

Foucault's discourse analysis of education policy in Cambodia between 1979 and 2013

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KEY WORDS

Archaeology: in this dissertation, archaeology is a method for the investigation of the conditions that produce discourse, discursive statement, discursive formation and the relation of discursive formation to (re) production of knowledge, truth and the subject. Simply put, archaeology examines multiple dimensions such as economic, political, cultural, philosophical dimensions to understand the meaning and the truth behind texts or what is to be said in a specified time.

Bio power/bio politics: In this dissertation, bio power or bio politics is referred to techniques used by the government to regulate population to behave in a desirable way so that the conditions of the populations such as welfare, wealth, health etc. are improved. These techniques are associated with relations of powers and knowledge that are operated in all level of society.

Development: The concept of development in international development has been significantly evolved since the end of World War II. The brief overview of the evolution of the concept of development is illustrated Table 2 on page 62. In the dissertation, development is a complex concept structured through global power relations, which shifts with social relation that produce it in a specific time and space.

Discourse: According to Foucault's concept of discourse, discourse is referred to "the group of statements that belong to a single system of formation" (Foucault, 1972, pp. 107-108). Through this system of formation, discourse is not only the language that labels things but the practices that permit what to be said (i.e. language and speech). Foucault thus defines discourse as "practices that systematically form the objects and subjects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972, p. 49). Foucault's view of discourse inform the understanding of discourse in this dissertation.

Education: Education is defined differently by philosophers and educationalists since the ancient times to the modern times. In this dissertation, education is socially, historically, culturally and politically constructed and formed by the relationship of powers and knowledge in society.

Genealogy: In this dissertation, genealogy is historical critique of the complexity of the things and processes and the contingency of historical events to understand the present. Genealogy investigates the intersection of knowledge/power/truth that created discourse within different bracket time periods.

Globalisation: There are many issues related to globalisation such as political, cultural and economic processes that are resulted in an increasingly global change that are described by the *mélange* of local, national and global features. In this research, I am mainly focused on the economic process of the globalisation for instance neoliberalism that have affected the political and cultural aspect of the nation-state.

Governmentality: in this dissertation, governmentality studies the ways or various techniques that the government directs, regulates, controls, normalises and shapes human conduct to achieve certain ends.

Neoliberalism: According to Harvey (2005), neoliberalism is “a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade” (p. 2). In neoliberalism, the intervention of the state in the market is occurred only when the market is not able to function properly. The state has its excessive function to protect the rights of the individual underpinned by the market principles but not to interfere in the enjoyment of his or her self-interest.

Policy as discourse: In this dissertation, policy as discourse holds that policy is a complex entity that entails political rationality, technologies, programs and practices and is shaped by the relations of power, knowledge and truth. In other words, policy as discourse is a way of thinking about the state policy at the rhetorical and practical level, which aims to shape how citizens should behave to achieve the governmental goal.

Power: In this dissertation, power is both repressive and productive measures that give rise to human existence and regulate human conduct. The central notion of power is the relations of power and knowledge that are operated throughout the social body through diverse instruments of power for example a discourse, a control or surveillance mechanism and a classification system.

Socialism: Socialism can be conceptualised by many different ways such as socialism as ideology, socialism as an economic system, socialism as a political system and as governmentality. In this research, socialism is conceptualised by Foucault's theory of governmentality. Drawn from a general understanding of governmentality, socialist governmentality is referred to ways of thinking about the governing in which the freedom of citizens is restricted and the state possesses totalised power to control the conduct of citizens.

Subject/subjectivity: In this dissertation, subject or subjectivity is an entity which is self-regulated and able to choose to behave within the positions defined by the discourse. Subjectivity is not fixed and can be formed differently and transformed in historical time. Subject or subjectivity is formed by a set of knowledge, the practices of domination or power, governmental strategies and self-governing techniques within temporal and spatial boundaries. The integrated approach of archaeology, genealogy and governmentality has been used in the research for an understanding of how subject has been constructed in Cambodia between 1979 and 2013.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CGDK	Coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea
CMDG	Cambodian Millennium Development Goals
CPP	Cambodian People's Party
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
DoP	Department of Planning of the MoEYS
DoL	Department of Legislation of the MoEYS
DPs	Development Partners
ECE	Early Childhood Education
EFA	Education for All
ESP	Education Strategic Plan
ESSP	Education Sector Support Program
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KPRP	Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party
KUFNS	Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation
KUFNCD	Kampuchean United Front for National Construction and Defence

MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoEF	Ministry of Economy and Finance
MoEYS	Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sport
NEFA	Cambodian National Education for All Plan
NGOs	Non-governmental Organization
NPRS	National Poverty Reduction Strategies
NSDP	National Strategic Development Plan
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PRK	People's Republic of Kampuchea
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
RGoC	Royal Government of Cambodia
SRN	Sangkum Reastr Niyum
SFDCM	Solidarity Front for Development of the Cambodian Motherland
SEDP I	Socioeconomic Development Plan Phase I
SEDP II	Socioeconomic Development Plan Phase II
SoC	State of Cambodia
UNDP	United Nation of Development Program

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNICEF United Nations Children's Fund

UNTAC United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia

WB World Bank

SUMMARY

This study is a policy analysis of Cambodian education that benefits from an ‘insider’ view and from a robust and nuanced methodological approach drawn from Foucauldian discourse analysis, which, unlike traditional policy analyses, sets Cambodian education within global, historical, social, cultural, and political contexts. The key focus of the study was to examine the deployment of education by Cambodian governments of different periods and political regimes for socioeconomic development and the promotion of cultural values within Cambodian geopolitics and global relations between 1979 and 2013. A Foucauldian approach consisting of archaeology, genealogy and governmentality was used for the data collection and analysis. The primary data used for the analysis was the policy texts selected from 1979-2013. Some data from the French colonisation in 1863 to the Pol Pot regime 1975-1979 were used to create the disjuncture and continuities in policy discourses connecting education to development. Some international data on development from the end of World War II until 2013 were also used to establish the relation between the international development and the developing countries including Cambodia. In the process of the analysis, the discursive fields of education, national identity and national development, and the intersection between the three fields, are identified.

The study has argued that education has been used in different ways in the production of social-economic and cultural development in the Cambodian socialist years between 1979 and 1993 and the new era of neoliberalism between 1993 and 2013. Due to the influence of the Cold War on Cambodia and the Third World geopolitics, the deployment of education for Cambodian development has been entangled with international developments and relations since 1979. The analysis highlights that Cambodian governments have formulated education for development strategies that combine the

global development discourse with national discourse in a distinctive way to meet global pressure and national development. The analysis also suggests that education was discursively used by governmental development strategies between 1979 and 2013 to govern the conduct of the population in accordance with their modes of governing.

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:

Date: March 2017

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The starting point for this research journey is a passion for the development of my country, Cambodia. This has arisen since I began working for the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport (MoEYS) in 2007 as policy and legislation development officer at the Department of Legislation. With this role, I have been involved in the formulation of a range of education policies aiming to achieve national development and disseminate these policies to educational staff. My passion is to provide the best inputs into the drafts of the policies and to communicate the government policies to educational staff in an appropriate way that does not hinder the national interest and the individual's interest. To achieve these goals, I must be cautious with the policies and policy inputs that are spoken through me and the way that I speak about them. This research that uses a Foucauldian approach presents another way to critique the regime of truth about education policies linked to development policies for the national interest.

This research investigates the way the governments used education in attaining national development in Cambodia between 1979 and 2013, during which education has been significantly viewed as a key means for national development. The study examines the reasons given by the government through education policies in deploying education for national development. The research is particularly interested in the influence of international development organisations on the politics of education in Cambodia.

Conversely, the study also examines how education was used to maintain the national values and characteristics in parallel to the modern development process.

In this research, the process of making education policies connected to development is viewed as discursive formations, in which education and national development are permeated and represented in the policies. In the next section, I will discuss the background and historical context that led to the rise of the research problem, the

methodological approach, the aim and rationale of the research and its contribution to the politics of education in Cambodia and to the discipline of education policy in developing countries.

1.1. Background and historical context of the study

Cambodia's history dates back at least a thousand years into the past (Figure one: Map of Khmer Empire) but significant social and political upheavals and changes began with the French colonisation period (1863-1953). After gaining independence from the French administration, the new regime (Sihanouk) made an effort to develop an ideal policy for national development toward a modern state. During his regime, Cambodia was a developed nation in South East Asia. The term "developed or development" is not easy to define and has many meanings as Kiely states "defining development is not perhaps as straightforward as it may first appear" (Kiely, 2007, p. 9). The thesis will argue that development is a complex concept structured through global power relations, which shifts with the social relations that produce it; however, if we assume for the time being, and at a most simple level, that development equates to "progress, social evolution and modernity" (Norman, 2001, p. 52), then we can assert that Cambodia was "developed" during the Sihanouk regime and one of the modern states in South East Asia.

However, this development could not be ensured by Sihanouk's regime for long. The political and economic chaos caused by the regime in the 1960s put the country into chaos and civil war, especially the genocide overseen by Pol Pot who led the Khmer Rouge's regime between 1975 and 1979. This social and political disorder made Cambodia one of the least developed countries in the world and become much smaller in comparing to its territory in the Khmer Empire. The recent geography and territory of Cambodia is showed in Map of Cambodia in 2013 in Figure 2. Cambodian economic survival has been dependent on external aid since 1979. The Cambodian economy was dependent on

development aid from the socialist bloc and humanitarian aid from international organisations between 1979 and 1989, and on Western communities after the signature of the Paris Peace Accord in 1991. The Paris Peace agreement signed by Cambodia's military factions on 31 October 1991 under the support of the Western world stopped the civil war in Cambodia and put Cambodia into another period of social and political change.

National development has been considered as the most key area of governance from the French colonisation period (1863-1953) and for all Cambodian governments such as Sihanouk's regime (Sangkum Reastr Niyum) (1955-1970), Lon Nol's Khmer Republic (1970-1975), Pol Pot regime (1975-1979), Heng Samrin's regime, People Republic of Cambodia (1979-1989), Hun Sen's regime (1989-1993) and the Kingdom of Cambodia (1993-present). However, what distinguishes those regimes from each other are the ways in which the national development policy was manifested in action based on its social, political and historical context and the international development agenda and discourses. In Sihanouk's regime and Lon Nol's regime from 1953 to 1970, the development agenda influenced by the modernisation theories during that time was to transform Cambodia into a modern state. In Pol Pot's regime, the national mobilization program based on the extreme Maoist social development model was to transform Cambodia into a powerful agrarian state. Under its successors, the Heng Samrin regime and Hun Sen's regime, the national construction program influenced by a socialist development model was to transform Cambodia into a socialist state. From 1993 until 2013, the national development agenda has been influenced by globalisation and development theories and discourses driven by neoliberal principles and universal prosperity that was significantly brought into Cambodia by international organisations since the signature of the Paris Peace Accord by the international community and Cambodia in 1991.

National development has been discursively constructed by the discourse of social turmoil and the decline of Cambodia since the downfall of the Angkor Empire. Basically, the discourse of development has always focused on the narrative of the necessity to reorganize the society, reunite the nation and transform Cambodia into a modern and civilized state. The intersection between the discourse of development and the discourse of nationalism has been a narrative of national development in Cambodia since decolonisation. In other words, from the French colonial period to the Kingdom of Cambodia, the discourse of national development has been articulated on the discourse of development of Cambodia and the discourse of nationalism.

Education has been central to the nation-building policies of French colonisation and all Cambodian governments since the French decolonisation in 1953. Cambodian education has been evolving since the colonial period from a mixed education system of local educational culture and the French national system to a new era of education system influenced by the Western world. In terms of Said and Orientalism, education has been discursively used by French colonisation and Cambodian politicians in different time periods as a tool to achieve national development. National development policies have always sought to modernize Cambodia and Cambodian people while attempting to maintain national character through education policy.

This outline provides a sense of how education has been used as an instrument for national development. However, due to the influence of the Cold War on the geopolitics of Cambodia and the geopolitics of development for the Third World, the deployment of education for Cambodian development has been entangled with international developments and relations since 1979. In this situation, politicians have employed the increasingly global changes as a backdrop for national development in responding to economic and social threats. In order to respond to these situations, Cambodian

governments have formulated education policy for development strategies that combine the global development discourse with national discourse in a distinctive way to meet global pressures and local development. It is in these contexts that education has been used for economic development and for the promotion of social and cultural values. This study is focused on Cambodian government policies of the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the State of Cambodia under the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) (socialist political regime) from 1979-1993, the Kingdom of Cambodia (liberalist and pluralist political regime) from 1993-2000, and the Kingdom of Cambodia between 2000 and 2013 (liberalist and pluralist political regime). The reason for this choice is that between 1979 and 2013, there were changes of education policy and development discourses resulting from a change of political and economic structures in the state. The choice of this period corresponded to a number of education policies developed and implemented by Cambodian governments and focused on development.



Figure 1 Map of Khmer Empire



Figure 2 Map of Cambodia in 2013

1.2. Introducing the research

This thesis will explore the story of Cambodia education to be deployed by governments in their policies toward the achievements of national development between 1979 and 2013.

The focus of this research is on the broad structural and conceptual machinery that mobilises educational discourses in Cambodian national development. This includes an historical and critical analysis of Cambodian educational governance through the application of the post structuralist concepts of discourse, genealogy, archaeology and governmentality. The thesis illustrates that the governmentality of Cambodian education policy was produced out of national development discourses informed by global and local development discourses and power relations within the changing social, political and policy environments since 1979.

In doing this, the thesis will investigate varied discursive mechanisms effected through the operations of government that have constructed education policy in Cambodia between 1979 and 2013. In this thesis, education policy is viewed as the discourse of the state. According to Foucault, discourses “systematically form the objects and subjects about which they speak” (Foucault, 1972, p. 49). Framing education policy as discourse means that the policy process is studied as a complex process that is socially, culturally and politically constructed.

This thesis will use a combined research methodology of genealogy, archaeology and governmentality that focuses on the analysis of discourse and of the relations of power through the operations of government. Archaeology, genealogy and governmentality are not entirely separated methodological approaches but represent the evolution of Foucault’s thinking about power, knowledge, truth and the dynamic structuring of social relations. Hence, governmentality theory that includes the elements of the former two offers a methodological approach for examining how rationalities of governments have deployed education between 1979 and 2013.

Firstly, genealogical analysis is a historical method used to recreate education’s existence between 1979 and 2013. It determines the processes, practices and apparatus behind power in different bracketed times that discontinue between bracketed time periods and between discursive formations in different spatial and temporal settings. Genealogy investigates the shift and rupture in history including the changes in the power relations in the formation of education policy in historical period. The task of genealogy is “to reveal the historical conditions of our existence; an essential element in such a task is an archaeological analysis of the discursive rules of the formation of objects” (Mahon, 1992, p. 105).

