGO confirms there are no consequences for participants voicing opinions regarding the NGO services as part of their participation in interviews or research fieldwork.

Regards



[See More](#)

Appendix 25: Confidentiality agreement transcription service



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CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

Transcription Services

A case study analysis of the multiple realities engaged with Non-Government Organisations work with disadvantaged children in Siem Reap, Cambodia.

I, _____, transcriptionist, agree to maintain full confidentiality in regard to any and all audiotapes and documentation received from Matthew Ankers related to his doctoral study on the title listed above. Furthermore, I agree:

1. To hold in strictest confidence the identification of any individual that may be inadvertently revealed during the transcription of audio-taped interviews, or in any associated documents;
2. To not make copies of any audio files or computerised files of the transcribed interview texts, unless specifically requested to do so by Matthew Ankers;
3. To store all study-related audio files and materials in a safe, secure location as long as they are in my possession;
4. To return all audio files and study-related documents to Matthew Ankers in a complete and timely manner.
5. To delete all electronic files containing study-related documents from my computer hard drive and any backup devices.

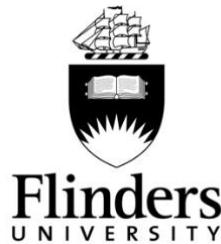
I am aware that I can be held legally liable for any breach of this confidentiality agreement, and for any harm incurred by individuals if I disclose identifiable information contained in the audiotapes and/or files to which I will have access.

Transcriber's name (printed) _____

Transcriber's signature _____

Date _____

Appendix 26: Confidentiality agreement translation service



CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT Translation Services

A case study analysis of the multiple realities engaged with Non-Government Organisations work with disadvantaged children in Siem Reap, Cambodia.

I, _____, the person responsible for translations, agree to maintain full confidentiality in regard to any and all audiotapes and documentation received from Matthew Ankers related to his doctoral study on the above titled study. Furthermore, I agree:

1. To hold in strictest confidence the identification of any individual that may be inadvertently revealed during the translation of audio-taped interviews, or transcription documents;
2. To not make copies of any audiotapes or computerised files of the transcribed interview texts, unless specifically requested to do so by Matthew Ankers;
3. To store all study-related audio files, transcription documents or related materials in a safe, secure location as long as they are in my possession;
4. To return all audio files, transcriptions and study-related documents to Matthew Ankers in a complete and timely manner.
5. To delete all electronic files containing study-related documents from my computer hard drive and any backup devices.

I am aware that I can be held legally liable for any breach of this confidentiality agreement, and for any harm incurred by individuals if I disclose identifiable information contained in the audiotapes and/or files to which I will have access.

Translators name (printed) _____

Translators signature _____

Date _____

Appendix 27: Relativist conceptual model

A relativist conceptual model for assessing multiple stakeholder perceived needs.



Mr Matthew Ankers - College of Nursing and Health Sciences, Flinders University.
 Dr Yvonne Parry - College of Nursing and Health Sciences, Flinders University.
 Emeritus Professor Eileen Willis - College of Nursing and Health Sciences, Flinders University

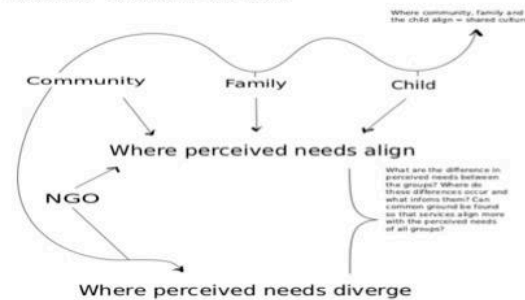
Introduction:

Social constructionism proposes that everyday reality is constructed by people engaging with their world, and with other people, which socially creates meaning for phenomena in that everyday reality (Patton 2015; Abercrombie, Hill & Turner 2006; Crotty 1998; Berger & Luckman 1991). These 'social constructs' provide meaning for the totality for which a person will either think about, or take action towards, and signifies what is 'real' within a person's world (Berger & Luckman 1991). As meanings for phenomena in social constructionism is socially constructed, these meanings are not absolute, rather meaning is dependent on the person observing the phenomena and their social, cultural, geographical and historical background (Patton 2015). Hence **reality is relative to the observer and the social lens through which they define it**, so multiple constructs of the same phenomena can exist that result in competing definitions of that phenomena (Patton 2015; Lincoln & Guba 2013; Weinberg 2008). The conceptual model uses this relativist understanding of reality to propose that a **shared common-sense meaning can be identified between people who share a similar social, demographic and geographical position**. Crotty (1998) suggests these shared common-sense understandings represent a person's 'culture' and that people who share 'culture' can present identifiably similar meanings for phenomena. Specifically, **the conceptual model is used to investigate multiple realities engaging with a common phenomenon**, so that the multiple meanings of the shared phenomena can be broken down and analysed.

Background:

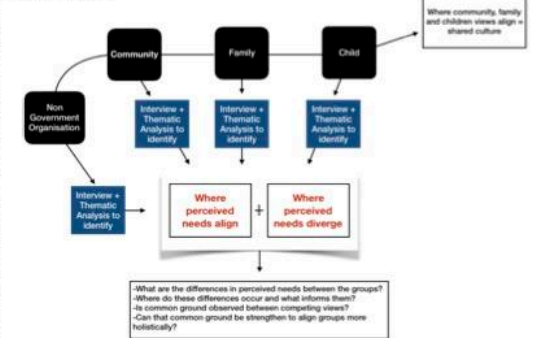
A literature review on the topic of NGO interventions with disadvantaged children in developing countries concluded that limited research explored the topic from the perspectives of all groups involved (the theme of the lead authors doctoral thesis). The review also highlighted a distortion between what the NGO perceives as needed for the child and what the child, family and/or community perceive as needed or even desired by the child (Beazley & Miller 2016; Maconachie & Hilson 2016; Pells 2012). This was especially true for children receiving NGO services. This identified a need for, and subsequent development of, a **conceptual model where multiple stakeholders engaged with the same shared phenomena could be investigated regarding their different views of the shared phenomena** that might help understand and reduce common distortions. The initial design, based on the findings from the literature review, is outlined in diagram 1.1.

Diagram 1.1 - Original concept design:



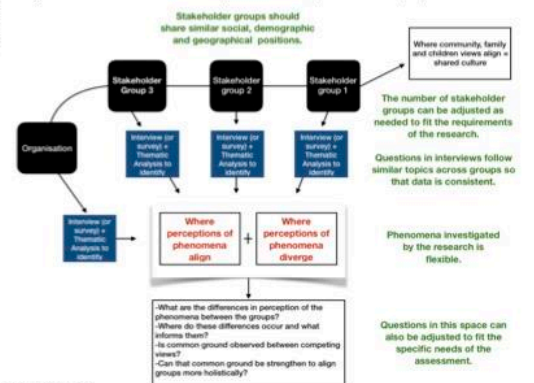
In diagram 1.2, also based on the original literature review, **stakeholders** affected by NGO's work are divided into **definable groups who share a similar reality**. These groups included the children receiving services, the children's parents, local community leaders and NGO staff. The different stakeholder group are then **interviewed** using a series of questions relative to their stake in the shared phenomena. For example, the children are asked questions on the theme of 'what does the child want?' and these responses are compared against the NGO, family and community responses to a series similar of questions on the theme of 'what does the child need?'. Semi-structured or structured interviews formats that keep interviews on topic are used so that specific phenomena can be explored across groups without interviews losing focus (Green & Thorogood 2014). The interview content from members of the same stakeholder group are then transcribed, and an iterative process of reading and coding is undertaken to identify themes (Green & Thorogood 2014). This is repeated for each stakeholder group.

Diagram 1.2 - Relativist conceptual model of the multiple stakeholders views on the perceived needs of disadvantaged children engaged with NGO services:



This process produces an **understanding of the phenomena from the perspective of the multiple realities** that can help understand where meanings within the different realities meet, where they diverge and where new common ground might be established. The model also indicates that where the cultural views of the community, family and the child align, is **representative of a shared culture**, which provides cultural insight into the phenomena. This conceptual model can also be developed for similar situations where multiple stakeholders engage with a shared phenomenon. The phenomena of interest is flexible, as is the number and type of stakeholder group investigated (see diagram 1.3) meaning the model's application potential is considerable. A blank example is given below that details how the model can be adjusted to suit other research investigations.