Secondly, archaeological analysis is the framework that is used to explain not only the form and content of education policy discourse but how power was exercised in making certain choices and decisions in relation to the development. In other words, archaeology provides the concepts to explore the reasons of the government in the formulation of education linked to development policy. In this thesis, I will analyse the discourses of state that are served to construct education policy through Foucault's rules of formation (Foucault, 1972). According to Foucault, the rules of formation are multiple dispersion systems that can reveal the discursive mechanisms of using education for national development. Foucault has suggested that "the formation system is understood as a complex set of relationships that function as a rule; this rule prescribed what has to be in rapport in a discursive practice, for it refers to a particular object, that puts into play a particular statement, for it uses a particular concept, for it organizes a particular strategy" (Foucault, 1972, p. 26). This formation system identifies hidden elements and factors that establish the emergent discourse through examining four dimensions of discourse: formation of objects, formation of enunciative modalities, formation of concepts, and formation of strategies.

Thirdly, governmentality is the framework for investigating the ways in which education was deployed to address national development in the politics of development of the government. Governmentality, that is generally referred to as the art of government, is defined as "a complex power made up of an ensemble of institutions, procedures, analyses, and reflections, calculations and tactics, which has population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge and the apparatuses of security as its essential technical instruments" (Foucault, 2007, p. 108). In this sense, education policy is viewed as political programs, techniques, technologies and tactics created by a new form of knowledge and political economy to achieve the governmental politics of the development.

1.3. Aims of the study and research questions

In responding to the contextual influences addressed above, the primary concern for this study is how education was used by the governments between 1979 and 2013 to address the issue of national development. This involves an analysis of the arguments that governments brought to their policy agendas and an investigation of how the political rationalities changed between 1979 and 2013. The particular interest is how the education policy discourses were used by the governments to construct the governing subjects for national development in the era of globalisation and how they were aligned with the global development discourse while securing the discourse of nationalism.

The study draws upon Foucauldian discourse analysis to investigate the history and shifts in education policy discourses of the government in their historical context. My research will investigate:

- 1- Ways in which education has been strategically deployed by the government toward the national development
- 2- Political rationalities of the government and the technologies used to shape the conduct of the individual and educational institutions
- 3- Influences of global development discourse on education policy discourse
- 4- Ways in which the discourse of nationalism and national identity was secured by the education policy discourse.

The overarching question is how education policy was constructed to respond to national development in Cambodia between 1979 and 2013. Four research questions that will be addressed by this study are:

- 1- In what ways does government argue education contributed to national development?

- 2- How is education policy used as a technique to shape the conduct of population toward national development?
- 3- How did the education policy adopt discourses imposed by the development discourse and globalisation between 1979 and 2013?
- 4- How did the education policy secure the discourse of nationalism and national identity while adopting the development discourse and globalisation discourse?

1.4. Rationale of the study

There is very little literature that has applied Foucault's discourse theory to policy analysis, to study on the history of education and to education policy formulation in Cambodia. In Cambodia, policy studies always use a traditional policy approach, which is problematic (Ball, 1994; Scheurich, 1994). Research using the traditional policy approach may exclude values, beliefs, knowledge and voices of marginalised groups in the policy process. This approach neglects the social reality and historical and cultural context in which the policy is formulated. In this sense, the discourse analysis theory can play a crucial role in understanding hidden assumptions and practices that form the education policy in Cambodia as it emerged in development discourse. Most research on educational policy in Cambodia has focused on policy implementation, program evaluation and then approaches for the improvement or refinement of policy. There is little research in education policy that addresses the early stage of policy formulation in general.

Educational policy in Cambodia is always criticized by politicians, practitioners, researchers, and communities for its irrelevance to educational practices. However, the criticism is always based on their own perceptions, preferences and beliefs without understanding the policy forces and discourses driving the educational policy formulation in Cambodia in its historical and contextual dimensions. Public policy, including educational policy in Cambodia from 1979-2013, has always been made for political

purposes rather than for educational purposes. The influence of political forces on educational policy formulation in development has not often been visible without undertaking serious study. It is necessary to unmask political powers which control society through state institutions and policies as suggested by Foucault in discussion on 'Justice versus Power' (Davidson, 1997).

It seems to me that the real political task in a society such as ours is to criticize the workings of institutions, which appear to be both neutral and independent; to criticize and attack them in such a manner that the political violence which has always exercised itself obscurely through them will be unmasked, so that one can fight against them. (p. 131)

Most research on Cambodia's educational development has been completed by foreign researchers who, to some extent, have limited understanding of events that occurred in Cambodia, especially in the educational setting. What they have interpreted from their data may be culturally different from what might be understood by a native Cambodian. From this perspective, this research may be different from those of foreign researchers because I have grown up, been educated, and worked as legislative staff within the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport in Cambodia (MoEYS). Moreover, as an insider, I may not face differential power challenges while doing research in Cambodia. It may give me easier access to documentation and the opportunity to ask more relevant questions during the interview process. The power based relationships between myself as the researcher and the researched needs to be negotiated and balanced. Differential power in the research is described by Said (1989) as:

There is no vantage outside the actuality of relationships between cultures, between unequal imperial and non-imperial powers, between different Others, a vantage that might allow one the epistemological privilege of somehow judging, evaluating and interpreting free of the encumbering interests, emotions, and engagements of the ongoing relationships themselves. (pp. 216-217).

Furthermore, I pursued my law degree in France and have travelled to a number of foreign countries. I have discovered that outsiders perceive Cambodia's development and the development of education differently from insiders. For many, the dominant culture

embedded within Cambodian policy makers such as a “high power-distance, high uncertainty avoidance, high collectivism and medium masculinity” (Blunt & Turner, 2005, p. 78) is a barrier for Cambodian educational development. This dominant culture is characterised by very strong hierarchical relation between the governor and the governed within the organisation. The dominant culture of Cambodia within an organisation is explained in Table 1.

Cambodia’s position on Hofstede’s cultural dimension	Definition
High power-distance	Strong preference for hierarchical relations within organisations, which are strictly defined and observed. Unwilling to take initiative without clear instructions or approval from above.
High uncertainty avoidance	Strong preference for clear definition in all organisational circumstances, particularly in relation to rules and procedures.
Medium masculinity	Preference for some role separation between men and women. Women are accepted by both sexes as being less powerful. Women must follow strict moral codes while men can get away with bad behaviour.
High collectivism	Value given to the needs and interests of the group over the individual. Extended family relations and obligations to kin and ethnic affiliates take precedence over organisational interests. The idea of the “common good” is defined and understood primarily in terms of kinship.

Table 1 Culture and organisation in Cambodia based on Hofstede’s cultural dimensions, extracted from Blunt & Turner (2005, p. 78)

Many researchers have thought that in Cambodian society from the ancient era to the contemporary era, there are strong hierarchical relations between those with power at the top level and those with low level authority where procedures show organisational

circumstances that picture the dominant role of men over women and strong preference for benefits of the group, the family and the clan (Ayres, 2000b; Pellini, 2005). I can benefit from an insider and outsider status in different situations in my research process to understand education policy making in Cambodia between 1979 and 2013.

Responding to the lacuna in research and scarcity of systematic critique into the construction of education policy, this thesis aims to construct an alternative account of education policy study in Cambodia using a post structural perspective informed by the work of Michel Foucault. In utilising Foucault's combined methods of genealogy, archaeology and governmentality, the research constructs a history of the present of education policy in connection to the socio-economic development of Cambodia as founded on the power and knowledge concept that might challenge the position that political and policy areas in Cambodia in general, and the formulation and the reform of education policy in particular, have always been equipped with patronage networks, domination and expressive power. This combined framework can provide a better understanding of policy process, structure, political strategies and mechanisms that form and transform education policy in its initial stage, and offers insights into several facets influencing the early stage of education policy formation.

1.5. Significance of the study

The present study is an exploration of the history of Cambodia in terms of changes made to the linkage of education and development that might be useful to the next generation of policy makers shaping the next policy agenda formulation. Ball (1990) quoted

Barracough's view:

In the long-run contemporary history can only justify its claim to be a serious intellectual discipline and more than a desultory and superficial review of the contemporary scene, if it sets out to clarify the basic structural changes which have shaped the modern world. These changes are fundamental because they fix the skeleton or framework within which political action take place. (p. 1)

There has been research on education development in Cambodia but there is very limited research that focuses on education policymaking. Further, there is no research focused on the education making policy in Cambodia as an aspect of the transformation of ideological, political and economic contexts from 1979 to 2013. In his study on Cambodian education and development, Ayres (2000b) argues that since independence, the education policy in Cambodia has been shaped by political interference and patronage politics but he did not go on to explore different factors affecting education policymaking in Cambodia especially the factors and discourses influencing recent Cambodian education policy. This study attempts to explore education policy making in Cambodia through different dimensions: the contextual, historical, political and economic dimensions between the post war period 1979-1993 and the pluralist period 1993-2013. There are deep changes in terms of the economic, social and political perspectives in policymaking in Cambodia that have dramatically impacted education policy making. The study will supplement previous studies by examining the evolution in educational policy discourse and education policy development in Cambodia between 1979 and 2013.

In term of a procedural model, the research provides a conceptual tool using Foucault's three ideas, genealogy, archaeology and governmentality, to understand the knowledge constructed in relation to education policy in development; organisational and institutional mechanisms that shape education policy formulation; the influence of political structures and power on education policy making and emergent education policy; and development discourses in situational and historical contexts of Cambodia from the communist context 1979-1989 to the liberalist context 1993-2013.

By using this combined method, this research contextualised a history of the present education policy, the disjuncture and the shift in history of education policy linked to development in Cambodia. The research examines the development discourses that

constructed education policy. The processes, the strategies and the mechanisms, particularly the power strategies through which the discourses were transformed to construct education policy, were examined. The new concept of power through the lens of governmentality gives another interpretation of education policy in Cambodia in which the rationalities and technologies of government were used in the formulation of education linked to development policy.

Using Foucault's analysis of the transition to a modern state through discourse and calculated technique, this study may be useful for future developers and policy makers both in education and development in Cambodia to set the strategies for constructing people as governable subjects and for encouraging individuals to behave in line with the rules of modernity and progresses while maintaining the national identity.

Last but not least, for a developing country like Cambodia, human resource is fundamental for socio-economic development. In this sense, this research is very crucial for me as a legislative officer of the MoEYS. My responsibility is to elaborate on the policy and legislation in education and coordinate the legal preparation process in the Ministry. I was one of the key staff involved in the legal and judicial reform in education sector that is one of the main components of the educational reform of the Royal Government of Cambodia.

This research will provide me with a deep knowledge of the new policy studies framework and different knowledge regarding constituted education policy in Cambodia between 1979 and 2013. This new knowledge will be an asset for me in my work upon my completion of my study to provide the best outcome for education policy formulation in Cambodia.

1.6. Outline of Chapters

The study, guided by the Foucauldian approach of discourse, governmentality and genealogy, addresses the question of the discursive linkage between the practices of

government, development and education. The outline below discusses how chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5 of this thesis address conceptually and methodologically this relationship with Foucault's discourse approach in setting the directions of this thesis. In Chapter 6, 7, 8, I present data from policy texts that engage with issues of education and development. I begin this outline of the thesis with chapter 2 on education and discourse.

In chapter 2, I begin with a definition of education, the aims of education and the meaning of education in post-conflict Cambodia. The definition, aims, and meaning of education are not neutral and are constructed in discourse. In Cambodia, education is a discursive formation of the state by which the national development is invoked. This discursive relationship between education and national development is understood by genealogy, archaeology and governmentality.

In chapter 3, I explore the relationship between education, development and globalisation. I also explore the emergence within dominant development discourses of particular ways of thinking about how education should be constructed in the global era. I trace the education policy formulation shaped by discourse of development in the history especially from 1979 to 2013.

Moving to chapter 4, I discuss Cambodian education policy as a form of governmentality employed by the discourse of the state to shape the conduct of the populations. I then provide a brief overview of Cambodia's social, political, educational and development history in which the education policy has been contextualised.

Theoretical and methodological approach and research designs by which I address the research questions are provided in Chapter 5. This chapter explains Foucault's discourse concept, discursive formation, the relevance of Foucauldian approaches for the study of education policy and the methods used to collect data. I explain the three Foucauldian

approaches used in this study: genealogy, archaeology and governmentality. I also discuss some literature that applies the three Foucauldian approaches as frameworks in the study of education policy. The literature discussed education policy studies in western countries and non-western or post-communist countries. I also try to discuss Cambodian education and policy researches that have applied Foucauldian concepts as its theoretical and methodological approach.

In chapter 6 to 8, I discuss the deployment of education as a key technology in the development approach of the government and how education policy discourse was shaped by the development discourse between 1979 and 2013. To achieve this, I examine policy texts during each bracket time period 1979-1993, 1993-2000 and 2000-2013 for its discursive formations that promote the ways of thinking about the development, the national identity and the governing subjects. Here, I am particularly interested in the ways in which government policies used the concepts related to development that is linked to the applications of education between 1979 and 2013. In each chapter, I begin with the examination of the nature of the Cambodian state of each bracket time period. I then examine the education policies in detail for the discursive formation that developed the ways of thinking about education linked to development and national identity and about the governing subjects.

In chapter 9, I discuss some of the key findings through the genealogical analysis. I then discuss my application of Foucault's discourse theory and methodology in analysing the constitution of education in Cambodian policies discourse. I then discuss the analysis of the construction of education policy using the discourse of development. I further discuss the contribution of this research to the field of education, of education policy and development, limitations and some suggestions for further research. I finish this thesis with some concluding remarks.

CHAPTER 2: EDUCATION AND DISCOURSE

To understand education, we need to understand the political, social and culture context in which it is situated. In this chapter, I will briefly outline how education was viewed generally in the lens of discourse and specifically in Cambodian context. The different views on education, its aims and roles can be understood by discourse, genealogy, archaeology and governmentality.