Diagram 1.3 - Relativist Conceptual Model (blank example):



Innovation:

1. Provides a **method of deconstructing large-scale complexity** associated with the comparison of multiple stakeholder groups engaged with the same phenomena, to manageable levels.
2. Offers a practical method by which **Social Constructionism** can be used in the investigation and assessment of programs, organisations or similar situations where multiple stakeholders engage with a shared phenomenon.
3. The conceptual model is **flexible** in its application and can be applied to **multiple situations**.
4. Can provide insight into the **cultural meaning attached to phenomena** when multiple groups who share the same culture attach similar meaning to the shared phenomena.

INSPIRING ACHIEVEMENT

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Appendix 28: Promotional poster English and Khmer versions

Participants are sought for interview for the research project titled:

How do diverse stakeholder groups perceive the activities of Non-Government Organisations working with children in Siem Reap, Cambodia.

The research investigates Non-Government Organisations (NGO) working with children, from the viewpoints of different groups affected by that work through interviews that explore participants views of the NGO services. Interviews will be conducted one-on-one in a private room at [insert NGO name] or at quiet location around Siem Reap and take between 30 to 60 minutes, on a single occasion.

Additionally, as part of the wider fieldwork, you may be observed by the lead researcher at the NGO facility. These observations will focus on interaction between groups such as those between children and teachers and of the general day-to-day activities of the NGO to increase insight of topics raised in interviews. No names or place of work will be recorded during observations, and you can choose not to be observed by informing the lead researcher, at any time.

If you are interested in participating, more information on the project can be gained by contacting the lead researchers via email on the address given below. Alternatively, contact details are available on the participant information sheets located at the NGO facilities, which also outlines the research in greater details.

I thank you for your time in considering the research,

Regards

Matthew Ankers (Lead researcher)

Email: matthew.ankers@flinders.edu.au

បំណុល

អ្នកចូលរួមត្រូវបានគេស្វែងរកដើម្បីសម្ភាសន៍ក្នុងគម្រោងស្រាវជ្រាវដែលមានចំណងជើងថា:

*តើក្រុមអ្នកពាក់ព័ន្ធនានាយលំយ៉ាងណាចំពោះសកម្មភាពរបស់អង្គការNGO
ដែលធ្វើការជាមួយកុមារដែលជួបការលំបាកនៅក្នុងខេត្តសៀមរាបប្រទេសកម្ពុជា។*

ការស្រាវជ្រាវស៊ើបអង្កេតលើអង្គការNGOដែលកំពុងធ្វើការជាមួយកុមារពីទស្សនៈរបស់ក្រុមផ្សេងៗ
ដែលទទួលរងផលប៉ះពាល់ដោយសារការងារនោះតាមរយៈការសម្ភាសន៍ស្រាវជ្រាវពីទស្សនៈស្តីពីសេវាកម្មដែលផ្តល់ដោយអង្គ
ការNGO។ ការសម្ភាសន៍នឹងត្រូវបានគេធ្វើឡើងមួយទល់នឹងមួយ នៅក្នុងបន្ទប់ឯកជនមួយនៅ
[ប្រញូលឈ្មោះអង្គការក្រៅរដ្ឋាភិបាល] ឬនៅទីតាំងស្ងាត់នៅសៀមរាបនិងចំណាយពេលពី 30 ទៅ 60 នាទីក្នុងមួយលើក។

លើសពីនេះទៀតដែលជាផ្នែកមួយនៃការងារចុះមូលដ្ឋាន អ្នកប្រហែលជាត្រូវបានសង្កេតដោយប្រធានក្រុមស្រាវជ្រាវនៅទី
តាំងអង្គការ NGO តែម្តង។ ការសង្កេតនឹងយកចិត្តទុកដាក់លើអន្តរកម្មរវាងក្រុម ដូចជារវាងកុមារ និងគ្រូបង្រៀន ឬក
រួមនិងសកម្មភាពប្រចាំថ្ងៃរបស់អង្គការNGO ដើម្បីបង្កើនការយល់ដឹងស៊ីជម្រៅ
លើប្រធានបទដែលបានលើកឡើងពេលសម្ភាសន៍។ ឈ្មោះឬទីកន្លែងធ្វើការនឹងមិនត្រូវបានគេកត់ត្រា ក្នុង
អំឡុងពេលធ្វើការសង្កេត ហើយអ្នកអាចជ្រើសយកជម្រើសមិនឱ្យគេសង្កេត ដោយគ្រាន់តែជូនដំណឹងដល់ប្រធានក្រុម
ស្រាវជ្រាវនៅពេលណាមួយក៏បាន។

ប្រសិនបើអ្នកចាប់អារម្មណ៍ក្នុងការចូលរួម ព័ត៌មានបន្ថែមអំពីគម្រោងអាចរកបានតាមរយៈការទាក់ទងប្រធានក្រុម
ស្រាវជ្រាវតាមរយៈអាសយដ្ឋានអ៊ីម៉ែលខាងក្រោម។ ជាជម្រើស ព័ត៌មានទំនាក់ទំនងលំអិតអាចរកបាននៅលើសន្លឹក
ព័ត៌មានអ្នកចូលរួមដែលមានទីតាំងនៅតាមទីតាំងអង្គការ NGO ដែលមានបង្ហាញពីសេចក្តីលម្អិតនៃការស្រាវជ្រាវ។

ខ្ញុំសូមអរគុណលោកអ្នកដែលបានចំណាយពេលវេលាពិចារណាការស្រាវជ្រាវ,

ដោយក្តីគោរពស្រឡាញ់

Matthew Ankers (ប្រធានក្រុមស្រាវជ្រាវ)

អ៊ីម៉ែល: matthew.ankers@flinders.edu.au

43. តើអនុសញ្ញាអន្តរជាតិអ្វីដែលអ្នកគោរពតាម?
 - a. ហេតុអ្វីអនុសញ្ញាទាំងនេះ?
 - b. តើអនុសញ្ញាទាំងនេះមានផលប៉ះពាល់ដូចម្តេចលើការផ្តល់សេវា?
44. (ប្រសិនបើអ្នកមិនប្រកាន់ខ្ជាប់) តើអ្នកទទួលបានការផ្តល់ប្រាក់ដោយវិធីណា?
 - a. តើអ្នកផ្តល់មូលនិធិដាក់លក្ខខណ្ឌឬចែងខុសនូវអ្វីខ្លះលើលើការផ្តល់ប្រាក់ប្តឹង?
 - i. តើមានផលប៉ះពាល់ដល់ការផ្តល់សេវាកម្មដូចម្តេច?
 - b. តើអ្នករាយការណ៍ទៅម្ចាស់ជំនួយឬទេ?
 - i. ប្រសិនបើមានតើរបាយការណ៍ប្តឹងរាយការណ៍ពីអ្វីខ្លះ?
 - ii. តើមានផលប៉ះពាល់ដល់ការផ្តល់សេវាកម្មដូចម្តេច?
 - iii. តើរបាយការណ៍ដែលគេតម្រូវឱ្យមាននូវបញ្ហាដែលការងារដែលបានអនុវត្តដោយអង្គការរបស់អ្នកឬទេ?
 - c. តើអង្គការNGOបង្កើតប្រាក់ចំណូលដោយខ្លួនឯងមែនទេ?
 - i. ប្រសិនបើមែន តើដោយវិធីណា?
45. តើមានអ្វីទៀតដែលប៉ះពាល់ដល់ការផ្តល់សេវា? (មិនទាន់បានពិភាក្សាទេ)
 - a. តើអ្នកដោះស្រាយបញ្ហាទាំងនេះដោយរបៀបណា?
46. និយាយតាមបែបប្រវត្តិសាស្ត្រ តើសហគមន៍មូលដ្ឋានមានប្រតិបត្តិដូចម្តេចចំពោះវត្តមានរបស់អង្គការរបស់អ្នក?
 - a. តើទំនាក់ទំនងសហគមន៍មូលដ្ឋានបានជាបញ្ហាទេ?
 - i. បើជាបញ្ហា តើហេតុអ្វី?
 - ii. តើអ្នកកសាងទំនាក់ទំនងនៅក្នុងសហគមន៍ដោយវិធីណា?
 - iii. តើសហគមន៍វាយតម្លៃអ្នកថាម៉េចនៅពេលឥឡូវនេះ?
 - b. តើអង្គការរបស់អ្នកត្រូវតែបញ្ឈប់ការងារសហគមន៍សេវាកម្មរបស់អ្នកឬទេ?
 - i. ប្រសិនបើត្រូវតែមែននោះ តើអ្នកដោះស្រាយដូចម្តេចចំពោះបញ្ហានេះ?
47. តើអ្នកគិតថា ភាពដែលមានតែមួយ ហើយនឹងការឆ្លងកាត់ភាពមិនច្បាស់លាស់របស់ប្រទេសកម្ពុជា ប៉ះពាល់ដល់សមត្ថភាពរបស់អ្នកក្នុងការផ្តល់សេវាកម្មឬទេ?
 - a. ប្រសិនបើមែន តើដោយវិធីណា?
 - b. ប្រសិនបើអត់ទេ តើអ្នកធ្លាប់មានបទពិសោធន៍បែបនេះដែលវាមានផលប៉ះពាល់ដល់គំបន់ផ្សេងៗ លើជីវិតប្រជាជនកម្ពុជាឬទេ?

(សំណួរដែលទាក់ទងនឹងអតីតកាលដែលមិនមានភាពច្បាស់លាស់នៃប្រទេសកម្ពុជាសម្រាប់សួរអ្នកគ្រប់គ្រងអង្គការក្រៅរដ្ឋាភិបាល ដើម្បីជួយការពារសមាជិកដែលងាយរងគ្រោះពីក្រុមដែលចូលរួមសំភាសន៍)

48. តើមានឧបសគ្គអ្វីខ្លះសម្រាប់កុមារដែលកំពុងចូលរួមក្នុងសេវាកម្មនានាឬ?
 - a. តើអង្គការរបស់អ្នកជួយដោះស្រាយឧបសគ្គទាំងនេះដូចម្តេច?
 - b. តើក្រុមគ្រួសារត្រូវការការគាំទ្របន្ថែមទេប្រសិនបើមានចូលរួមក្នុងសេវាកម្ម?
 - i. ប្រសិនបើត្រូវការតើការគាំទ្រដែលជាតម្រូវការ ជាមុនមានអ្វីខ្លះ?
 - ⇒ តើអ្នកផ្តល់ជំនួយដល់មាតាបិតាដែរឬទេ? ប្រសិនបើមានតើអ្វីទៅ?
 - ⇒ តើគ្រួសារជាទូទៅទទួលបានការគាំទ្រទាំងនេះពិណមក?

ការតាមដាន ការពិនិត្យសារឡើងវិញ និងទំនាក់ទំនង -

49. តើអ្នកប្រមូលទិន្នន័យពីសេវាកម្មរបស់អ្នកដែរឬទេ?
 - a. តើមានការវិភាគទិន្នន័យទាំងនោះដែរឬទេ?
 - i. តើសេវាកម្មមានការផ្លាស់ប្តូរឬទេ បន្ទាប់ពីការវិភាគទិន្នន័យដែលប្រមូលបាន?
50. តើអ្នកតាមដានចំពោះសិស្សអ្នកដែលបញ្ចប់ការសិក្សាពីសេវាកម្មរបស់អ្នកឬទេ?
 - a. តើអ្នកតាមដានលើអ្វី?
 - b. តើសេវាកម្មមានការផ្លាស់ប្តូរឬទេ ដោយផ្អែកលើការតាមដានចំពោះអតីតសិស្ស?
51. តើអ្នកមានទំនាក់ទំនងជាមួយអង្គការNGO ដទៃផ្សេងទៀតឬទេ?
 - a. តើអ្នកទាក់ទងគ្នាពីអ្វី?
 - b. តើអ្នកចែករំលែកធនធានជាមួយនឹងអង្គការNGOដទៃទៀតដែរឬទេ?
 - c. ក្នុងករណីដែលមានសិស្សច្រើនពេក តើអ្នករំលែកសិស្សទៅតាមអង្គការផ្សេងៗដែរឬទេ?
52. តើគ្រួសាររបស់សិស្សចូលរួមជាមួយអង្គការNGOឬទេ?
 - i. តើពួកគេចូលរួមពាក់ព័ន្ធយ៉ាងដូចម្តេច?
 - ii. តើអ្វីដែលរារាំងគ្រួសារមិនឱ្យចូលរួម?
- b. តើការចូលរួមរបស់គ្រួសារត្រូវបានលើកទឹកចិត្តដែរឬទេ?
 - i. ហេតុអ្វី / ហេតុអ្វីមិន?
53. តើសហគមន៍ចូលរួមជាមួយអង្គការNGOដែរឬទេ?
 - i. តើពួកគេចូលរួមពាក់ព័ន្ធយ៉ាងដូចម្តេច?
 - ii. តើអ្វីដែលរារាំងសហគមន៍មិនឱ្យចូលរួម?
- b. តើការចូលរួមរបស់សហគមន៍ត្រូវបានលើកទឹកចិត្តដែរឬទេ?
 - i. ហេតុអ្វី / ហេតុអ្វីមិន?

ទស្សនៈស្តីពីសេវាកម្ម -

54. តើអ្នកគិតថាលំដាប់លំដោយបែបម៉េចនៃការអប់រំសម្រាប់សិស្សរបស់អ្នកដែលសិស្សរបស់អ្នកត្រូវសម្រេចឱ្យបាន?
 - a. ហេតុអ្វីលំដាប់នេះ?
 - b. តើអ្វីដែលអាចជួយសិស្សរបស់អ្នកសម្រេចបាននូវលំដាប់នៃការអប់រំនេះ?
 - i. តើអង្គការរបស់អ្នកជួយដូចម្តេច?
55. តើអ្នកជឿថាសិស្សរបស់អ្នកឱ្យតម្លៃទៅលើអ្វីចំពោះការអប់រំដែលពួកគេកំពុងទទួលបានឬ?
 - i. ហេតុអ្វីបានជាគេគិតដូច្នោះ?
56. តើការអប់រំលំដាប់មិនល្អជាអ្វី?
 - a. តើកត្តាអ្វីដែលរារាំងសិស្សមិនឱ្យទទួលបានលំដាប់លំដោយនៃការអប់រំ?
57. តើការងារអ្វីដែលល្អ (នៅក្នុងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា)?
 - a. តើសិស្សអាចទទួលបានការងារនេះដោយរបៀបណា?
 - i. តើមានការអប់រំ / ការអប់រំ / បទពិសោធន៍អ្វីខ្លះដែលត្រូវការ?
 - b. តើអង្គការរបស់អ្នកផ្តល់ការបណ្តុះបណ្តាលអ្វីខ្លះដែលជួយអោយសិស្សរបស់អ្នកទទួលបានការងារនេះ?

- i. អ្វីដែលកំពុងបាត់បង់?
- 58. តើរបៀបរបរនៅល្អ (នៅក្នុងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា)មានលក្ខណៈដូចម្តេច?
 - a. តើធ្វើដូចម្តេចទើបសិស្សរបស់អ្នកអាចសម្រេចបានរបៀបរបរនៅល្អនេះ?
 - b. តើអ្វីអាចរារាំងប្រជាជនពីការសម្រេចបាននូវរបៀបរបរនៅល្អនោះ?
- 59. តើសិស្ស (បើក៏ជាមធ្យម) ប្រាថ្នាចង់បានអ្វី?
 - a. តើមានអ្វីប្រាប់អ្នកឱ្យជ្រើសយកអីចឹង?
- 60. តើផ្នែកណាមួយនៃសេវាកម្មរបស់អង្គការក្រៅរដ្ឋាភិបាលដែលអ្នកគិតថាមានអត្ថប្រយោជន៍ច្រើនបំផុតចំពោះសិស្ស?
 - a. ហេតុអ្វី?
- 61. តើផ្នែកណាមួយនៃសេវាកម្មរបស់អ្នក ដែលត្រូវការភាពប្រសើរឡើង?
 - a. ហេតុអ្វី?
- 62. តើការអប់រំរបស់អ្នករួមបញ្ចូលខ្លឹមសារខ្លះៗដែរឬទេ?
 - i. ប្រសិនបើមានតើអ្វីដែលត្រូវបានបង្រៀន?
 - ii. ប្រសិនបើអត់ ហេតុអ្វី?
 - b. តើអ្វីទៅជាខ្លឹមសាររហូតដល់ដែលអ្នកចង់ឃើញគេបង្រៀន?