2.1. What is education?

Historically, the concept of education firstly appeared in the work of Thomas Hobbes “Leviathan” in 1651 (Hobbes, 1962) concerning the arrangement of the relationship between the sovereign and citizens through a social contract. In his concept of social contract, citizens must give up certain liberties to the sovereign in exchange for the security of the state and must be educated on how to think, how to use proper speech, and how to use reason to ensure the peace and security of the state (Hobbes, 1962). Later on, the concept of education was linked to the concept of enlightenment by philosophers Locke, Ferguson and Adam Smith that emerged in the 17th and 18th centuries in Europe especially in France and Scotland (Wadham, Pudsey, & Boyd, 2007, p. 40). The concept of enlightenment claims that men are naturally equal and able to be rational. Therefore, the liberties of men guaranteed by the law should be balanced with the power of the sovereign (Locke, 1823, pp. 201-202). Education is a means of increasing human capacities of reasoning and making decisions (Wadham et al., 2007, p. 40) and promoting human equality and freedom in order to liberate them from errors and ignorance of the society (Clifford-Vaughan, 1963). Locke (1692) suggests that “the early corruption of youth is now become so general a complaint and the well educating of their children is so much the duty and concern of parents, and the welfare and prosperity of the nation so much depends on it, and that I would have every one lay it seriously to heart ; and after having well examin’d and

distinguish'd what fancy, custom, or reason advises in the case, set his helping hand to promote everywhere that way of training up youth, with regard to their several conditions" (Locke, 1692, pp. 2-3). Thus, parents have an obligation to engage in the education of children because well-educated children are important agents for the improvement of the welfare and prosperity of the nation.

The concept of enlightenment linked to education has been contested by Foucault and poststructuralist researchers in their studies on the constitution of modern subjects in the field of education. Informed by his studies of madness, punishment and discipline, sexuality and human sciences, Foucault views of the education system applied in the 18th century Age of Reason were that it was "an instrument of power and domination, rather than emancipation and enlightenment" (Pitsula, 2001, p. 384). The power and domination is exercised through the mechanisms of discipline in education. From Foucault's works on madness, punishment and discipline, sexuality and human sciences, three themes that related education to disciplinary techniques are discussed.

The first theme is the technico-political history of the school. Schools had been increasingly created, recognised and decreasingly intervened in by the state "from the Great Confinement (1600-1750) to the middle of the nineteenth century" (Deacon, 2006, p. 179). With the state's intervention, schools had changed their techniques from confinement to moral self-control to create moral subjects in the society (Deacon, 2006). The aim of education was to develop the minds, bodies and moral attitudes and behaviour of the young people in compliance with the requirements of the society.

The second theme is that the mechanics of modern schooling are viewed as moral orthopaedics or disciplinary technology that contributes to the creation of a disciplinary society (Foucault, 1977, p. 10). According to this view, schools are constructed by discourses that act as "institutional technologies of power, implemented and enforced by

official authorization and as technologies of the self, internalised means for the self-discipline of action, practice and identity” (Luke, 1997, p. 3). By this account, educational sites determine “the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination” (Foucault, 1988a, p. 18) and also provide subjects with certain “practices of the self and of freedom through the creation of educational rules and norms, the development of modern pedagogy, educational procedures and school curriculum” (Wain, 1996, p. 358). These new educational norms and practices instil new forms of knowledge and the disciplines into young people so that the state can have control over their mind, body and soul (Foucault, 1977).

Thirdly, According to Foucault, “actual educational institutions can be analysed and understood in terms of “a block of capacity-communication-power” (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983 p. 212). Educational institutions produced human capacity to deploy words, things and work with people and instil behaviour and abilities through “regulated communications” and “power process” that are embedded in the process of learning and teaching (Deacon, 2006, p. 183). Educational institutions produce students who are inculcated with a certain number of social norms and forms of knowledge required by the society. In the new global era, educational institutions will have a key role to play in creating skilled workers and self-governed citizens (Deacon, 2006) .

Foucault’s concepts, methods, arguments and his three themes relevant to education have been used by educational theorists to examine how the relations of power function and their effects in contemporary educational policy and practices, forms of knowledge and the ethical ways of self-governing and governing others in the educational sphere. The new pedagogy focusing on child learning pedagogy aims to develop skills, knowledge and behaviour in the students before they enter the society. This new pedagogy in reality is “an insidious new form of social control” (Miller cited in Pitsula, 2001, p. 384) which is more

subtle than the old form of power relations. Popkewitz claimed that “particular systems of pedagogical ideas and rules of reasoning are the effects of power in schools” (Popkewitz cited in Pitsula, 2001, p. 388). Those ideas and rules are “practices of the social administration of the individual” (Popkewitz, 1998, p. 536). The social administration aims to develop skills, knowledge and behaviour to respond to the social inspiration and requirement of different types of society for example for labor force, for the promotion of national identity or the economic growth. For instance, in a liberal democratic society, children are moulded to be new men or new citizens who “are self-motivated, self-responsible and reasonable” through the disciplinary mechanisms set in the pedagogies (Popkewitz, 1998). Wain (1996) suggests educational programs offer the skills for self-governing, for governing others and the practices of freedom in modern societies, which are usually embedded with liberal democratic ideals, whereas in socialist society, children are indoctrinated to become new socialist men equipped with attributes to fit with a socialist society (Popkewitz, 1998). Although the pedagogies in these two societies are different in terms of structures, forms and contents, they constitute disciplinary mechanisms to direct and control the children.

The social administration of the individual for example through the school also constructs the systems of social inclusion and exclusion; in Foucault’s words, “an inclusion through exclusion” (Deacon, 2006, p. 180). The systems of social inclusion and exclusion create the differential power between one group and other groups in the society. For example, Cannella (2000) suggests that the scientific discourse of education constructed younger human beings as “the other”, meaning those who don’t have rights to privacy or self-determination and knowledge. According to Cannella, children are constructed as different from other individuals in the society and are taught skills, knowledge and attitudes, thereby putting them under the disciplinary process of the state authorities. This construction

legitimizes the regulation or normalisation of children through educational institutions and enmeshes them in the relations of power and knowledge (Cannella, 2000).

Another form of social exclusion and exclusion in education is “the use of testing, examining, profiling, streaming in education, and the use of entry criteria for different types of schooling” (Ball, 2013, p. 4). These techniques are forms of disciplinary power that the state uses to control and normalize the populations according to set criteria.

The present system of education has been developing from the era of enlightenment to postmodern times during which there have been enormous changes in the concept of education (Wadham et al., 2007, p. xi). The concept of education is not a fixed body and is changed in terms of culture, politics and social context. In this sense, education can be well understood only through the examination of the historical, political, cultural and social context in which it is positioned. In the next section, I will discuss the cultural context that shapes education.

2.2. Education and culture

Culture shapes the ways in which an education system is constructed. Culture is conceptually defined as “the customs, usages, traditions, habit clusters” by which a particular people can be distinguished from another; as well as a “set of control mechanisms for the governing of behavior-plans, recipes, rules, instructions”, and a particular combination of “systems of significant symbols (language, art, myth, ritual) for orientation, communication and self-control” (Geertz, 2002, pp. 25-26). People always think and act based on the culture in which they are located. This culture, consisting of material or spiritual conditions or worldview, shapes the way of thinking and acting (Geertz, 2002).

Foucault has undertaken a study on the technologies of the formation of self as part of culture and society. He claims that identities or subjectivities are formed through language, sign and discourse (Besley, 2010, pp. 11-39). Identities or subjectivities of human beings are changed over time and are created by a cultural and historical construction through discourse. Foucault links the creation of subjectivities to the culture of self originally derived from the Greek conceptions of “care of the self” in his lectures at the College de France 1981-1982 (Foucault, 2005). In the culture of the self, Foucault suggests the self is positioned within the social norms and practices that illustrate a culture within a specified timeframe. For him, subjectivities are made and changed in different cultures and different historical eras (Foucault, 1988b). Foucault (1989) suggests that subjects are both subjugated to techniques, normative disciplines and to resistance as he emphasises:

I think in the contrary that the subject is constituted through practices of subjection, or, in a more anonymous way, through the practices of liberation, of freedom, as in Antiquity, starting of cause from a certain number of rules, styles and convention that are found in the culture. (Foucault, 1989, pp. 312-313)

Foucault claims the importance of the concept of culture in the constitution of the subject. For him culture can be understood by four things (Foucault, 2005, p. 238). The first thing is that culture is a set of values, social norms and practices. The second thing is that these values are both universal and excluded for some people. The third is that individuals must have some forms of conduct to be able to reach those values. The fourth thing is that individuals are regulated through a number of techniques such as disciplinary techniques and a field of knowledge so that they conform with these values (Foucault, 2005, p. 238).

From this understanding of culture, he studied the evolution of the modern concept of the self in the historical era and culture that started with Greco-Roman philosophy and Christian spirituality (Besley, 2015). From this study, he suggests that the technologies of the creation of the self are always linked to the culture and society, as he emphasises that his study is to:

sketch a history of the different ways in our culture that humans develop knowledge about themselves...[and] to analyse these so-called sciences as very specific “truth games” related to specific techniques that human beings use to understand themselves. (Foucault, 1988a, p. 17)

Based on Foucault’s historical study on the formation of the modern concept of the self, it can be concluded that individuals are constructed with regards to the truth, obligation and to themselves and to others. In the current time, individuals in relation to themselves or the care of the self is a crucial ethical principle by which individuals are regulated toward becoming autonomous selves and self-responsible for the improvement of their life.

The constitution of subjectivities is usually the effect of education linked to the cultural practices. Our identities or subjectivities are shaped through a complex of networks of power and discourses in the educational sphere toward certain social and cultural norms and values. For instance, education policy and practices such as moral and civics education are discursively used to inculcate the children the morality of telling the truth which is a key cultural value of the Western society (Besley, 2009). Another example is that education created the new identities and subjectivities of youth toward digital subjects in the new creative knowledge economy (Besley, 2010). Drawing from Foucault on the formation of subjectivities connected to the culture of self, it is likely that educational arrangement should teach students to be self-reliant, to know the self, to love themselves and others.

In Cambodia, education and culture are strongly linked. Educational subjectivities have been shaped by dominant cultures and social values that have been enmeshed in Cambodian society from the time of the Great Empire of Angkor until the present. The Khmer social and political culture has been studied by many scholars (Ayres, 2000a; Chandler, 1992; Gorman, 1999; Peang-Meth, 1991). In terms of political culture, those scholars share the same observation that there was a power distance between the authority and people and the system of patron-client. Ordinary people were always afraid

of the authorities and they were always subjected to the orders of the authorities although these orders were wrong or illegal. Khmer political culture is also characterized by the patron-client system in which the political patrons facilitate and provide the opportunities for their followers and in exchange their followers serve the interest of their patrons.

In terms of a Khmer socio-cultural worldview, Cambodian history goes back for 2000s year and its greatest and most expansionist Empire, the Angkorian period, dated back 600 years —(Peang-Meth, 1991, p. 442). However, it declined and was extinguished in the 13th century. The Khmer social-cultural worldview since its emergence in 2000 years ago “has been influenced by Indian philosophical-religious stances that transformed to a unique cosmology in Khmer society, one that is traditional animism, Hinduism/Brahmanism and Theravada Buddhism” (Peang-Meth, 1991, p. 445). According to this cosmology, firstly, Khmer people believed in a spiritual world such as Nek Ta (the guardian spirit of the place) that could protect them from bad luck or increase their cultural harvest (Peang-Meth, 1991). Secondly, the Hindu Brahmanic cult of the Devin god-king (*Devaraja*) that claimed the king an intermediary between the gods and a social order, created class, rank, status and role between Khmer people and between the king and his people (Peang-Meth, 1991, p. 445). The king had been in the highest authority in Khmer polity until 1970. Thirdly, Theravada Buddhism set “the concepts of individual salvation by individual achievement, reincarnation and karma” (Peang-Meth, 1991, p. 446). This religious philosophy has shaped Khmer people’s thinking and acting toward their success or failure and towards those who are more powerful until the present. It also justified the deferential power relation between powerful and powerless persons, between authorities and the people, and the absolute power of the leaders in maintaining social stability and order.

Political culture and Khmer socio-culture dispositions have influenced the Cambodian education system and Cambodian education governance until the present. For this reason,

Ojendal & Sedara (2006) claim the rigidity of concept of culture in Cambodian context. They noted that in Cambodia up until the present time, culture is “an unchanging, conservative society where destiny is infinitely determined by its historical context” (Ojendal & Sedara, 2006, p. 509). Therefore, in some ways, this view is contradictory to the view that culture is dynamic and evolving. The conceptualization of education within the Khmer socio-cultural and political context is that the education system has been a very centralized system composed of a patronage network, politicians or elites have used power for serving their benefits rather than for the benefit of people, and Buddhist teachings have been embedded in the education system (Ayres, 2000a, pp. 21-22).

Khmer socio-political cultures that appeared in the greatest Empire have existed in Cambodian society and have been evolving and dynamically changing. The evolution and dynamic of culture is in line with Foucault’s concept of culture that constructs the subjectivities within different cultures at different times. There are two observations on this evolution.

Firstly, Cambodia has faced chaos, turmoil and civil war over the past half-decade that in some ways led to the disappearance of cultural materials or spirit among Khmer people. Secondly, the advance of technology and communication in the global era and the social change in the region and the world resulted in a cultural mixture of tradition and modernity so that it is hard to discern what is traditional Cambodian culture (Chandler, 1996). For instance, in the field of development, there is a cultural shift toward modernity in the way people are treated in the society through the new approach of human rights, equality and people participation introduced by the Western non-governmental development agencies (Ojendal & Sedara, 2006). Education thus must be transformed within this dynamic culture to be able to embrace a very fast changing world. Thirdly, Khmer’s greatest culture has always been constructed in policy discourse by politicians to legitimate its political agenda

and to be detrimental to the previous political agenda. For instance, in the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the construction of Cambodia toward the glorious Khmer Empire was discursively permeated in policies of the state and aims to blame the previous regimes for their failure in building the nation.

Nationalism is a cultural artefact. This cultural artefact linked to education as explained in the next section.

2.3. Education and Nationalism

In Benedict Anderson's work on *Imagine Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, nation is an "imagined community" (B. Anderson, 1991). According to Anderson, the nationalism is a modern invention, which is distinct mode of understanding and constituting the phenomenon of belonging together. The old belief, thinking practices that were previously held people together are abandoned in favor this imagined community.

People were held together by new ways, which according to him, centers on how "fraternity, power and time" could be linked to each other (B. Anderson, 1991). This new way was "print-capitalism" through which people could make reflections on themselves, on others, to relate themselves to others and to disseminate through novels, newspapers and books (B. Anderson, 1991). These print facilities and these reflections made it possible for people to form an imagined community i.e. nation.

Nationalism is inextricably linked to the concept of ethnicity. Someone belongs to a nation when one descends from a person of the same nationality, when people share memories and cultural elements and linked with an historic territory or homeland and measure of solidarity (A. D. Smith, 1991). According to Smith, nationalism is an ideological movement

for achieving and maintaining the autonomy, unity and identity of nation. The ideological movement could inspire the ethnic communities to claim their rights as nation.