ការរក្សាទុក / ការជ្រើសរើសបុគ្គលិក / ការតម្កើងថ្មីនេះ:

- 63. តើផ្នែកណាខ្លះនៃសេវាកម្មអង្គការNGOដែលអ្នកគិតថាសិស្សនឹងប្រាប់បន្តដល់មិត្តភក្តិរបស់ពួកគេ?
 - a. ហេតុអ្វីសេវាកម្មទាំងនេះ?
- 64. តើអ្នកគិតថាផ្នែកណាមួយនៃសេវាកម្មរបស់អ្នកទាក់ទាញសិស្សឱ្យមករកអង្គការរបស់អ្នក?
- 65. តើវិធានការសកម្មត្រូវបានអនុវត្តឬទេ ដើម្បីកំណត់មុខសញ្ញាកុមារដែលងាយរងគ្រោះក្នុងសេវាកម្ម?
 - a. តើមានវិធានការអ្វីខ្លះដែលបានអនុវត្តដើម្បីជួយដល់/រក្សាសិស្សដែលងាយរងគ្រោះ?

សង្គមបូរីយកម្ម (ការសេរីកប់ទៅនឹងមនុស្សផ្សេងទៀត) -

- 66. តើកុមារ មានអារម្មណ៍ដូចម្តេចអំពីសេវាកម្មរបស់អ្នក? (អាចត្រូវបានឆ្លើយនៅក្នុងសំណួរខាងលើ)
 - a. តើមានអ្វីប្រាប់អ្នកឱ្យជ្រើសយកអីចឹង?
- 67. តើសិស្សចង់ក្លាយជាមិត្តនៅអង្គការNGOដែរឬទេ?
 - i. តើអ្នកបានឃើញហេតុការណ៍នេះមានភស្តុតាងបញ្ជាក់កើតឡើងនៅឯណាដែរ?
 - ii. ហេតុអ្វីបានជាអ្នកគិតថារឿងនេះមិនមានកើតឡើង?
- 68. តើកុមារមានពេលសម្រាកចេញលេងចន្លោះថ្នាក់/ មេរៀនឬទេ?
 - a. តើពួកគេធ្វើអ្វីខ្លះពេលចេញលេង?
 - b. តើកុមារនៃមេរៀនពេលវេលាដាច់ដោយឡែកទុកឱ្យកុមារលេងដែរឬទេ?
- 69. តើសកម្មភាពថ្នាក់លើកទឹកចិត្តឱ្យសិស្សធ្វើអន្តរកម្មឬទេ?
 - i. ប្រសិនបើមានអន្តរកម្ម តើសម្រេចបានដោយរបៀបណា?
 - ii. ប្រសិនបើអត់ ហេតុអ្វី?
 - b. តើមានកត្តាអ្វីខ្លះរារាំងអង្គការរបស់អ្នកមិនឱ្យលើកទឹកចិត្តកុមារបាន លេងដែលជាផ្នែកមួយនៃកម្មវិធីសិក្សា?
- 70. តើមានកិច្ចខិតខំអ្វីផ្សេងទៀតដែលត្រូវបានអនុវត្តដើម្បីលើកទឹកចិត្តឱ្យមានអន្តរកម្មរវាងសិស្សនិងសិស្ស?
 - a. តើកុមារធ្លាប់រៀនពីវិធីថែរក្សាប្តូរជួយគ្នាទៅវិញទៅមកដែរឬទេ?
 - i. ហេតុអ្វី?

បុគ្គលិកអង្គការNGOនិងអ្នកស្ម័គ្រចិត្ត -

កូនាទី

- 1. តើអ្នកមានកូនាទីអ្វីនៅទីនេះ?
- 2. តើថ្ងៃធ្វើការធម្មការរបស់អង្គការNGOពីថ្ងៃណាដល់ថ្ងៃណា?

ទស្សនៈស្តីពីសេវាកម្ម -

- 3. ហេតុអ្វីបានជាប្រជាជនចូលមកទទួលសេវាពី NGO?
- 4. តើសេវាកម្មផ្តល់អត្ថប្រយោជន៍ដល់កុមារដូចម្តេច?
- 5. តើសេវាកម្មនេះផ្តល់អត្ថប្រយោជន៍ដល់អ្នកដូចម្តេច?
- 6. តើអ្នកអាចប្រាប់ខ្លួនបានទេ តើលំដាប់នៃការអប់រំដែលអ្នកគិតថាល្អទាល់តែរៀនដល់កម្រិតណា?
 - a. ហេតុអ្វីលំដាប់នេះ?
 - b. តើសិស្សរបស់អ្នកអាចនឹងសម្រេចបានលំដាប់នៃការអប់រំនេះយ៉ាងដូចម្តេច?
 - i. តើអង្គការNGOជួយពួកគេដូចម្តេចដើម្បីសម្រេចបានលំដាប់នៃការអប់រំនេះ?
- 7. តើផ្នែកណាមួយនៃការអប់រំសិស្សរបស់អ្នក ដែលអ្នកគិតថាពួកគេផ្តល់តម្លៃបំផុត?
 - i. ហេតុអ្វី?
- 8. តើការអប់រំលំដាប់មិនល្អជាអ្វី?
 - a. តើកត្តាអ្វីដែលរារាំងសិស្សមិនឱ្យទទួលបានលំដាប់ល្អនៃការអប់រំ?
- 9. តើការងារអ្វីដែលល្អ (នៅក្នុងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា)?
 - a. តើសិស្សធ្វើដូចម្តេចទើបអាចទទួលបានការងារនេះ?
 - i. តើការបណ្តុះបណ្តាលអ្វី ការអប់រំឬបទពិសោធន៍អ្វីខ្លះដែលគេត្រូវការ?
 - b. តើការបណ្តុះបណ្តាលអ្វី ដែលអង្គការNGOផ្តល់ ដែលអាចជួយសិស្សទទួលបានការងារនេះ?
 - i. អ្វីដែលកំពុងបាត់បង់?
- 10. តើរបៀបរបរនៅល្អ (នៅក្នុងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា)យ៉ាងម៉េចទៅ?
 - a. តើធ្វើដូចម្តេចទើបសិស្សរបស់អ្នកអាចសម្រេចបានរបៀបរបរនៅល្អនេះ?
 - b. តើកត្តាអ្វីអាចរារាំងសិស្សមិនឱ្យសម្រេចបាននូវរបៀបរបរនៅល្អនេះ?
- 11. តើសិស្សរបស់អ្នកប្រាថ្នាចង់បានឬក្លាយទៅជាអ្វី?
 - a. តើមានអ្វីប្រាប់អ្នកឱ្យជ្រើសយកអីចឹង?
- 12. តើផ្នែកណាមួយនៃសេវាកម្មរបស់អង្គការអង្គការNGOដែលអ្នកគិតថាមានអត្ថប្រយោជន៍ច្រើនបំផុតចំពោះសិស្ស?
 - a. ហេតុអ្វី?
- 13. តើផ្នែកណាមួយនៃសេវាកម្មរបស់ NGO ត្រូវការការយកចិត្តទុកដាក់?

- a. ហេតុអ្វី?
- 14. តើកម្មវិធីសិក្សាមានខ្លឹមសារជាខ្មែរដែរឬទេ?
 - i. ប្រសិនបើមាន តើអ្នកអាចប្រាប់ខ្ញុំបានទេ?
 - ii. ប្រសិនបើគ្មាន ហេតុអ្វីបានជាអ្នកគិតអីចឹង?

ការរក្សាទុក / ការជ្រើសរើសបុគ្គលិក / ការតម្កើងថ្មី:

- 15. តើផ្នែកណាខ្លះនៃសេវាកម្មអង្គការNGOដែលអ្នកគិតថាសិស្សនឹងប្រាប់បន្តដល់មិត្តភក្តិរបស់ពួកគេ?
 - a. ហេតុអ្វីសេវាកម្មទាំងនេះ?
- 16. តើផ្នែកណាមួយនៃសេវាកម្មអង្គការNGOដែលអ្នកគិតថានឹងទាក់ទាញកុមារទៅរកសេវាកម្មរបស់អង្គការNGO?
- 17. តើមានវិធានការអ្វីដើម្បីកំណត់អត្តសញ្ញាណសិស្សងាយរងគ្រោះ?
 - a. តើសិស្សដែលងាយរងគ្រោះត្រូវបានជួយដូចម្តេច?

សង្គមបូរីយកម្ម (ការសេពគប់ទៅនឹងមនុស្សផ្សេងទៀត) -

- 18. តើសិស្សមានអារម្មណ៍យ៉ាងណាចំពោះអង្គការNGO?
 - a. តើមានអ្វីប្រាប់អ្នកឱ្យជ្រើសយកអីចឹង?
- 19. តើសិស្សចង់មិត្តភក្តិនឹងគ្នានៅអង្គការNGOដែរឬទេ?
 - i. តើអ្នកបានឃើញហេតុការណ៍នេះមានភស្តុតាងបញ្ជាក់កើតឡើងនៅឯណាដែរ?
 - ii. ហេតុអ្វីបានជាអ្នកគិតថារឿងនេះមិនបានកើតឡើង?
- 20. តើសិស្សទទួលបានពេលវេលាសម្រាក ចន្លោះថ្នាក់ / មេរៀនដែរឬទេ?
 - a. តើពួកគេធ្វើអ្វីខ្លះពេលចេញលេង?
 - b. តើក្នុងបន្ថែមពេលវេលាដាច់ដោយឡែកទុកឱ្យកុមារលេងដែរឬទេ?
- 21. តើសកម្មភាពសាលារៀនលើកទឹកចិត្តសិស្សឱ្យធ្វើការទំនាក់ទំនងជាមួយគ្នាទេ?
 - i. ប្រសិនបើឆ្លើយថាបាទ / បាស តើទំនាក់ទំនងជាមួយគ្នាដូចម្តេច?
 - ii. ប្រសិនបើឆ្លើយថាទេ ហេតុអ្វីបានជាអ្នកគិតថាអីចឹង?
- 22. តើសកម្មភាពអ្វីខ្លះអាចត្រូវបានណែនាំដើម្បីបង្កើនអន្តរកម្មរវាងសិស្ស?
 - a. តើកុមារធ្លាប់រៀនពីវិធីថែរក្សាប្លង់ដូចម្តេចទៅវិញទៅមកដែរឬទេ?
 - i. ហេតុអ្វី?

កុមារ

ក្នុងនាទី

- 1. សូមប្រាប់ខ្ញុំអំពីអង្គការNGO?
- 2. តើថ្ងៃធ្វើការរបស់អង្គការក្រៅរដ្ឋាភិបាលពីថ្ងៃណាដល់ថ្ងៃណា?

ទស្សនៈពីសេវាកម្ម -

- 3. ហេតុអ្វីបានជាប្រជាជនចូលមកទទួលសេវាពី NGO?
- 4. តើអ្នកអាចប្រាប់ខ្ញុំបានទេ តើលំដាប់នៃការអប់រំដែលអ្នកគិតថាល្អទាល់តែរៀនដល់កម្រិតណា?
 - a. ហេតុអ្វីលំដាប់នេះ?
 - b. តើមនុស្សអាចនឹងសម្រេចបានលំដាប់នៃការអប់រំនេះដោយវិធីណា?
 - i. តើអង្គការក្រៅរដ្ឋាភិបាលអាចជួយមនុស្សឱ្យសម្រេចបានលំដាប់នៃការអប់រំនេះដូចម្តេច?
- 5. តើអ្នកឱ្យតម្លៃទៅលើអ្វីចំពោះការអប់រំរបស់អ្នក?
 - a. ហេតុអ្វីបានឱ្យតម្លៃ ___?
- 6. តើការអប់រំលំដាប់មិនល្អជាអ្វី?
 - a. តើកត្តាអ្វីដែលរារាំងមនុស្សមិនឱ្យទទួលបានលំដាប់ល្អនៃការអប់រំ?
- 7. តើការងារល្អគឺជាអ្វី?
 - a. តើអ្នកគិតថាមនុស្សទទួលបានការងារនេះដោយវិធីណា?
 - i. តើការបណ្តុះបណ្តាល / ការអប់រំ / បទពិសោធន៍ខ្លះដែលត្រូវការដើម្បីសម្រេចបានការងារនេះ?
 - ii. តើមនុស្សអាចទទួលបានការអប់រំ / ការបណ្តុះបណ្តាលនេះយ៉ាងដូចម្តេច?
 - iii. តើអ្វីទៅជាការអប់រំ / ការបណ្តុះបណ្តាលដែលអង្គការក្រៅNGO អាចផ្តល់ឱ្យបានដែលអាចជួយអ្នកឱ្យសម្រេចបានការងារនេះ?
- 8. តើអ្វីទៅជារបៀបរបរល្អ?
 - a. តើមនុស្សអាចសម្រេចបានរបៀបរបរល្អនេះយ៉ាងដូចម្តេច?
 - b. តើអ្វីដែលរារាំងមនុស្សមិនឱ្យសម្រេចបានរបៀបរបរល្អនេះ?
- 9. តើអ្នកប្រាថ្នាចង់បានអ្វីប្លកាយទៅជាអ្វី?
 - a. តើធ្វើដូចម្តេចដើម្បីឱ្យអ្នកអាចសម្រេចបានប្រាថ្នាហ្នឹងបាន?
- 10. តើអ្វីទៅជាផ្នែកមួយនៃសេវាកម្មរបស់អង្គការNGOដែលអ្នករកឃើញថាមានប្រយោជន៍ច្រើនបំផុត?
 - a. ហេតុអ្វី?
- 11. តើផ្នែកណាមួយនៃសេវាកម្មដែលអ្នកគិតថា មិនសូវចំណេញ?
 - a. ហេតុអ្វី?
 - b. តើអ្នកនឹងផ្លាស់ប្តូរវាដោយវិធីណា?
- 12. តើកម្មវិធីសិក្សាមានខ្លឹមសារជាខ្មែរដែរឬទេ?
 - a. ប្រសិនបើមាន តើអ្នកអាចផ្តល់ឧទាហរណ៍ខ្លះមកខ្ញុំបានទេ?
 - b. ប្រសិនបើគ្មាន តើអ្នកចង់រៀនខ្លឹមសារជាភាសាខ្មែរដែរឬទេ?

ការរក្សាទុក / ការជ្រើសរើសបុគ្គលិក / ការតម្កើងថ្មី:

- 13. តើផ្នែកណាខ្លះនៃសេវាកម្មអង្គការក្រៅរដ្ឋាភិបាលដែលអ្នកនឹងណែនាំបន្តដល់មិត្តភក្តិរបស់អ្នក?

- a. ហេតុអ្វីសេវាកម្មទាំងនេះ?
- 14. តើផ្នែកណាមួយនៃសេវាកម្មរបស់អង្គការNGOដែលអ្នកគិតថានឹងទាក់ទាញមនុស្សមករកសេវាកម្មទាំងនេះ?
- 15. អ្វីដែលជំរុញទឹកចិត្តអ្នក អំពីសេវារបស់អង្គការក្រៅNGO?

សង្គមបូន្មាន (ការសេវាកម្មទៅនឹងមនុស្សផ្សេងទៀត) -

- 16. សូមប្រាប់ខ្ញុំពីអារម្មណ៍ របស់អ្នកអំពីអង្គការក្រៅរដ្ឋាភិបាល?
- 17. តើអ្នកបានចងគ្នាជាមិត្តនៅក្នុងអង្គការNGOដែរឬទេ?
 - i. តើរឿងនេះកើតឡើងដោយរបៀបណា?
 - ii. ហេតុអ្វីបានជាអ្នកគិតថារឿងនេះមិនបានកើតឡើង?
- 18. តើអ្នកទទួលបានពេលវេលាសម្រាកចន្លោះថ្នាក់/មេរៀនដែរឬទេ?
 - a. តើអ្នកធ្វើអ្វីខ្លះពេលចេញលេង?
- 19. តើអង្គការNGOផ្តល់ពេលវេលាដល់អ្នកដើម្បីចូលរួមជាមួយសិស្សដទៃទៀតដែរឬទេ?
- 20. តើសកម្មភាពសាលាអ្វីខ្លះដែលអនុញ្ញាតឱ្យអ្នកចូលរួមជាមួយសិស្សដទៃទៀត?
- 21. តើសកម្មភាពអ្វីខ្លះអាចត្រូវបានណែនាំដើម្បីបង្កើនទំនាក់ទំនងរបស់អ្នកជាមួយមិត្តភក្តិរបស់អ្នក?
 - a. តើអ្នកធ្លាប់រៀនពីវិធីថែរក្សាប្តូរគ្នាទៅវិញទៅមកដែរឬទេ?
 - b. ហេតុអ្វីអ្នកគិតថានេះជាការលើកទឹកចិត្ត?