The linkage between nationalism and ethnicity is complex as these two concepts are socially, cultural and politically constructed. Nationalism and ethnicity are usually constructed or invoked by different groups in political and social struggles to serve their specific purposes. Nationalism is a discursive formation by which the imagined political communities are put in action and ethnic communities claim their rights as a nation in different settings (B. Anderson, 1991). During the colonial period, nationalism is a discursive form for modern claims to political autonomy, self-determination and legitimate rule by reference to “the people” of a nation.

Education is inextricably bound-up in the process of nationalism. According to Gellner, Nationalism played important role in the modern era of industrialization (Gellner, 1983). The inextricable linkage between culture and the state made it possible to establish a standardized education to produce literate and educated citizens to serve industrialisation.

According to Anderson, schooling is recognised as on the key sites of colonial contract to begin with, and the perpetuation of this construction of identity politics in the postcolonial setting of nations (B. Anderson, 1991). Indeed, Anderson views the contemporary nation state as a direct effect of the colonial encounter and the push for liberation. Education is a discursive formation by which the nationalism is invoked and promoted as to create self-determination and legitimate rule of a nation. Education is a discursive instrument that creates literate, educated subjects, and sense of belonging of people that made it possible to form an imagined community.

In the cultural dynamic of the world in the 21st century, there has been a shift in how education has been conceptualised in terms of educational aims or philosophy and its

roles in the development of the society. In the following section, I will discuss aims or philosophies of education in the 21st century as conceptualised by post-structuralist theorists.

2.4. Philosophies or aims of education in the 21st century

The 21st century, characterised by a fast changing globalised era, requires new values and understanding of education. In addressing the effects of globalisation on education, Rizvi and Lingard suggest that a new national education policy should be established to build the nation in the face of globalisation and transnationalism (Rizvi & Lingard, 2009). This new policy would establish “a new structure of schooling and a new pedagogy underlined by corporation rules or market based oriented principles” (Luke & Woods, 2009, p. 199). The education sphere has become a business like sphere where “new managerialism”, shaped by economic imperatives such as the demand for efficiency and effectiveness, the performance evaluation and assessment, and the partnership, has been applied. It also creates new structures of education governance such as a decentralised governance of education resulting in the revision of the accountability line at all levels (Popkewitz, 2003) and a new system performance management in the education sector to measure the productivity of individuals and educational institutions (Ball, 2000). The marketization of education creates skilful workers who are able to compete in the global economy (Wadham et al., 2007, p. 79). The new era of globalisation created the new concept of lifelong learning which is a perpetual process of self-transformation. Lifelong learning is a technique of governing in a liberal society to shape the conduct of learners and workers towards being more enterprising (R. Edwards, 2002, p. 359). The new education system, underpinned by a market based principle, is a technology to govern individuals and educational institutions towards self-regulating, self-improvement and market-based behaviour, or homo economicus or entrepreneurial subjects (Rose, 1996). Education policy constructing this new education system is a discursive formation for the exercise of

power of the state to govern institutions and individuals to comply with market principles and to have control over their lives.

In the field of international development, many measures have been taken to develop the human capability to improve human beings and thus the society as a whole. In 1990, the United Nations issued a Human Development Programme Report (UNDP, 1990). The rationale of this report was to provide a fundamental basis for human development through a “process of enlarging people’s choices” (UNDP, 1990, p. 1). The report suggested the development of human capabilities to eliminate human frustration. Human development has “two sides: that is the formation of human capabilities such as improved health, knowledge and skills, and the use people make of their acquired capabilities for leisure, productive purposes or being active in cultural, social and political affairs. If the scales of human development do not finely balance the two sides, considerable human frustration may result” (UNDP, 1990, p. 10). The report emphasised the key role of education in the development of human capabilities in term of benefits such as personal agency, employment, the improvement of wages, access to information, and the ability to contribute to society, to productivity and economic growth (UNDP, 1990, p. 27). Education was believed, according to the report, to promote equality, to be able to improve a decent standard living and thus contribute to economic growth.

The question asked is whether the philosophy of Enlightenment that linked education to equality, and the market principle of education, contribute to the betterment of human beings and of the society; whose benefits are secured; and whether the philosophy of Enlightenment and the marketization are able to be applied in every context. These questions led to the importance of understanding the aim of education as the product of discourse and power relations. For instance, the policy intent on equality between people may be simply a rhetorical statement of the state that tends to “disguise an imposition of

power that overrules other people with their own understanding of the good life” (Wadham et al., 2007, p. 75).

According to the concept of discourse, aims of education are socially, politically, historically, contextually and culturally conceptualised. They can be understood based on the cultural, historical and social contexts, and the role and characteristics of the state, especially its relation to power and knowledge. It is the concept of discourse that provides the understanding of aims of education in this thesis. Understanding aims of education through the lens of discourse theories necessitates taking time “to investigate who has a voice in formulating aims of education, whose aims are legitimated, whose destination and ends are taken as desirable and whose aims are pursued in the formulation of education policy and practices and why” (Kevin, 1998, p. 3). Aims of education are always set in education policy through a complex formulation process and by a range of actors.

Education is not neutral and is conceptualised differently in historical, political and social contexts. In Cambodia, education has specific meaning which will be discussed below.

2.5. What does education mean for Cambodia?

Education has been very crucial for post-conflict countries including Cambodia for a number of reasons. Education has provided people with the chance to develop their potential and contribute to society. Indeed, education may either lessen the cycle of conflict or it can stimulate the conflict, as the level of education is linked to the root causes of the conflicts (Buckland, 2005). Education is often used by those in power to justify internal and external conflicts. In the Cold War period, two powerful blocs used education to legalize ideological conflicts among the countries affiliated to these two blocs. Cambodia was also impacted by this Cold War. Education at that time served the socialist ideology of the socialist state of Cambodia. The People’s Republic of Kampuchea used education to establish the legitimacy of the state (Ayres, 2000b) through the incorporation of a number

of discourses about the brutality of the previous regime, Khmer Rouge in education policies, curriculum and teaching materials.

After the conclusion of the Pol Pot regime, education has been viewed as having a crucial role in the social and economic rehabilitation, reconstruction and development of the Cambodian state. Education has assisted people with recovery from the war through the introduction of education policy and curriculum and the employment of educational staff that support the citizens to live in the new political, social and economic system. Education also aimed to promote peace and social development after the two decades of civil wars. Facing the changing world in the global era, the purpose of education in the developing world in the 21st century is to make productive citizens who are able to compete in the global market. To develop the economy of the country toward the reduction of poverty in the country and to embrace regional integration (for example, the integration to Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN)) and globalisation (for example, the admission to World Trade organisation, WTO), the government set out the economic purpose of education in its education policies. The priority areas to achieve their aims include good governance, accountability and assessment system, the expansion of higher education, technical and vocational training.

In post conflict countries, education plays a crucial role in the preservation of national identity and culture. It has been clearly stipulated in Cambodian education policies (RGoC, 2002, 2007b, 2010). The vision of the Royal Government of Cambodia as set in the 3rd ESP is “to establish and develop human resources of the very highest quality and ethics in order to develop a knowledge-based society within Cambodia” (RGoC, 2010, pp. 1-2). The Ministry of Education Youth and Sport (MoEYS)’s mission is “to lead, manage and develop education, youth and sport in Cambodia in responding to the socio-economic and cultural development needs and the reality of globalisation” (RGoC, 2010, pp. 1-2). For the Royal

Government of Cambodia and the MoEYS, education plays an important role to “engender a sense of national and civic pride, high standards of morals and ethics and a strong belief in being responsible for the country and its citizens” (RGoC, 2010, pp. 1-2).

To achieve the objective of human development, the Law on Education of Cambodia in its article 4 defines “education as the process of educational development or training for physical, mental and spiritual development through all activities that allow learners to obtain a set of knowledge, skills, capacities and values to become individuals who are useful for themselves, their families, their communities, the nation and the world” (RGoC, 2007b, p. 2). This definition of education is based on UNESCO’s educational definition with which Cambodia must comply as a UNESCO member.

The holistic approach for developing the human resources is to create human resources with mental and physical healthy, competency, knowledge, and advanced culture. The Law on Education emphasises the nationalist purpose of education. According to article 2 of the Law, the objective of education is to “develop the human resources of the nation by providing a lifelong education for the learners to acquire knowledge, skills, capacities, dignity, good moral behaviour and characteristics, in order to push learners to know, love and protect the national identification, culture and language” (RGoC, 2007b, p. 2). In order to reach those purposes, the policy on Curriculum Development stipulates that “the aim of curriculum is to fully develop the talents and capacities of all students in order that they become able people, with parallel and balanced intellectual, spiritual, mental and physical growth and development” (MoEYS, 2004, p. 1). Curriculum and education become an important tool through which Cambodian people are fostered into responsible, self-governing citizens that take charge of their own development, of the development of the communities and of the broader society. Education is a means to equip and shape

Cambodian people to become subjects that have knowledge, skill and values for building a prosperous and advanced country without poverty.

Education in Cambodia has had different meanings and purposes between 1979 and 2013, during which there has been a shift in social, policy and economic contexts. From 1979 to 1989, education served the national rehabilitation and reconstruction while promoting the legitimacy and the socialist ideology of the state. Since 1991 education has been an important endeavour for the social and economic development of Cambodia in order to be able to embrace globalisation. Successive education reforms in Cambodia have been undertaken for poverty reduction and economic growth. However, these reforms intersected with Cambodian culture and Buddhist culture. How these meaning and purposes of education in Cambodia are what they are today can be explained by the history (genealogy) of the country, the different discourses associated with education and the different discursive mechanisms by which education was constructed (archaeology), effected through the government rationality and technologies (governmentality) which will be discussed in the following section.

2.6. How do we understand this? Discourse, genealogy, archaeology, governmentality

To understand education, we conceptualise education as discourse. In Cambodia, education can viewed as discourse of the state in which the national development is invoked. Here, I rely on Foucault's concept of discourse which claims that nothing is outside of discourse. Thus, "there is no educational truth, practices or phenomena that can be studied outside of discourse" (Luke, 1997, pp. 50-57). Foucault sees that discourses "systematically form the objects [and subjects] about which they speak" (Foucault, 1972, p. 49). Discourses are "not about objects; they do not identify objects, they constitute them and in the practice of doing so conceal their own intention" (Foucault, 1972, p. 49).

Discourses refer to "ways of thinking and speaking about aspects of reality while excluding

others” (Cheek, 2004, p. 1142). Thus, there are several discourses for what to be thought and to be said on the reality of a particular thing. Foucault’s discourse theory thus is beyond the word and the thing but about the language and practice that shape social reality (Hall, 2001). Discourse defines and produces the object of knowledge by language and practice. Foucault argues that “nothing has any meaning outside discourse” (Hall, 1997, p. 73). Consequently, Foucault’s theory of discourse put him in a different position to a traditional theory of ideology. Laclau and Mouffe share the same view as Foucault (Laclau & Mouffe, 1990). They emphasize that “we use the term discourse to emphasize the fact that every social configuration is meaningful” (Laclau & Mouffe, 1990, p. 100). Discourse is further shaped by systems and regulatory processes that constrain and enable what the discourse can say (Ball, 1990, p. 22)

As mentioned above in point 2.4, Cambodian education policy discourse has perceived education as an agent for poverty reduction and economic growth and the promotion of Cambodian culture. This discourse has been produced out of the historical context of Cambodia (the genealogical approach), the institutional structures and processes of the country and power relations (the concept of governmentality), and network of discourses (the archaeology of knowledge).

Firstly, genealogy of education seeks to understand the present view of the field of education by tracing back the way it emerged at particular times in history and by contextualising the origins, development and institutionalisation of education from ancient times to the present. It also investigates the process and practices that have shaped the education concept. Differently from other scholars on the concept of history, history in Foucault’s genealogy does not function as a process of linearity, continuity, rationality but rather there can be ruptures and disjunctures with events in the past. Foucault’s genealogy investigates the mechanisms of institutions and of practices and the rules behind the

power relations in constructing educational discourses. A genealogical approach examines “that which conditions, limits and institutionalizes discursive formation” (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983 p. 104). It unmask the strategies, tactics and interests of many groups to understand how things are as we see them today. In this sense, educational discourse that invoked the national development was instituted within historical, cultural and social contexts of Cambodia. Historically, Cambodia has been strongly associated with Buddhist practices and culture and tradition. In the colonised regime, Buddhism was a significant part of the education sector. The teaching of Khmer language and of national culture was often provided by monks in the temple (Wat in Khmer language). Therefore, Buddhist values have been deeply embedded in Cambodian education.

Cambodia has suffered from crisis, turbulence and civil war that ended since the signature of the Paris Peace Accord Agreement on 23 October 1991. Those crises led Cambodia to be one of the poorest countries in the world, one that has been dependent on external assistances for its national building. Since 1991, as an aid recipient country, Cambodia has obtained financial and technical assistance from international development organisations that have introduced the neoliberal development agenda in Cambodia which focuses on poverty reduction and economic growth. Since then, the reduction of poverty and economic growth toward the national development has become an arena of state education discourse.

Secondly, Foucault’s archaeology determines the rules of formulation of an educational discourse, “its coexistence, maintenance, modification and disappearance” (Foucault, 1972, p. 38). Foucault’s *Archaeology of Knowledge* published in 1969, set the procedures for gathering and analysing data on discourse and discursive statements. The social texts are artefacts which are recast as discourse (Luke, 1997). Therefore, educational discourse

is subject to the rules of formation which is a dispersion system; it is called the rules of discursive formation (Foucault, 1972).

The rules of discursive formation consist of the formation of objects, the formation of enunciative modalities, the formation of concepts and the formation of strategies (Foucault, 1972). From Foucault's archaeology, Ball sees that "discourses are about what can be said and thought, about who can speak, where and with what authority" (Ball, 1994, p. 21). In this sense, education has been a discursive formation of the state upon which national development and nationalism were based. This discourse of education of the state on the one hand derives from the significant embedding of nationalism in education in Cambodia and on the other hand, from the Cambodian government's position in relation to education policy being driven by economically driven agendas for development imposed by international development organisations.

Thirdly, the discursive formation of Cambodian education policy has been effected through the operations of the government, or in Foucault's term "governmentality". Governmentality is a new way of thinking about the exercise of power relations in early modern societies. This concept appeared in his lectures at the College de France in the 1970s. At that time, he was the Head of History of Systems of Thought division until his death in 1984. Governmentality is viewed as institutional apparatuses and their technologies or techniques, such as the system of thought, the rules, the institutions, and procedures which together comprise discursive formations to shape the behaviour of the populations to achieve the ends of authorities. Governmentality is concerned with the "conduct of the conduct" or the power to act on the actions of others (Foucault, 1980, p. 119). The term "conduct of the conduct" is translated from the French words "conduire des conduites" in Foucault's work on *Dits et Ecrits*. According to him, "conduire des conduites" referred to

the way in which power is exercised by one on others. In the French version of *Dits et Ecrits* (Foucault, 1994), “conduires des conduites” is emphasised as below:

L'exercice du pouvoir consiste à “conduire des conduites” et à aménager la probabilité. Le pouvoir, au fond, est moins de l'ordre de l'affrontement entre deux adversaires, ou de l'engagement de l'un à l'égard de l'autre, que de l'ordre du “government” (Foucault, 1994, p. 237)

According to the French version, the exercise of power consists in leading the conduct of others and acting to reach an eventual or possible outcome. Fundamentally, power is referred to the issue of government rather than the confrontation between two adversaries or the obligation of one toward the other. The understanding of the exercise of the power by the government (or under the concept of government) can best explain the term “the conduct of the conduct” used in this thesis. In this thesis, to conduct the conduct is to lead others or act toward a possible outcome through the art of government or governmentality theory. In this sense, governmentality is understood as techniques, procedures, and sets of domains of knowledge (i.e. political economy) that shape and direct the conduct of population to achieve certain ends of authorities.

Education is viewed as a discursive formation of the Cambodian state to achieve its politics of national development in the new era of globalisation. This discursive formation has been shaped by rationalities, political programmes and technologies of the state that have been aligned with the development agenda of the international development organisations and with the previous legacies from French colonisation and subsequent regimes.

2.7. Conclusion

Education is constructed in discourse and power relations. Education considered as discourse means education is not a neutral activity and is historically, socially, culturally and politically constructed. Education is an instrument of the exercise of power and

domination through a regime of truth that is created differently in bracketed time period. In the 21st century, education is underpinned by market based oriented principles and creates skilful and competent workers in order to compete in the global economy. In Cambodian context, education is a series of discursive formations that has been subjected to Western development discourses effected by globalisation and the discourse of nationalism shaped by rationalities and political programmes of the state, intersected with previous legacies from previous regimes. Chapter 3 below will discuss how education in Cambodia has emerged in dominant development discourses driven by globalisation.

CHAPTER 3: GLOBALISATION, DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION

Since the end of the Second World War, the impact of new global forces on national life has been evident. Under globalisation, the new discourse of development underpinned by neoliberal principles has emerged. Globalisation and development discourses have significantly impacted the framing of national education policy in the world. I will discuss in the first section what globalisation is, theoretical conceptualisations of globalisation, and the effect of globalisation on development and education. In the second section, I will discuss how the discourse of education has emerged in the discourse of development. In the third section, I will discuss the development theory based on governmentality and political economy that provides the understanding of how the discourse of development was constructed and how education was a solution for development.

3.1. Globalisation, neoliberalism and development

Since the new area of globalisation emerged after the end of the Second World War, there have been many discussions about: What is globalisation? What are the effects of globalisation on the nation state? How is globalisation changing power relations between the global north and the global south? There are many definitions of globalisation in the literature. One common element of globalisation is that it spreads to all areas of the globe and it brings about the economic, cultural and political effects to the local level.

Moghadam defines globalisation as “an overall political, economic, cultural and geographical process in which the flow of capital, ideas, organizations and peoples has taken on an increasingly global form” (Moghadam, 2005, p. 17) . This global form can operate in different levels: local, regional, global, political, economic and cultural strands that are interconnected in a way that is described by Amin, cited in David Held’s (1995) *Democracy and the Global Order*.

The stretching and deepening of social relations and institutions across space and time such that, on the one hand, day-to-day activities are increasingly influenced by events happening on the other side of the globe and, on the other hand, the practices and decisions of local groups can have significant global reverberations. (p. 385)

Globalisation entails the effects of the global on the local that are as important as the effects of the local on the global. Globalisation is conceptualized by the complexity of *mélange* of local and extralocal forces functioned within the global political economy.

Globalisation can lead to a strong interconnection between global and local forces so that we cannot see a clear distinction between the global and local. For instance, Cambodian education policy set out the objectives that clearly reflect the global frameworks underpinned by neoliberalism such as good governance, decentralisation and accountability. Those global frameworks are internalised and permeate education policy discourse. For instance, the unclear feature of the global and the national is seen in the establishment of a Joint Technical Working Group between multinational organisations and the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport, giving these organisations active involvement in the education policy process.

The effects of global on the local and vice versa are differing in countries around the globe. Rather considering globalisation as a fixed concept, globalisation always coconstituted with existing economic and political frameworks and practices. Globalisation is an articulated, *mélange*, processual, hybridized and fluctuating phenomenon. Globalisation is the outcome of the processes of articulation whereby existing economic circumstances, cultural and social norms, political struggles and institutional frameworks are reconstituted, circulate and transform globalisation within the specificity of a given context. As such, globalisation is not considered as an end state but processes of articulation occurring both at global level or elsewhere and at a given setting with differing effects yet constituting the overarching global characteristics.

Admitting unique characteristics of globalisation recognizes the need to address the real impacts of globalisation in different countries especially the poorest and developing countries. It is generally perceived in the global South, through globalisation, neoliberal economics lead to improve the conditions of the majority of people. However, this view only looks at the macro level of globalisation rather than the micro politics of the local level. The rearticulation of neoliberalism linked to globalisation process have been carried out for the benefits of local elites such as the government facilitates in whatever forms so that those elites informally control the market or receive privileges in the development projects (Springer, 2011).

3.1.1. Globalisation and neoliberalism

One of the effects of the global process is the effect of neo-liberal ideals on national policies of the nation state since the mid-1980s. Although there are many features of neo-liberalism, I will focus here on the definition and the features that are mostly relevant to this thesis. Harvey (2007) defines neoliberalism as following:

Neoliberalism is a theory of political economic practices proposing that human well-being can best be advanced by the maximization of entrepreneurial freedoms within an institutional framework characterised by private property rights, individual liberty, unencumbered market, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices. The state has to be concerned, for example, with the quality and integrity of money. (p. 22)

Harvey's definition implies that individuals are enterprising subjects who have freedom guaranteed and controlled by the state. Neo-liberal principles are underpinned by market principles that determine all human actions including in the economic, social and political spheres. These market principles result in the commodification and privatisation of public assets in order to accumulate capital. Public utilities, social welfare provisions, public institutions are privatised (Harvey, 2005, pp. 165-167).

Neoliberalism entails the shift of the role of the state to a regulator of the market which is viewed as the most important way for distributing resources. The state for instance

becomes “a prime agent of redistributive policies revising the flow from upper class to lower class that have occurred during the era of embedded liberalism” (Harvey, 2005, p. 163). The state redistributes wealth and income through the privatisation scheme, the cutback of public expenses on the social wage, and the revision of taxation in favour of returns on investment rather than on income and wages (Harvey, 2005, pp. 163-164).

I found Larner’s conceptualisation of neoliberalism useful for understanding neoliberalism and its impact on national policies (Larner, 2000). Larner defines neoliberalism in three aspects, ideology, policy, and governmentality, that are connected to each other.

Neoliberalism as policy refers to “the policy framework marked by a shift from Keynesian to Welfarism towards a political agenda favoring the operation of markets” (Larner, 2000, p. 7). Some examples of neoliberalism as policy agenda are good governance, efficiency, decentralisation, accountability etc. Neoliberalism as ideology can be explained by the work of Stuart Hall and the New Right project of the Thatcher government. From these projects, neoliberalism might be understood through a sociological approach. This means that neoliberalism might be understood as discourse through which the subject positions are produced by the relation of power and the political struggle (Larner, 2000).

Neoliberalism as a form of governmentality conforms to the neo-liberal rationalities of the state since the 18th century studied by Foucault. Neo-liberal strategies applied in all domains, for instance educational institutions and social welfare agencies “encourage people to see themselves as individual and active subjects responsible for enhancing their own well-being and to conform to the norms of the market” (Larner, 2000, pp. 12-13).

Through the lens of governmentality, neoliberalism is problematised as managerialism, accountability and efficiency, audit culture and economic performance. This problematisation is displayed in the discourse of the state in order to put human subjects under a particular form of control or constraint on freedom. Harvey views neoliberalism as

“a hegemonic discourse with pervasive effects on ways of thought and political economic practices to the point where it is now part of the common sense way we interpret, live in and understand the world” (Harvey, 2007, p. 24). Through the process of globalisation, neoliberalism is a discursive formation by which international institutions such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), and World Trade Organization (WTO) exercised the power on the nation-state through the problematisation of development in the nation-state.

3.1.2. Globalisation and neoliberal development

Development becomes a global matter in the process of globalisation that is underpinned by neo-liberal principles. Neo-liberal development entails that the economic liberalisation promotes growth, competitiveness in the global market and thus leads to poverty reduction. Neoliberalism has created a system of accountability aimed to maximise economic productivity and the competition in the international market. Through the mechanism, education administration and management, including teachers and students are controlled with rules such as a strict report system, student assessment, and pedagogical alignment so that economic market needs are met. The neo-liberal principle has also resulted in decentralised governance in education. The rationale and goal for decentralization are claimed to be the increase of efficiency and quality of education service delivery, the increase of financial management in education, and the move of education provision to a local level.

Neo-liberal development leads to the economic change, the so-called “learning economy” or “knowledge-based economy” relying on valuable human capital in order to gain economic advantage in the global economy (Tarabini, 2010, pp. 204-212). Qualified and skillful workers are required to compete in the global economy.

3.1.3. Neoliberalism linked to the globalisation process in Cambodian context

The neoliberalism is differently constructed in Cambodia. The specificity of neoliberalism in Cambodia is studied by Simon Springer in his two books such as on the Subject, Cambodia's Neoliberal Order: Violence, Authoritarianism and the Contestation of Public Space and Violent Neoliberalism: Development, Discourse and dispossession in Cambodia. Neoliberalism in Cambodia is conceptualized by the complex interplay of local forces and external forces lied in the globalized economy. In other words, neoliberalism is continually redefined process of the constellation of existing institutional frameworks, political regimes, regulatory practices and political struggles and of the global marketization (Springer, 2009c). Neoliberalism in Cambodian characteristics is that any development policies and projects, policy and regulatory framework or practices are formulated in such a way that it serves the interests of local elites and maintain the authoritarianism in political and governance structure and international promotion of capitalism (Springer, 2009c).

The neoliberalism in Cambodian is unique as neoliberal reforms were constructed, reformed and rearticulated in order to reinforce the domination on the citizen, to restrict the public space and to preserve social and economic privilege of local elites (Springer, 2011). This has been done through forms of violence in the name of maintaining "public order" and "social security" (Springer, 2009a). "Public order" and "social security" are generally accepted by the citizens and international community as fundamental for promoting the neoliberal reforms for instance the free market principles. Therefore, the citizens are unconsciously adhered to certain forms of violence engaged by the state.

In the neoliberal context of Cambodia, the violence is taken forms of symbolic violence occurred in everyday power relations and interwoven in social practices, which are perceived by people as parts of their daily's life (Springer, 2010). People were borne by

Cambodian social and cultural norms that the effect of violence is the result their actions and violence becomes usual practice of the government toward people in Cambodian context. I have discussed Cambodia culture and patronage system in Chapter 1 with regard to education and culture. This social axiom is reinforced by discursive formations of neoliberalism as self-understanding mechanisms and disciplinary measures (Foucault, 1978). These discursive formations have been produced, reproduced and rearticulated in social relations through state apparatus such as law, government officials, media and local authority etc. These discursive formations inextricably bound with violence subject people to neoliberal order in the name of promoting the capitalism and the free market although policy and practices of the government are not justified in the realm of governmentality.

3.1.4. Power relation between the global and the local in educational development process of the nation state

Globalisation challenges the role of the nation-state differently and unequally based on their characteristics such as geopolitical area, history, and its capacity to produce comparative advantage. The effect of globalisation especially on development and education can be well understood by different conceptualisations of globalisation. These conceptualisations address how globalisation impacts national policies and vice versa, and how the power relation resulting from globalisation is transformed in the contemporary world. Two conceptualisations of globalisation, transformationalist and hybridisation (Pieterse, 1994; Tikly, 2001), will be outlined because these concepts can provide the best understanding of how the global forces affected Cambodian education policies. The first conceptualisation of globalisation is the transformationalist approach. The transformationalist approach of globalisation is a process by which the globalisation does not come to replace the national system, practices or policies but the latter transform themselves in line with the globalisation while maintaining their national or local characteristics (Dale, 2000). This approach entails that globalisation leads to a strong

interconnection between global and local forces in such a way that we cannot see a clear distinction between the global and local and the global is as greatly important as the local.

Under a transformationalist approach, globalisation does not decrease the power of nation states but nation states maintain their power in their territories (Gowan, Panitch, & Shaw, 2001). Dale (1999) emphasizes this point that globalisation will not lead to the obsolescence of the nation state but will lead to a change in the content and form of policy making procedures and outcomes of nation states. This concept rejects the positions of some scholars that globalisation can lead to the disappearance of the concept of the state. For instance, Singer (2004) has views that globalisation may lead to the disappearance of the concept of the state. He defines globalisation as “implicit in the term “globalisation” rather than the older “internationalization” is the idea that we are moving beyond the era of growing ties between nations and are beginning to contemplate something beyond the existing conception of the nation-state” (Singer, 2004, p. 8). The transformationalists refuse the obsolescence of the nation state in the new global system and recognise the existing prominent role of the nation state in its internal affairs. However, they recognise that the state transforms itself to adapt to new institutions of international governance and international law that are underpinned by neoliberalism (Tikly, 2001, p. 154). In line with neo-liberalism, the state is transformed to provide some spaces for non-state actors, such as international development organisations and private agencies to work on domestic matters.

This transformationalist approach of globalisation can be used to explain the global process in Cambodia. In Cambodia, the government still has the full jurisdiction over the formulation of education policy. Although the transformationalist concept of globalisation provides full autonomy to the nation state in the formulation of education policy, the globalisation results in the increase of the role of the international development

organisations such as United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), World Bank (WB), International Monetary Fund (IMF), Asian Development Bank (ADB), and UNICEF in national development matters including education policy making. These organisations, often dominated by the United States, have even more say or influence in the education policy-making process of Cambodia, whose economic survival is dependent on the financial and technical aid from those organisations.

The expansion of the role of these international organisations in the national affairs has created a new image of colonialism or modern imperialism of the West on aid dependent countries. This colonial power is produced by economic and political systems of global governance that are often defined by these global organisations. According to Tehranian, these global institutions “currently shape the rule-making, rule-enforcement, rule-adjudication, rule-communication and rule-surveillance functions of our global civilisation” (Tehranian, 2002, p. 8). These global institutions expand their role beyond the nation-state through their global or universalist approach. In this global era, everything is defined as global, for instance global economy, global development, global risk, global security and global disease, which requires both rich and poor countries to solve these global issues (United Nations, 2016). Under the rhetorical statement of the global, the global south has had to subject itself to comply with neo-liberal frameworks such as economic liberalisation and structural adjustment often defined by the West backed by the United States in order to create an environment for investors. This is a new form of colonial power of the West on the global south including Cambodia.