មាតាបិតា / អាណាព្យាបាល -

កូនាទី

- 1. សូមប្រាប់ខ្ញុំអំពីអង្គការNGO?
- 2. តើកូនអ្នកធ្វើអ្វីខ្លះនៅអង្គការNGO?
 - a. តើអ្នកមានអារម្មណ៍យ៉ាងណាអំពីកូនរបស់អ្នកដែលកំពុងចូលរួមក្នុងអង្គការNGO?
- 3. តើអ្នកមានកូនាទីណាមួយជាមួយអង្គការNGOដែរឬទេ?
 - a. តើអ្នកមានមុខរបរអ្វី?

ទស្សនៈស្តីពីសេវាកម្ម -

- 4. ហេតុអ្វីបានជាប្រជាជនចូលមកទទួលសេវាពី NGO?
- 5. តើលំដាប់ការអប់រំល្អជាអ្វី?
 - a. ហេតុអ្វីលំដាប់នេះ?
 - b. តើកុមារអាចសម្រេចបាននូវកម្រិតអប់រំនេះយ៉ាងដូចម្តេច?
 - c. តើអង្គការNGOអាចជួយកុមារឱ្យសម្រេចបានលំដាប់នៃការអប់រំនេះដោយវិធីណា?
- 6. តើអ្នកឱ្យកម្លាំងទៅលើការអប់រំមួយណាដែលកូនរបស់អ្នកកំពុងទទួលបានពីអង្គការ?
 - a. តើមានអ្វីប្រាប់អ្នកឱ្យជ្រើសយកអីចឹង?
- 7. តើការអប់រំលំដាប់មិនល្អជាអ្វី?
 - a. តើអ្វីអាចរារាំងមនុស្សមិនឱ្យទទួលបានលំដាប់ល្អនៃការអប់រំ?
- 8. តើការងារល្អគឺជាអ្វី?
 - a. តើមនុស្សទទួលបានការងារនេះដោយរបៀបណា?
 - i. តើមានការអប់រំ / ការអប់រំ / បទពិសោធន៍អ្វីខ្លះដែលត្រូវការ?
 - b. តើការបណ្តុះបណ្តាលអ្វី ដែលអង្គការNGOផ្តល់ ដែលអាចជួយកុមារទទួលបានការងារនេះ?
 - i. តើពួកគេអាចធ្វើអ្វីបានទៀត?
- 9. តើអ្វីទៅជារបៀបរបរនៅល្អ?
 - a. តើកុមារអាចសម្រេចបានរបៀបរបរនៅល្អនេះយ៉ាងដូចម្តេច?
 - b. តើអ្វីដែលអាចរារាំងមនុស្សឱ្យសម្រេចបាននូវរបៀបរបរនៅល្អនេះ?
- 10. តើអ្នកមានក្តីបង់ប្រាក់ថ្នាំសម្រាប់កូនរបស់អ្នក?
 - a. តើកូនរបស់អ្នកអាចសំរេចគោលដៅទាំងនេះដោយរបៀបណា?
- 11. តើផ្នែកណាមួយនៃសេវាកម្មរបស់អង្គការNGOដែលអ្នកគិតថាមានអត្ថប្រយោជន៍ច្រើនបំផុតចំពោះកុមារ?
 - a. ហេតុអ្វី?
- 12. តើផ្នែកណាមួយនៃសេវាកម្មរបស់ NGO ត្រូវការការយកចិត្តទុកដាក់?
 - a. ហេតុអ្វី?
- 13. តើកូនរបស់អ្នកនិយាយប្រាប់អ្នកអំពីរបៀបដទៃមួយណាដែលពួកគេបានសិក្សាឬទេ?
 - i. ប្រសិនបើមានមែនតើពួកគេនិយាយអ្វីខ្លះ?
 - b. តើរបៀបដទៃអ្វីដែលអ្នកចង់ឱ្យកូនរៀន?

ការរក្សាទុក / ការជ្រើសរើសបុគ្គលិក / ការតម្កើងថាន:

- 14. តើផ្នែកណាខ្លះនៃសេវាកម្មរបស់អង្គការNGOដែលអ្នកគិតថាកូនរបស់អ្នកនឹងណែនាំបន្តដល់មិត្តភក្តិរបស់ពួកគេ?
 - a. ហេតុអ្វីសេវាកម្មទាំងនេះ?
- 15. តើផ្នែកណាមួយនៃសេវាកម្មរបស់អង្គការNGOដែលអ្នកគិតថាទាក់ទាញកុមារទៅរកសេវាកម្មទាំងនោះ?
- 16. តើអង្គការNGOជួយអ្នកអ្វីខ្លះ?
 - a. (ប្រសិនបើអ្នកប្រកាន់ ខ្ញុំសូម) តើជួយដូចម្តេច?

សង្គមបូន្មាន (ការសេវាកម្មទៅនឹងមនុស្សផ្សេងទៀត) -

- 17. តើកូនរបស់អ្នកដៃគូអំពីអង្គការNGOថាម៉េចដែរ?
- 18. តើកូនរបស់អ្នកបានចងគ្នាជាមិត្តភក្តិនៅអង្គការNGOដែរឬទេ?
 - a. តើរឿងនេះកើតឡើងដោយរបៀបណា?
 - b. ហេតុអ្វីបានជាអ្នកគិតថារឿងនេះមិនបានកើតឡើង?
- 19. តើពេលវេលាសម្រាកប៉ុន្មាន ដែលអ្នកជឿថា កុមារត្រូវទទួលបានចន្លោះមេរៀននីមួយៗ?
 - a. តើកុមារត្រូវធ្វើអ្វីចំពោះពេលវេលានេះ?

- 20. តើកូនរបស់អ្នកធ្លាប់និយាយប្រាប់អ្នក ពីការលេងជាមួយមិត្តភក្តិនៅអង្គការNGOមែនទេ?
 - a. តើពួកគេនិយាយថាមេច?
- 21. តើកូនរបស់អ្នកត្រូវបានអនុញ្ញាតឱ្យចូលរួមជាមួយមិត្តភក្តិរបស់ពួកគេនៅពេលណា?
- 22. តើសកម្មភាពអ្វីខ្លះដែលយើងគួរណែនាំដើម្បីឱ្យកូនរបស់បង្កើនអន្តរកម្ម(ទំនាក់ទំនងទៅវិញទៅមក) ជាមួយមិត្តភក្តិរបស់ពួកគេ?
 - a. តើគុណភាពទទួលបានការបង្រៀនឱ្យចេះថែរក្សាគ្នាទៅវិញទៅមកឬទេ?
 - i. ហេតុអ្វី?

អតីតសិស្សបញ្ចប់ការសិក្សា -

កូនាទី

- 1. តើអ្នកបានចូលរួមក្នុងកម្មវិធីអង្គការNGOនៅពេលណា?
 - a. តើអ្នកមានមុខរបរអ្វី?
 - i. តើអ្នកគិតថាអង្គការNGOបានជួយអ្នកឱ្យសម្រេចមុខរបរនេះឬទេ?
 - ii. តើអ្វីដែលបានជួយអ្នកឱ្យសម្រេចបាននូវគំណែងនេះ?
- 2. សូមប្រាប់ខ្ញុំអំពីពេលវេលាដែលអ្នកចំណាយនៅជាមួយអង្គការNGO?