Globalisation leads to the modern imperialism of powerful states especially the United States on the developing countries through multinational organisations such as the International Monetary Fund, World Bank and World Trade Organisation. These organisations are “international mediators of the hegemony and reproduction of US

capital” (Barrow, 2005, p. 136). This modern imperialism is displayed by the requirement of aid dependent countries to adopt an economic liberalisation policy in order to qualify for a loan from these multinational organisations. For instance, World Bank and IMF require Cambodia to undertake neoliberal development reform such as liberalisation, privatisation, fiscal and monetary adjustment in order to be able to obtain a loan (Celine Tan, 2005).

The transformationalist approach sees globalisation as a historically contingent and ongoing process full of convergences and divergences (Tikly, 2001, p. 154). Therefore, while it is generally agreed that globalisation is leading to standardisation and strong integration of economy, politics and culture, “it also leads to fragmentation and stratification in which some states, societies and communities are becoming increasingly enmeshed in the global order while others are becoming increasingly marginalised” (Held, 1999, p. 8). This can lead to different development scales in different countries in the world. In the Southeast Asian region, some countries such as Singapore, Thailand, and Malaysia gain more benefits from globalisation because they can produce more comparative advantage than other countries in the region including Cambodia. For instance, services and goods they produce are more attractive than are those of other countries in the region. Some of the poorest countries in the Southeast Asian countries, like Cambodia, are negatively affected by economic liberalisation because they cannot produce comparative advantage to compete in the global market (Goldberg & Pavcnik, 2007).

Another approach of globalisation is hybridisation. Globalisation as hybridisation is a transformationalist approach but it includes stronger integration of local systems or practices into the global system or practices and vice versa. Pieterse viewed globalisation as hybridisation as the increase of a global *mélange* (Pieterse, 1994). For instance, national systems or practices are a product of the mixed practices and systems from

elsewhere in the world and of one time or another. For instance, the present national system and practices in the developing context of Cambodia is produced by the mixture of Western concepts and non-Western concepts/local concepts. Globalisation is a process of cultural hybridisation in which new ethnicities are created as a result of the contact of different cultural elements and the flows of different culture (Holton R. J, 1998; Pieterse, 1994). It can mean that both global and local cultures are inherently hybrid (Pieterse, 1994). In other words, both globalisation and localism involves a process of hybridisation .

The concept of globalisation as hybridisation rejects the concept of globalisation as homogenisation, modernisation or Westernisation in which the modernity is used as motive to introduce Western concepts into local or national settings (Pieterse, 1994). Rather, through the process of hybridisation states accept the Western concepts and make them national or local. Globalisation as hybridisation recognises that national systems, practices, or policies result from a mixture of national features and global features, i.e a global *mélange*. It is the case with Cambodia where its education policy has been produced from national culture and tradition and global development features. This approach can explain how the development discourses driven by the globalisation introduced by international development organisations in Cambodia has been transformed into education policy to produce a version of education policy that can serve both global development and national development and the protection of its national identity and culture.

Globalisation as hybridisation entails that neoliberalism is not resulting in the uniformity and standardisation of education policies in the world. Rather education policies are produced out of a mixture of global forces and national forces. Larner (Larner, 2000) emphasizes that in the application of neoliberal principles as policy agenda:

Most immediately, we are alerted to the possibility that there are different configurations of neoliberalism, and that close inspection of particular neoliberal political projects is more likely to reveal a complex hybrid political imaginary rather than the straightforward implementation of a unified and coherent philosophy. (p. 11)

This hybrid political imaginary creates a Cambodian education policy discourse built on the present neo-liberal discourse toward economic growth and poverty reduction accompanied with Cambodian culture and values and political elements of past and present. Education has been conceptualised and deployed by the Cambodian government in such a way that global systems and practices intersect with sovereign practices and the concept of nationalism toward the national development. Cambodian discourse does not perceive education as hegemonically imposed by the global development discourse but emphasises Cambodian culture, but it has combined this global development discourse in distinctive ways with the discourse of nationalism.

Through the process of globalisation, the discourse of education policy has been generated from alternative development discourses at different points in times. In the next section, I will discuss the linkage between the discourse of development and the discourse of education since the end of World War II.

3.2. Discourse of Development and Education in historical context especially from 1979 to 2013

In this section, I will explore how the education discourse that has emerged in development discourses has shifted since World War II and examine some education policies that have been associated with different phases in the evolution of the discourse of development. In doing so, I will first conceptualise development as discourse that has evolved historically especially in the context from 1979 to 2013 and then examine how these global development discourses influence the Cambodian discourse of education.

3.2.1. Development as discourse

The idea of development as discourse is significantly studied by Escobar in his work on “Encountering Development” in 1995, influenced by Foucault and Edward Said (Escobar, 1995). His work contributed to the construction of the Third World by the discursive formation of the developments at the end of the Second World War. He studied the antecedents of the international development discourses and other recent conditions or issues that had happened in the world that constructed the new discursive formation of development (Escobar, 1995, pp. 21-53). From this study, he suggests that:

Instead of seeing change as a process rooted in the interpretation of each society’s history and cultural tradition—as a number of intellectuals in various parts of the Third World had attempted to do in the 1920s and 1930s...— these [development] professionals sought to devise mechanisms and procedures to make societies fit a pre-existing model that embodied the structures and functions of modernity. (p. 52)

Escobar suggests viewing development not as a process of change resulting from the culture and tradition of each society but as a process created by development professionals or experts manifested through certain mechanisms and procedures to create societies that fit with the pre-existing model of development toward modernity. The research approach that explains this conclusion was discourse analysis. Escobar explains that:

Thinking development in terms of discourse makes it possible to maintain the focus on domination... at the same time to explore more fruitfully the conditions of possibility and the most pervasive effects of development... Discourse analysis creates the possibility of standing detached from [the development discourse], bracketing its familiarity, in order to analyse the theoretical and practical context with which it has been associated (Escobar, 1995, p. 216).

Thinking development in terms of discourse according to Escobar provides a better understanding of the effect of development, especially the domination of the development in the Third World and the discourse analysis method can reveal this domination. He claimed that “development as a discourse results in concrete practices of thinking and acting through which the Third World is produced.” (Escobar, 1995, p. 11). The discourse of development thus is not only the way of thinking but also a practice with the rules of

formation and historical transformations that create the Third World. To understand the construction of the third world, Escobar (1995) suggests analysing development as discourse using discourse analysis as:

The system of relations established among them. It is this system that allows the systematic creation of objects, concepts and strategies; it determines what can be thought and said. These relations—established between institutions, socio-economic processes, forms of knowledge, technological factors, and so on—define the conditions under which objects, concepts, theories and strategies can be incorporated into the discourse. (p. 87)

The systematic discourse associated with development constructed that diverse practices and experiences of humans in the third world was abnormal, the new concept of development was needed, the development agencies had knowledge and expertise in the field and those agencies were assigned to deal with the universal issues. Through the systematic discourse, the development agencies, often the West, created “the discursive formation in order to manage, control and create the Third World politically, economically, sociologically and culturally” (Escobar, 1984, p. 34). “The endless specification of problems in the third world” and “the politics of knowledge” created in the discourse constructed new objects for subjugation (Escobar, 1995, p. 42). Through this representation, the third world countries started to view themselves as underdeveloped and they subjected the development of their society to the systematic, detailed and comprehensive interventions of the Western World (Escobar, 1995). Development as discourse thus provides a better understanding of the power relations between the local and the international and of the perspectives between the developed and the developer in order to design the best development programs in local settings. Development as discourse is beneficial for the understanding of how education policy was shaped by the discourse of development.

The concrete example of development as discourse is the work of Edward Said on “Orientalism” (Said, 1995) . According to Said, Orientalism is constructed by western

epistemologies to justify the aid, governance and exploitation of the Orient (the East) by the West . Based on this construction, the West is framed as rational, developed, human, and superior and the Orient was framed as aberrant, undeveloped and inferior (Said, 1995, p. 301). As defined by Said (1995), Orientalism:

can be discussed and analysed as the corporate institution for dealing with the Orient—dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short, Orientalism as a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient... My contention is that without examining Orientalism as a discourse we cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage—and even produce—the Orient politically, sociologically, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period. (p. 301)

Thus, the development programme of the multinational development organisations aims to place the third world in the same progress as the Western World in terms of the economic growth (capitalism), Western political thought, culture and values toward the governance or control of the third world. According to Abrahamsen (2000), the development discourse “can be seen to have produced a form of knowledge about the third world that has facilitated and legitimised certain forms of administration and intervention and constructed and produced certain subjects, and put them in a hierarchical and unequal relationship to each other” (p. 22). It is constructed by the western world to legitimise its right to intervene, control and reshape the practices of the third world. Development as discourse can be seen as power of the Western world on the third world more than the truth itself, meaning that the Third World might not be ‘underdeveloped’ as constructed by the Western World. (Escobar, 1984, p. 398).

From the end of World War II, there have been different discourses of development constructed by the West in order to create the Third World that is subject to a new form of control, or in other words new colonial power and imperialism of the West, that will be discussed in the following section.

3.2.2. Evolution of the discursive linkage between the discourse of development and the discourse of education since World War II

There have been different phases of development discourses imposed by the Western World on the Third World since the end of World War II (Bernstein, 1971). In the 1950s and 1960s, modernisation theory was the dominant discourse in the formulation of national development programs or national policy in the Third World (Bernstein, 1971; Curle, 1964). During this period, the third world was viewed as being at the early stage of the modern society that has characterized the Western world. According to the modernisation theory, a modern social system of Western societies was characterized by “(1) a degree of self-sustaining growth in the economy; (2) a measure of public participation in the polity; (3) a diffusion of secular-rational norms in the culture; (4) an increase in physical and social mobility; and (5) a corresponding transformation in personality to equip individuals to function effectively in a modern social order” (Manzo, 1991, p. 13). These attributes were constituted as the regime of truth (Foucault’s term) through which the Third World subjected itself to Western interventions especially world organizations’ interventions after the end of World War two in order to achieve the modernisation (Escobar, 1995).

The discourse of education was framed by the discourse of development that is equal to the discourse of modernisation. Between 1950 and 1970, the discourse of educational expansion was a dominant education discourse. As raised by Meyer , Ramirez, Rubinson, & Boli-Bennett, the expansion of the national educational system was a global phenomenon (Meyer, Ramirez, Rubinson, & Boli-Bennett, 1977). The discourse of educational expansion was framed as an attribute of the modern states. The expansion of the education system has been one of the inherent properties of the modern states (Meyer et al., 1977) that contributed to the development of the third world. The discourse of educational expansion is framed to justify inequalities in education through the promotion of ideology and hegemony that the “freedom, creativity, and capabilities of the majority are

being sacrificed in the economic interests of the ruling classes” (Hugh, 2006, p. 11). From this point of view, inequalities in education do not arise from the economic arena but from the education system itself (Hugh, 2006).

Between the 1950s and 1960s, poverty reduction was constructed as the discourse of development. Poverty was constructed as a feature that separated developed from underdeveloped countries. In other words, underdeveloped countries were poor countries. In 1948, the World Bank defined “poor countries” as those with a per capita income less than \$100. This definition could lead to the overnight framing of two thirds of the world’s population as “poor” (Escobar, 1995, p. 24). Thus, a nation state must reduce the poverty in order to become a developed country. The development thus focused on the physical infrastructure that was important to the economic growth and therefore the poverty reduction.

Between 1970 and 1980, there was a discursive shift in the construction of poverty. Poverty was not framed as an effect but a cause of underdevelopment. The development of basic needs was at the centre of the discourse of development. There was the shift from the development of physical infrastructure to the development of human capital, such as knowledge, skill and rights for enabling “the poor” to be able to live properly in the society and contribute to the development of the society. The development discourse thus centred on the poverty reduction discourse through rural development and the provision of health and basic education services. Basic education was perceived to be efficient for the poverty reduction and thus the economic growth (Simmons, 2013). In developing countries, a stable macro economy causes rapid poverty reduction, narrows inequality and increases GDP per capita (Easterly, 2003). To achieve the stable macro economy leading to the poverty reduction as it always claims to achieve, the World Bank always lends money to education sector in developing countries such as Cambodia to improve its human resource

(World Bank, 1995). The stable macro economy or economic growth was usually framed under the rubric of development.

From the 1980s, the development discourse has centred on integration into the global economy through the structural adjustment programmes aiming to reduce the expenditure in public services. The discourse of development has been the discourse of a knowledge based economy. This discourse imposes new features, priorities and actions in the process of national development in the Third World including Cambodia through the development agenda of the multinational development organisations (World Bank, 1990). Education discourse has focused on the role of education in prospering economic growth toward the national development and being able to stand in the world economy. Based on Endogenous growth theory, the significant investment in human resource development, new invention and creation and advanced knowledge contribute to the economic growth (Aghion, Howitt, Brant-Collett, & García-Peñalosa, 1998). The investment in higher education was framed as being central to the economic growth in a global economy. However, basic education was still fundamental for social development (World Bank, 1993). So the policy discourse has been the development of basic education and higher education for social and economic development.

Following the adoption of the Millennium Development Goals and Education for All framework in 2000 (United Nations Foundation, 2012), which sees EFA as the indispensable means for effective participation in the economy and society and as key to sustainable development, the national policy discourse was changed to free and compulsory basic EFA (basic education). In 2010, at the first UNESCO World Conference on Early Childhood Care and Education in Moscow toward Building the Wealth of Nations (UNESCO, 2010), there is an emphasis on the development of children's well-being for the national development. The new policy discourse is investment in the entire education

sector including early childhood education, secondary education and tertiary education to reach the development goals. The development discourse of the multinational organisations made the third world, including Cambodia, subject to western imperialism and internal authoritarianism and anarchy. Abrahamsen (2000) emphasised this point:

The end of the bipolar world system signalled the arrival of the west's indisputable hegemony over the Third World. Aid recipients had no alternative but to rely on the west for assistance, and the collapse of communism as an alternative, non-capitalist development model made donor states more confident of the superiority of their own economic and political solutions. (p. 43)

Springer views this phenomenon in the case of democratic development, that "the current development discourse not only reconfirms the unequal power relationship between the Global North and the Global South, but it is also an intrinsically undemocratic order" (Springer, 2010, p. 32). The development discourse of these multinational development agencies created the domination over Cambodian internal affairs. The development discourses of the multinational organisations labelled Cambodia for instance as one of the most corrupted countries as a justification for their presence in the national development process. In order to qualify for a loan or aid, Cambodia must improve its governing structure. In doing so, Cambodian discourse permeates good governance discourse in all its policy; for instance the Rectangular Strategy that is a guiding document used to implement the political platform of the Royal Government of Cambodia set good governance at the core of all their development agenda.

Since 1993, development has been used by the new government as a discursive resource in education policy making. In the twenty-first century, in the context of the globalised policy field, education discursively served a global knowledge economy or economic development and a knowledge society. This has resulted in homogeneity in education policy. The homogeneity is displayed by the emergence of big policies for a small world or the emergence of global education policy field dominated by multinational organisations like World Bank, ADB, OECD, UNESCO etc. (Ball, 1998). The homogeneity is also

resulted in the abandonment of national traditions and contexts in making the policy. The multinational organisations played key roles in the reconstruction and development of Cambodia using its dependence on external aid. The presence of multinational organisations in Cambodia has emerged following the signing of the Paris Peace Accord and adherence to the UNESCO conceptual framework of EFA. Those organisations introduced global neoliberal discourses and a development discourse that emphasised economic development, economic growth, competitiveness and skill development in all development aid in Cambodia, especially in education development, as an important condition of financial and technical assistances.

Framing of the discourse of education by the discourse of development can be understood by the development theory that will be discussed next.

3.3. Development theory

In this section, the rationale of development through education, i.e. what the government schemes seek to develop and the techniques and calculations they apply, will be examined. Governmentality and political economy are conceptual frameworks for understanding this rationality.

3.3.1. Governmentality

Development can be constructed as forms of governmentality toward improving the conditions of the population. Governmentality can be defined as the conduct of human conducts or behavior by calculations and techniques. Different from the discipline that is set to control specific groups such as schools, prison, hospital, the concern of the government is population and its welfare at large through the creation of an economy. Foucault defined the term “economy” as the “wise government of the family for the common welfare of all” (Gordon, 1991). Foucault states that:

To govern a state will therefore mean to apply economy, to set up an economy at the level of the entire state, which means exercising towards its inhabitants, and the wealth and behaviour of each and all, a form of surveillance and control as attentive as that of the head of a family over his household and his goods. (p. 92)

The purpose of the government is to secure “the welfare of the population, the improvement of its condition, the increase of its wealth, longevity, health, race of the population etc.”(Gordon, 1991, p. 73). The improvement of conditions of the population in term of its welfare, wealth, health which may be called development. Foucault named this form of politics as “bio power” and “bio politics”. Bio power regulates the entire population at the macro level. It is not only to discipline the individual but also to put an action globally on the “species body to optimize the health, life and productivity of the population” (Foucault, Senellart, Ewald, Fontana, & Burchell, 2010, p. 139). Drawing from Foucault, Watts suggested that to understand development, one must understand how “the possible field of action of others is structured through a variety of techniques and micro politics of power to accomplish, or attempt to accomplish, stable rule through certain sorts of governable subjects and governable objects” (Watts, 2003, p. 12).The development concerns the improvement of the conditions of population. The conditions of population to be improved are extensive. According to Foucault’s definition, they are concerned with “men in their relations, their links, their imbrications with ...wealth, resources, means of subsistence, the territory with all its specific qualities, climate, irrigation, fertility etc.; men in their relation to... customs, habits, ways of acting and thinking, etc.; and lastly men in their relation to...accidents and misfortunes such as famine, epidemics, death, etc.” (Gordon, 1991, p. 100).

To improve the condition of the population requires the exercise of what Foucault identified as governmental rationalities (a way of thinking about government in order to achieve certain ends) to be achieved through numerous forms of tactics. The tactics used by the government are situated within a heterogeneous assemblage or deposit that combines “forms of practical knowledge, with modes of perception, practices of calculation, vocabularies, types of authority, forms of judgment, architectural forms, human capacities,

non-human objects and devices, inscription techniques and so forth” (Rose, 1999, p. 52). Dean (1999) and Rose (1999) saw the use of these tactics as “the governmentalisation of the state” which is defined as “an invention and assembly of a whole array of technologies that bring together the calculations and strategies of the constitutional, juridical, fiscal and organizational powers of the state in an attempt to manage the economic life, social habits and health of the population” (Rose, 1999, p. 18). This whole array of technologies consisted of discursive and non-discursive aspects such as institutions, processes and rules that are used to conduct the behavior of the population to improve their conditions. Political economy is a main form of technology or knowledge of the government applied to shape the conduct of the population in ways so that they do not see the control from the government. In the next section, I will outline the political economy of the development in which education was deployed as the strategy of the development.

3.3.2. Political economy

Political economy is a main form of knowledge and technique that the government used to improve or develop the welfare of the population. Political economy according to Foucault is “the liberal art of governing the polity in an economical manner intervening in the delicate balance of social and economic processes no more, and no less than is required to optimize them” (Li, 2007, p. 18). The political economy of Adam Smith concerns “the invisible hand of the market” that is a very complex way of self-regulation in which economic processes embrace different interests of individuals in society (A. Smith, 1937). For instance, the invisible hand of the market is functioned by unpleasant rich proprietors who were not concerned about humanity or justice but their business activity can advance the interests of society or the merchants (Rothschild, 1994). In this case, although there was no legislation restricting imports to impose on them, they still support the domestic industry for its own interest which in consequence promote the interest of society (Rothschild, 1994, p. 319). The economy must thus be governed and balanced with the

social process in order to provide the interest to individuals and the society. An economic contract between people and the government must be elaborated in order to secure these interests (A. Smith, 1937) .

The art of government that according to Foucault consists of government, population and political economy can make these aims of interests of individuals and society achievable. Government-population-political economy are the three movements of modern governmentality from the 18th century onward. The population became the key point of intervention into or the key object of the new field of political economy. According to Foucault's governmentality the government since the 16th century has governed toward an end that is convenient for each of the things governed. This triangle movement is the art of the government which attempts to shape and manage human conduct by "working through our desires, aspirations, interest and beliefs for definite but shifting ends" (Dean, 1999, p. 16). In this sense, development policies or programs established by the art of government must respect "the integrity and autonomous dynamics of the social body that is comprised of population and society" (Li, 2007, p. 59). The art of government thus does not exercise tight control on population but "tries to optimize the process upon which life depends" (Li, 2007, p. 18). In other words, the population is not ruled by law or discipline but by the technologies and strategies of government in the interest of well-being of the population.

The key practices used in the art of government in order to achieve the ultimate outcome of the government, which is the improvement of the condition or the welfare of the population without using total control, are problematisation, strategies and technologies. Problematisation means identifying deficiencies or problems that need to be addressed. In case of the policy discourse, the policy is problematised meaning the issues have been discursively produced in the policy.

This is what Dean and Rose called the analytics of government. The analytics of government are concerned “with what authorities want to happen in relation to what problems and objectives and through what tactics” (Rose, 1999, p. 21). Dean defines analytics of government as “the processes by which we govern and are governed within different regimes, and the conditions under which they emerge, operate and are transformed” (Dean, 1999, pp. 20-27). Analytics of government “seek an open and critical relation to strategies for governing, attentive to their presuppositions, their assumptions, their exclusions, their naiveties and their knaveries, their regimes of vision and their spots of blindness” (Rose, 1999, p. 19). Education is problematised in the policy discourse of the government as a key toward the development with an ultimate end to improve the welfare of the populations including the promotion of individual freedom. In a liberal political economy in Foucault’s governmentality, education policy discourse directs the conduct of the populations towards self-regulation, directing them towards self-regulating, self-improving and market-based behaviour or *homo economicus* or entrepreneurial subjects (Rose, 1996; Tikly, 2003). Rose (1996) defined subjects in liberal governmentality as below:

Liberal governmentality created disciplined subjects or disciplined populations, free and civilized citizens. The free and civilized citizens were the subjects of the technologies, observations, and interventions of state bureaucracies and the practices and examinations of disciplinary institutions, such as those of the school, the clinic, and the military, which produced the subjective conditions, the forms of self-mastery, self-regulation and self-control, necessary to govern a nation. (p. 44)

Education policy facilitates, cultivates, and maximizes self-autonomous, sense of power, awareness, ambition, innovative and responsibility by the utilisation of policies as legitimising discursive formation (Rose, 1996). The policies are the discursive formation of the state in which the exercise of power of the state is legitimised and accepted by various actors, and both institutions and individuals are encouraged to comply with market principles and control over their lives (Rose, 1999).

3.3.3. Development of human capabilities: the political economy of international development since the end of World War II

In the field of international development, education has been increasingly conceptualised as being linked to the development. The evolution of the concept of development, which has implication on education is illustrated in Table 2 on page 62. Between 1950 and 1970, education was viewed as instrumental toward the creation of modern society. The educational programs focused on the expansion of education aiming to render the population knowledgeable, responsible, and participatory in political affairs and in taking positions in the society thus leading to the modern society. As raised by Coombs, education played an important role in the transformation of a society into a modern society (Coombs, 1968):

The education systems of the developing world were charged with the task of helping to bring their ancient societies suddenly into the last third of the twentieth century and were called upon to launch a child from a static, ancient and impoverished environment into a dazzling new world of modern ideas, outlooks, knowledge and gadgets. (p. 109)

These characteristics of modernity could not be imposed by violence or force but they could be only promoted by creating conditions to encourage people to behave as they think is important, and education plays an important role in this process. The expansion of education can be explained in term of “its extended role in the socialisation and selection of children for their future adult roles as workers and citizens” (Hugh, 2006, p. 8). The expansion of education allows citizens to participate in political efficacy and provides them with knowledge and skill enabling them to get positions in society (Hugh, 2006). The process of industrialism generates the economy that requires human capital with higher skill levels in the labour force for the economic development (Hugh, 2006; Meyer et al., 1977).

Between the 1960s and 1980s, Marxist and neo-Marxist theories rejected the modernisation theories that situated development in the world capitalist system. These

theories claimed the development of the third world must depend on the countries' structures and resources, and only socialism that adopted a state controlled and centrally planned economy could produce the real development and equal distribution of development in the third world. Firstly, the modernisation theory failed to take into consideration the tradition, the legacy of the past and the national contexts. It thus was the dependency theory created. The dependency theory claims that "the development of a national or regional unit can only be understood in connection with its historical insertion into the worldwide political-economy which can be called tradition-modernity polarity" (Frank, 1967, p. 544). In the field of education, dependent theories argue that national integration which had an impact on educational expansion is hindered by peripheral status of the Third World in the world system (Arnove, 1980; Frank, 1967). That is to say, the Third World Education systems cannot lead to educational development and the nation building because the Third World states cannot efficiently integrate international education transferred from the Western World into their education system. Secondly, neo-Marxist theories claimed that education did not determine the economic development but it is "economic relations based on the ownership and control of the means of production that are believed to determine the role of the state along with the education system" (Hugh, 2006, p. 11). From this perspective, economic structure and labour production created education. The economic development through labour production is fundamental basic for the development of education.

Later on, developmentalism emerged in the development project of the third world to criticize different development perspectives. This was an ideology created by Latin American authors, and took many different forms. The United States called developmentalism simply "economic development" (Wallerstein, 2005). Pieterse argued that developmentalism delineates "development as a process and outcome that is evolutionary in its frame of reference, that denies historicity, that is universalist, and that is

Eurocentric or West-centric” (Pieterse, 1991, p. 5). The developmentalism was a new facet of modernisation through which the third world could be integrated into the world economy.

Since the 1980s, the new facet of development that is called neoliberal development has seen integration into the global economy through structural adjustment, deregulation, liberalisation and privatisation. Education produces skilled workers to compete in this global economy. By this account, a number of strategies of the government were developed regarding the increasing of quantity and quality of education, the equity of education, the finance of education, the educational administration and management toward the economic growth. In the 1990s, education was viewed internationally important as for the development of human capabilities (UNDP, 1990) and has become the main policy discourse of development, poverty and equality. According to this international trend, in terms of human capabilities or human development, education can promote personal agency, employment, improved wages and access to information, increase ability to contribute to society and contribute to the economic growth (UNDP, 1990, p. 27). This human development approach concerns the question of how development can improve the conditions of the people and the economic growth is only a means to achieve this. This approach has been promoted by Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) since 2000 that set “development for all” to be reached by 2015 (United Nations Foundation, 2012). These MDGs promote global human development toward the improvement of well-being of humans through economic growth.

Time period	Development approach	Content
1950-1960	Modernisation	Economic growth, state-directed modernisation
1960-1970	Dependency, Neo-Marxism	Third World nationalism, capacity building, powerful state, socialism

1970-1980	Alternative development	Basic-needs approach, civil society
1980-1990	Neoliberalism	Economic growth, structural adjustment programs, privatisation, globalisation
1990-2000	Human development	Social and community development, capabilities, entitlement
2000-present	Millennium Development Goals, sustainable development goals	Economic growth, social and environmental responsibility, human rights

Table 2 Overview of Development Approaches

3.4. Conclusion

In the above section, I began by examining the definition and theoretical conceptualisations of globalisation and the effect of globalisation on development and education. I have argued that globalisation along with neoliberalism has impacted the discursive linkage between the discourse of development and the discourse of education. In the thesis, as I discussed above, the globalisation process is conceptualised as transformationalist and hybridisation process. I have also highlighted some key changes in the discourse of development in their historical context and its impact on national development and education policy discourse. Cambodian education policy discourse in this process is a product of global development discourse reflecting modernity and the discourse of nationalism.

The discursive linkage between the discourse of development and the discourse of education can be explained by governmentality and political economy. Development is a form of governmentality toward the improvement of the welfare of the populations through liberal modes of political economy. Education was viewed as a key instrument to achieve this aim through shaping the conduct of the populations toward self-governing subjects. In

the next chapter, I will examine how education policy in Cambodia as a form of governmentality and discursive formation is an instrument for the improvement of the welfare of the populations in historical contexts between 1863 and 1979.

CHAPTER 4: CAMBODIAN EDUCATION POLICY

Cambodian education policy has been a discursive formation of the state effected through the government rationality of national development between 1979 and 2013. I will discuss in the first section the conceptualisation of policy as discourse. In the second section, I will discuss how education is problematised in the policy as a form of governmentality and is discursively produced in the policy to achieve the national development. In the third section, I will examine education governance as a form of governmentality and discursive formation of the state toward national development in the historical context of Cambodia from 1863 to 1979.

4.1. Policy as discourse

Cambodian education policy in this thesis is considered as a phenomenon of discourse and as a tool of political power. This is drawn from the work of Foucault and successive studies by several educational and discourse theorists such as Ball (1994), Taylor (1997) and Bacchi (2000). According to those researchers, policy as discourse holds that policies are an instrument of the exercise of power through the production of knowledge and truth. People become subjects of the policies through social issues constructed within the policies.