ទស្សនៈស្តីពីសេវាកម្ម -

- 3. ហេតុអ្វីបានជាប្រជាជនចូលមកទទួលសេវាពី NGO?
- 4. តើអ្នកអាចប្រាប់ខ្ញុំបានទេ តើលំដាប់នៃការអប់រំដែលអ្នកគិតថាល្អទាល់តែរៀនដល់កម្រិតណា?
 - a. ហេតុអ្វីលំដាប់នេះ?
 - b. តើធ្វើដូចម្តេចទើបបុគ្គលម្នាក់សម្រេចបាននូវលំដាប់នៃការអប់រំនេះ?
 - c. តើអ្នកគិតថាអង្គការNGOជួយសិស្សឱ្យសម្រេចបានលំដាប់នៃការអប់រំនេះមែនទេ?
 - i. បើមែន តើធ្វើដូចម្តេច?
 - ii. ប្រសិនបើអត់ ហេតុអ្វី?
- 5. តើអ្នកឱ្យតម្លៃទៅលើអ្វីចំពោះការអប់រំរបស់អ្នក?
 - a. ហេតុអ្វីបានជាអ្នកឱ្យតម្លៃ ___?
- 6. តើការអប់រំលំដាប់មិនល្អជាអ្វី?
 - a. តើកត្តាអ្វីដែលរារាំងមនុស្សមិនឱ្យទទួលបានលំដាប់ល្អនៃការអប់រំ?
- 7. តើការងារល្អគឺជាអ្វី?
 - a. តើមនុស្សទទួលបានការងារល្អដោយវិធីណា?
 - i. តើពួកគេត្រូវការការអប់រំ / ការអប់រំ / បទពិសោធន៍អ្វីខ្លះ?
 - b. តើការបណ្តុះបណ្តាលអ្វីដែលអង្គការNGOផ្តល់ដែលអាចជួយមនុស្សឱ្យសម្រេចបានការងារនេះ?
 - i. តើមានអ្វីផ្សេងទៀតដែលយើងគួរផ្តល់បន្ថែម?
- 8. តើអ្វីទៅជារបៀបរៀបរយរបស់អ្នក?
 - a. តើមនុស្សសម្រេចបានរបៀបរៀបរយរបស់អ្នកដោយវិធីណា?
 - b. តើអ្វីដែលរារាំងមនុស្សមិនឱ្យសម្រេចបាននូវរបៀបរៀបរយរបស់អ្នកនេះ?
- 9. តើអ្នកប្រាថ្នាចង់បានអ្វីឬក្លាយទៅជាអ្វី?
 - a. តើអ្នកនៅតែប្រាថ្នាចង់បានបែបនេះមែនទេ?
 - i. តើធ្វើដូចម្តេចដើម្បីឱ្យអ្នកអាចសម្រេចបានប្រាថ្នាហ្នឹងបាន?
- 10. តើផ្នែកណាមួយនៃសេវាកម្មរបស់អង្គការNGOដែលអ្នករកឃើញថាមានអត្ថប្រយោជន៍ច្រើនបំផុត?
 - a. ហេតុអ្វី?
- 11. តើផ្នែកណាមួយនៃសេវាកម្មដែលអ្នកគិតថា មិនសូវចំណេញ?
 - a. ហេតុអ្វី?
- 12. តើគេមានបង្រៀនរឿងរ៉ាវខ្លះជាផ្នែកមួយនៃការអប់រំដល់អ្នកឬទេ?
 - i. តើគេបង្រៀនអ្វីខ្លះ?
 - ii. ហេតុអ្វីបានជាអ្នកគិតថាគេមិនបានបង្រៀន?
- b. តើរឿងរ៉ាវខ្លះណាខ្លះដែលអ្នកចង់ឱ្យគេបង្រៀន?

ការរក្សាទុក / ការជ្រើសរើសបុគ្គលិក / ការតម្កើងថ្មីនេះ:

- 13. តើផ្នែកណាខ្លះនៃសេវាកម្មអង្គការក្រៅរដ្ឋាភិបាលដែលអ្នកនឹងណែនាំបន្តដល់មិត្តភក្តិរបស់អ្នក?
 - a. ហេតុអ្វីសេវាកម្មទាំងនេះ?
- 14. តើផ្នែកណាមួយនៃសេវាកម្មរបស់អង្គការNGOដែលអ្នកគិតថានឹងទាក់ទាញមនុស្សមករកសេវាកម្មទាំងនេះ?
- 15. តើអង្គការNGOបានផ្តល់សេវាកម្មបន្ថែមទើបបានជួយអ្នកឱ្យបានចូលរៀនមែនទេ?
 - i. ប្រសិនបើមានតើអ្វីទៅ?
 - b. តើអ្វីទៅដែលអាចជួយសិស្សដែលកំពុងជួបការលំបាកបានចូលរួមក្នុងសេវាកម្ម?

សង្គមបូរីយកម្ម (ការសេពគប់ទៅនឹងមនុស្សផ្សេងទៀត) -

- 16. តើអ្នកបានចង់មិត្តនៅក្នុងអង្គការNGOមែនទេ?
 - i. តើរឿងនេះកើតឡើងដោយរបៀបណា?
 - ii. ហេតុអ្វីបានជាអ្នកគិតថារឿងនេះមិនបានកើតឡើង?
- 17. តើមានពេលសម្រាកចេញលេងចន្លោះថ្នាក់/ មេរៀនឬទេ?
 - a. តើអ្នកបានធ្វើអ្វីខ្លះពេលចេញលេង?
- 18. តើសកម្មភាពក្នុងថ្នាក់រៀនលើកទឹកចិត្តឱ្យមានទំនាក់ទំនងជាមួយសិស្សដទៃទៀតដែរឬទេ?
 - i. ប្រសិនបើមែន តើដោយវិធីណា?
 - ii. ប្រសិនបើមិនទេ ហេតុអ្វីអ្នកគិតថារឿងនេះកើតឡើង?
- 19. តើសកម្មភាពអ្វីដែលអង្គការNGOអាចបង្កើនអន្តរកម្មរវាងសិស្ស និងសិស្ស?
 - a. តើសិស្សត្រូវបានលើកទឹកចិត្តឱ្យថែរក្សាឬជួយគ្នាទៅវិញទៅមកដែរឬទេ?

សមាជិកសហគមន៍ -

ក្លានទី

1. តើអ្នកអាចណែនាំខ្លួនអ្នកឱ្យខ្ញុំបានស្គាល់បានទេ?
2. តើអ្នកមានទំនាក់ទំនងអ្វីជាមួយអង្គការNGO?
3. សូមប្រាប់ខ្ញុំអំពីអង្គការNGO?
4. តើអ្នកគិតដូចម្តេចចំពោះផលប៉ះពាល់ នៃលទ្ធភាពរបស់អង្គការNGOលើការផ្តល់សេវាកម្មរបស់ពួកគេ?

ទស្សនៈស្តីពីសេវាកម្ម -

5. ហេតុអ្វីបានជាប្រជាជនចូលមកទទួលសេវាពី NGO?
6. តើអ្នកអាចប្រាប់ខ្ញុំបានទេ តើលំដាប់នៃការអប់រំដែលអ្នកគិតថាពួកគេត្រូវបានដល់កម្រិតណា?
 - a. ហេតុអ្វីលំដាប់នេះ?
 - b. តើមនុស្សអាចនឹងសម្រេចបាននូវលំដាប់នៃការអប់រំនេះដោយវិធីណា?
 - c. តើអង្គការNGOអាចជួយកុមារឱ្យសម្រេចបានលំដាប់នៃការអប់រំនេះដោយវិធីណា?
7. តើអ្នកឱ្យតម្លៃអ្វី ក្នុងចំណោមការអប់រំដែលអង្គការNGO ផ្តល់ដល់កុមារមូលដ្ឋាន?
 - a. ហេតុអ្វីបានឱ្យតម្លៃ ___?
8. តើការអប់រំលំដាប់មិនល្អជាអ្វី?
 - a. តើកត្តាអ្វីដែលរារាំងសិស្សមិនឱ្យទទួលបានលំដាប់ល្អនៃការអប់រំ?
9. តើការងារអ្វីដែលល្អ (នៅក្នុងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា)?
 - a. តើសិស្សអាចទទួលបានការងារនេះដោយរបៀបណា?
 - i. តើមានការអប់រំ / ការអប់រំ / បទពិសោធន៍អ្វីខ្លះដែលត្រូវការ?
 - b. តើការបណ្តុះបណ្តាលអ្វី ដែលអង្គការអង្គការNGOផ្តល់ ដែលអាចជួយសិស្សទទួលបានការងារនេះ?
10. តើរបៀបរស់នៅល្អ (នៅក្នុងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា)យ៉ាងម៉េចទៅ?
 - a. តើធ្វើដូចម្តេចទើបសិស្សសម្រេចបានរបៀបរស់នៅបែបនេះ?
 - b. តើអ្វីដែលរារាំងមនុស្សមិនឱ្យសម្រេចបាននូវរបៀបរស់នៅនេះ?
11. តើកុមារគួរប្រាថ្នាជាអ្វី?
 - a. តើពួកគេអាចសម្រេចបានគោលដៅទាំងនេះដោយរបៀបណា?
12. តើផ្នែកណាមួយនៃសេវាកម្មរបស់អង្គការអង្គការNGOដែលអ្នកគិតថាមានអត្ថប្រយោជន៍ច្រើនបំផុតចំពោះសិស្ស?
 - a. ហេតុអ្វី?
13. តើផ្នែកណាមួយនៃសេវាកម្មរបស់ NGO ត្រូវការការយកចិត្តទុកដាក់?
 - a. ហេតុអ្វី?
14. តើអ្នកដឹងទេថាអង្គការNGOមានបង្រៀនរបៀបធម៌ខ្មែរដែរឬទេ?
 - i. ប្រសិនបើឆ្លើយថាបាទ / ចាសតើអ្នកអាចប្រាប់ខ្ញុំបានទេ ថាតើគេបានបង្រៀនអ្វីខ្លះ?
 - ii. ប្រសិនបើគ្មាន ហេតុអ្វីបានជាអ្នកគិតអ៊ីចឹង?
 - b. តើរបៀបធម៌ខ្មែរណាខ្លះដែលអ្នកចង់ឃើញមានការបង្រៀន?
15. តើសហគមន៍កត់សម្គាល់ឬដឹងពីការងាររបស់អង្គការNGO ដោយវិធីណា?
 - a. ហេតុអ្វីបានជាសហគមន៍គិតបែបនេះ?
 - b. តើអង្គការ NGO អាចធ្វើអ្វីខ្លះដើម្បីចូលរួមកាន់តែច្រើនជាមួយសហគមន៍?

ការរក្សាទុក / ការជ្រើសរើសបុគ្គលិក / ការតម្កើងថាន:

16. តើផ្នែកណាខ្លះនៃសេវាកម្មអង្គការNGOដែលអ្នកគិតថាសិស្សនឹងប្រាប់បន្តដល់មិត្តភក្តិរបស់ពួកគេ?
 - a. ហេតុអ្វីសេវាកម្មទាំងនេះ?
17. តើផ្នែកណាមួយនៃសេវាកម្មរបស់អង្គការNGOដែលអ្នកគិតថានឹងទាក់ទាញមនុស្សមករកសេវាកម្មទាំងនេះ?
18. តើសហគមន៍ជួយកុមារងាយរងគ្រោះឱ្យចូលរួមក្នុងសេវាកម្មរបស់អង្គការNGOដែរឬទេ?
 - i. ប្រសិនបើមែន តើដោយវិធីណា?
 - ii. ប្រសិនបើមិនទេតើមានអ្វីផ្សេងទៀតដែលអាចធ្វើបានដើម្បីជួយកុមារងាយរងគ្រោះទទួលបានការអប់រំ?

សង្គមបូនីយកម្ម (ការសេពកប់ទៅនឹងមនុស្សផ្សេងទៀត) -

19. តើអ្នកគិតថា សិស្សមានអារម្មណ៍យ៉ាងណាចំពោះអង្គការNGO?
20. តើសិស្សចង់មិត្តភក្តិនឹងគ្នានៅអង្គការNGOដែរឬទេ?
 - a. ប្រសិនបើឆ្លើយថាបាទ / ចាសតើនេះគួរលើកទឹកចិត្តដែរឬទេ?
 - b. ប្រសិនបើអត់ ហេតុអ្វី?
21. តើអ្នកគិតថាសិស្សក្នុងទទួលបានពេលវេលាសម្រាកចន្លោះថ្នាក់/មេរៀនដែរឬទេ?
 - i. បើឆ្លើយថាបាទ / ចាសតើសិស្សក្នុងធ្វើអ្វីនៅពេលឃ្នាង?
 - ii. ប្រសិនបើអត់ ហេតុអ្វី?
22. តើសកម្មភាពសាលារៀនលើកទឹកចិត្តសិស្សឱ្យធ្វើការទំនាក់ទំនងជាមួយគ្នាទេ?
 - a. តើអ្នកមានអារម្មណ៍យ៉ាងណាចំពោះការរៀនតាមរយៈការលេង?
23. តើធ្វើដូចម្តេចដើម្បីឱ្យការរៀនសូត្រកើតឡើង?
 - a. តើកុមារត្រូវបានបង្រៀនពីវិធីថែរក្សាឬជួយគ្នាទៅវិញទៅមកដែរឬទេ?

Appendix 30: Research proposal abstract in Khmer

តើក្រុមអ្នកពាក់ព័ន្ធនានាធ្វើម៉េចកត់សម្គាល់ ឬដឹងច្បាស់ពីសកម្មភាពរបស់អង្គការ (NGO) ដែលកំពុងធ្វើការជាមួយកុមារ ជួបការលំបាកនៅក្នុងខេត្តសៀមរាបប្រទេសកម្ពុជា។

គម្រោងស្រាវជ្រាវនេះនឹងស៊ើបអង្កេតការងារអង្គការ(NGO) ធ្វើជាមួយកុមារដែលជួបការលំបាក (អាយុពី 12 ដល់ 18 ឆ្នាំ) ពីទស្សនៈរបស់ក្រុមអ្នកពាក់ព័ន្ធសំខាន់ៗដែលទទួលរងផលប៉ះពាល់ដោយការងារនៅសៀមរាបប្រទេសកម្ពុជា។ ក្រុមអ្នកពាក់ព័ន្ធផ្សេងៗ ដែលទទួលរងផលប៉ះពាល់ដោយការងាររបស់អង្គការក្រៅរដ្ឋាភិបាលរួមមាន កុមារដែលទទួលសេវាកម្ម មាតាបិតាឬអាណាព្យាបាល អ្នកគ្រប់គ្រងអង្គការ (NGO) និងបុគ្គលិកសិស្សដែលបញ្ចប់ការសិក្សាពីសេវាកម្មអង្គការ(NGO) និងអ្នកដឹកនាំសហគមន៍ក្នុងមូលដ្ឋានដែលមានទំនាក់ទំនងនឹងការផ្តល់សេវានៃអង្គការ NGO។ ទិន្នន័យពីក្រុមភាគីពាក់ព័ន្ធផ្សេងៗនឹងត្រូវប្រមូលតាមរយៈការសម្ភាសន៍ (មនុស្សពេញវ័យ) ការពិភាក្សាក្រុម (កុមារ) និងការសង្កេតមើលសកម្មភាពអង្គការ(NGO) ។ នៅពេលការប្រមូលទិន្នន័យត្រូវបានបំពេញចប់ ការវិភាគទិន្នន័យដែលបានពីខ្លឹមសារសម្ភាសន៍ នឹងកំណត់រកប្រធានបទរួមគ្នាឆ្លងក្រុមអ្នកពាក់ព័ន្ធផ្សេងៗ។ ប្រធានបទទាំងនេះនឹងត្រូវបានផ្ទៀងផ្ទាត់ឆ្លងគ្នាទៅនឹងកំណត់ត្រាពីការស្រាវជ្រាវ និងកំណត់ត្រាដែលបានកត់ក្នុងកំឡុងពេលសំភាសន៍ដើម្បីបន្ថែមការយល់ដឹងពីទស្សនៈរបស់ភាគីពាក់ព័ន្ធនានា។ គម្រោងនេះក៏នឹងពិចារណាពីអានុភាពម៉ាក្រូក្នុងស្រុក លើការផ្តល់សេវាកម្មតាមរយៈការសម្ភាសន៍ជាមួយអ្នកគ្រប់គ្រងអង្គការក្រៅរដ្ឋាភិបាល មេដឹកនាំសហគមន៍និងមន្ត្រីរដ្ឋាភិបាល។ ការស៊ើបអង្កេតដំបូងទូលំទូលាយចំពោះកិច្ចការរបស់អង្គការក្រៅរដ្ឋាភិបាល មកពីទស្សនៈផ្សេងៗ នឹងផ្តល់នូវការយល់យ៉ាងស៊ីជម្រៅ ពីរបៀបដែលការងាររបស់អង្គការក្រៅរដ្ឋាភិបាលត្រូវបានគេដឹង និងវិធីដែលវាមានផលប៉ះពាល់ដល់ក្រុមផ្សេងៗដែលពាក់ព័ន្ធរួមមាន ការយល់ដឹងពីតម្លៃពលលើសមត្ថភាពរបស់អង្គការ NGO ចំពោះការផ្តល់សេវាកម្ម និងថាតើសេវាកម្មទាំងនោះអាចនឹងត្រូវបានកែលម្អដូចម្តេច។