Bacchi proposes four features of a policy-as-discourse approach (Bacchi, 2000, pp. 47-50). The first feature is that in a policy-as-discourse approach, policy problems are rather created and addressed in policy proposals than they already occurred in the society. The second feature is the language, more broadly discourse, enables or limits what can be said. The third feature is that no social actor is outside the process as either technical adviser or policy planner. The fourth feature is that policy is strategic and a political process.

According to Ball, the education policy process is complex and dynamic and he called it policy as discourse. He suggests that “policy discourse determines who can speak, when, and with what authority; and conversely, who cannot” (Ball, 1994, p. 21). It is in this sense that Ball perceives a policy as discourse as the policy makers use their powers in the policy making process through the creation of regime of truth and knowledge. According to him, to understand the policy, researchers should examine deeply the evolved social history, multiple levels of development of policy specifically from ideological perspective, economic perspective and political perspective rather than the policy as an end in itself. Ball also notes the primary discursive effect of education policy. Ball (1994) asserts that:

We do not speak the discourse, the discourse speaks us, it speaks us. We are the subjectivities, the voices, the knowledge, the power relations that a discourse constructs and allows... In these terms we are spoken by policies, we take up the positions constructed for us within policies. (p. 14)

Acknowledging policy as discourse, Taylor views “education policy as outcomes of political struggles over meaning or as the politics of discourse and policies are the outcome of struggles between contenders of competing objectives, where language or more specifically discourse is used tactically” (Taylor, 1997, p. 26). The formulation of education policy has a political nature in which the policies result from competing struggles between actors and concepts in which the absence in the policies is due to the exclusion of some actors in the policy making process. In the view that policy is a politics of discourse, Taylor emphasizes the importance of exploring the “linkage between the various levels of the policy process with an emphasis on highlighting power relations” (p. 32).

4.2. Policy and Education

Education is a field of social and public policy which has become more important in the developing countries because of its strong link to others policies like policy on health and economic policy. Cambodian education policy is the discourse of development of the state that is used to achieve the governmental policy of development.

4.2.1. Education policy and governmentality

Policy in broad term is the document that provides the actions of the government.

Policymaking is the machinery for governance in the modern state. In Cambodia, all those instruments listed below usually mean policy (*Kaulnoyobay* in Cambodian language in broad term). Those instruments have legal forces that impose to all citizens. In this research, all instruments below equate to policy of the government, an instrument of the government to govern the populations and their conduct.

- **The Constitution** is the supreme law of the Kingdom of Cambodia. All laws, policy, regulations and decisions of state institutions must conform to the Constitution.
- **Chbab** is a law adopted by the National Assembly and the Senate and is promulgated by the King or the acting Head of the State in the absence of the King through Royal Kram.
- **Royal Decree (Preah Reach Kret)** is issued by the King to exercise his constitutional powers. It is usually proposed by the Council of Ministers.
- **Sub Decree (AnuKret)** is an usually formulated by relevant ministries or by entities under the umbrella of the Office of Council of Ministers. Then it is adopted by the Council of Ministers in its plenary session under the auspice of the Prime Minister and signed by the Prime Minister.
- **Ministerial Prakas (Proclamation)** used by members of government, ministers, in the framework of their own regulatory power.
- **Decision (SechKdeiSamrach)** is issued by the Prime Minister and ministers or governors in the framework of their own regulatory powers or their jurisdiction. The decision can also be issued by other state entities such the decision of the

Constitutional council ruling on interpretation of the Constitution or issue of conformity of the law to the Constitution.

- **Circular (Sarachor)** is an administrative instruction issued by the Prime Minister or relevant ministers to explain or clarify certain legal or regulatory measures or to give instructions on the implementation of policy, law or regulations following their enforcement.

- **A bylaw (Deika)** is issued by provincial governors before Organic Law came into force. After the Organic Law was enacted in 2008, Councils at sub-national level can issue a bylaw within their geographical areas and jurisdiction. Councils referred to the Capital Council, Provincial Councils, Municipal Councils, Districts Councils, Khan Councils, Sangkat Councils, and Commune Councils. (Hor, Kong, & Menzel, 2012, pp. 9-10)

Cambodian education policy is considered as form of governmentality; that is to say, technologies of the government for the discursive production of subjects or population. This approach is drawn from Foucault's work that defined governmentality as "conduct of conduct, as modality of the exercise of power through techniques and procedures (regime of practices) and a set of knowledge" (Foucault, 1980, p. 119). Those techniques and procedures are the intersection of technologies of power or technologies of domination and technologies of the self that "are harnessed to make the individual a significant element of the state" (Foucault, 1988a, p. 18). While technologies of power entail the imposition of rules, laws, and norms on the conduct of the population, technologies of the self are selected by subjects to regulate themselves through the internalisation of those rules, laws, and norms. In this sense, education policy is a calculated tactic and technique for shaping the conduct of the population and for managing the population toward the creation of the governable subjects of the government and the creation of self-regulating

subjects to improve the conditions of the subjects. Education policy sets the standards and requirements on how subjects should behave for the improvement of their well-being.

According to Tikly, education policy can be considered as “the form of political programme of government which is put in action by technologies of government in a way that is consistent with the underlying rationality of government” (Tikly, 2003, pp. 165-166). In this definition, education policy is constituted by three elements: political rationalities, governmental technologies, and programs of government. The first element is political rationality. Rose and Miller (1992) define political rationalities as:

The changing discursive field within with the exercise of power is conceptualized, the moral justification for particular ways of exercising power by diverse authorities, notions of the appropriate forms, objects and limits of politics, and conceptions of proper distribution of such tasks among secular, spiritual, military and family sectors. (p. 175)

From this definition, there are three characteristics of political rationality. Firstly, political rationality justifies the modalities of the exercise of power among the actors. Secondly, political rationalities define the nature of the subject or subject that is being governed. Thirdly, political rationality is a “kind of intellectual machinery or apparatus for rendering reality thinkable in such a way that it is amenable to political programming” (Rose, 1996, p. 42).

Technologies of government can be defined as “programmes, techniques, mechanisms that are utilized to put political rationalities into effect” (Tikly, 2003, p. 165). Technologies of government are an interface between technologies of power and technologies of the self (Foucault, 1988a). Foucault’s technologies of power “determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination” (Foucault, 1988a, p. 18). Technologies of the self “permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom,

perfection, or immobility” (Foucault, 1988a, p. 18). Programs of government put political rationalities and technologies of government into reality in deliberate ways for governing and directing the conducts of population.

The government rationalities referred to by Foucault were those of the liberal states that had emerged since the 18th century and which paid attention to issues of population, economy and security (Gordon, 1991). That is to say, the key concern of the liberal states is to ensure the economic development of the state, the security and the social welfare of the population (Lemke, 2001). In the neoliberalism that emerged in western societies in the 1970s, the economic underpins “all forms of human actions and behaviour” (Lemke, 2001, pp. 197-198). In this case, government must operate as economic government. The government uses the monetary resources and exercises the power in order to guarantee the security and the welfare of the population and state’s prosperity (Dean, 1999).

These governmental rationalities are achieved through a number of tactics that are situated within a heterogeneous assemblage or *dispositif*: in Foucault’s working seminar on the Politics of Health in the XVIIIth at Collège de France in 1976, the term “apparatus” or *dispositif* was defined by Foucault as “a device oriented to produce something or a machine, contraption whose purpose is control and management of certain characteristics of a population” (Rabinow & Rose, 2003, p. 10). In 1997, the term “apparatus” was clearly defined by Foucault and as quoted by Rabinow & Rose (2003):

Is “a resolutely heterogeneous grouping comprising discourses, institutions, architectural arrangements, policy decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophic, moral and philanthropic propositions; in sum, the said and the not-said, these are the elements of the apparatus. The apparatus itself is the network that can be established between these elements”. (p. 11)

Education policy has been one of these apparatuses which the Cambodian government has since 1993 strategically put in place to control and regulate the people through

educating and inspiring them to follow with acquiescence. In other words, education policy set conditions which it calculated would improve the conduct of the population.

Since 1993, education policy in Cambodia has been set out in a deliberate manner to shape the conduct of the population toward economic and social development. Education policy has been designed to build capital and labour force required in the free market economy, to ensure the welfare of the population and to control and regulate the population. The current education policy has been shaped by previous education policies, the legacies of the previous political regimes, and new rationalities of the government. In this sense, governmentality in the Cambodian context can be understood as “an emerging governmentality” or “governmentality-in-the-making” which characterises the rationalities of the post-colonial states or post-communist states (Tikly, 2003, p. 166). According to Tickly, “governmentality-in-the-making”, consists of “complex and sometimes contradictory elements that provide both continuity and discontinuity on what went before” (Tikly, 2003, p. 166). The education policy thus is constructed aligned with the rationalities that are characterised by neo-liberal governmental principles along with the legacy of the past of the traditional role of the state in social welfare.

Based on the concept of emerging governmentality, Cambodian education policies have been subject to a number of conflicting rationalities and political programs of the national development of previous regimes and legacies and rationalities and political programs of new liberal governmentality within and external to the state. Specifically, Cambodian education policy is the result of the interaction between state actors and non-state actors particularly the multicultural organisations who have played significant roles since the signing of the Paris Peace Accord in 1991. Those actors have changed the subject positions and practices of government in the political, economic, and education policy

decisions they have made. I will use this concept of emergent governmentality to study education policy linked to national development.

In order to achieve the rationality and political programs of the government, education policy has been used as a discursive formation in which development has been invoked as claims to truth about the development. These claims to truth involve complex political, cultural and economic elements to be understood by the rules of discursive formations. I will discuss education policy as a discursive formation of development in the next section.

4.2.2. Education policy and discursive formations

Education policy is a discursive formation of state toward achieving governmental goals such as national development, propagation of the ideology of the state or the legitimacy of the state. For instance, education policy is a discursive formation of the national development of Cambodian government since 1953 when Cambodia gained independence from French colonisation, and was used particularly to propagate the socialist discourse and the legitimacy of the state in the People's Republic of Cambodia and the State of Cambodia. Discursive formation creates the material conditions for a discourse that produces regimes of truth to justify governmental goals. According to Foucault, the regimes of truth are not the rationality or the universal truth but the truth as the result of discourse (Foucault, 1970). Thus, analysts can see the real thing that happened or the power relation by uncovering the discursive formation that established the regimes of truth. Foucault comments about the regime of truth that "all that appears to our eyes is a truth conceived as a richness, a fecundity, a gentle and insidiously universal force, and in contrast we are unaware of the will to truth, that prodigious machinery designed to exclude" (Foucault, 1970, p. 56).

The regimes of truth in policy connect the production of knowledge objects to the power relation. The conjunction of power and knowledge or the relationship and the inter-

relationship between power and knowledge is emphasised by Foucault quoted by Ball (1990):

No body of knowledge can be formed without a system of communications, records, accumulation and displacement which is in itself a form of power and which is linked, in its existence and functioning, to the other forms of power. Conversely no power can be exercised without the extraction, appropriation, and distribution or retention of knowledge. On this level, there is not knowledge on the one side and society on the other, or science and the state, but only the fundamental forms of knowledge/power. (Foucault, 1971 quoted in Ball, 1990, p. 17)

According to Foucault, power and knowledge are inextricably linked. Knowledge is power but this power is associated with the way in which certain knowledge (thus truth) is applied (Hall, 1997). Knowledge functions as a power in discourse. The regimes of truth are established by knowledge/power that is used in different ways in society such as it is put to work, valorised, distributed, and in a sense attributed, in a society (Foucault, 1981, p. 55). This knowledge/knowledge produces truth through the discursive practices. Foucault (1972) claims that:

Truth isn't outside power..., truth is a thing of this world; it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power. Each society has its regime of truth, its general politics of truth; that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true, the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned... the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true. (p. 131)

Truth is ingrained in and produced by systems of power. Truth cannot exist outside discourse. Discourse produces what counts as true, limitations on what can be said, and who has authority to say. Education policy is a discursive formation of the state that establishes the regimes of truth in order to justify governmental goals, that is in my thesis the discursive linkage between education and national development. In order to create these regimes of truth, education policy as a discursive formation of the state is embodied with power relation. Many scholars note education policy as an exercise of political power or a practice of power or of the state. Ball (1994) claims that "policy is not only a text, but also a power relation, whereby power is exercised through a production of truth and knowledge, as discourses and further policy is... an economy of power, a set of technologies and practices which

are realized and struggled over in local settings” (Ball, 1994, pp. 10, 21). Policies and policy makers thus exercise power through a production of what they perceive to be true and a set of knowledge. This power relation is embodied in various levels of policy process (Taylor, 1997, p. 32).

As a discursive formation, education policy is complex and socially constructed and is far from objectives mentioned in the policy texts. Taylor suggests that education policy is historically and contextually constructed particularly in term of economic, social, political and cultural contexts. She acknowledges that “differences in terminology reflect the particular historical and cultural context, and have implications for the ways in which particular concepts are used and understood” (Taylor, 1997, p. 28). Education policy as discourse is constructed in its historical contexts, economic, social and cultural contexts to produce the regimes of truth in a specified society.

According to a post-structuralist approach, policy is not only a text but also a tool for the exercise of power relations through discourse. The policy-making is in this sense viewed as “extending beyond the work of official (state) institutions and involving both the material and discursive contexts in which policy is made” (Fimyar, 2014, p. 8) that produce the power/knowledge/truth. As discourse, policy making involves not only the actors in official process of policy making but the actors outside the official process such as citizens, communities or civil society and are subjected to competing struggles between those actors (Fimyar, 2014).

Policy discourse exercises power relation or domination through its normative value (Levinson, Sutton, & Winstead, 2009). Levinson, Sutton and Winstead (2009) claim that policy is “a practice of power—that is, the production of normative discourse for the reproduction of inequality, hegemony, subordinated political subject” (Levinson et al., 2009, p. 237). According to Codd, the hegemony is produced by ideologies of social

control embedded in education policy. He claimed that policy texts often embody “ideologies of social control through which the state legitimates its power and engineers public consent and contains divergent meanings, contradictions and structured omissions, so that different effects are produced on different readers” (Codd, 1988, p. 235). For him, dominant groups always have social control and position themselves best in order to produce an education system that serves their own visions and interests (Codd, 1988). However, this view seems to be contradictory to Foucault’s discourse theory in the sense that “discourse can be both a hindrance, a stumbling block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy” (Foucault, 1998, p. 101).

Cambodian education policy produces its own regimes of truth between education and national development through discursive rules of formation of national development. In other words, Cambodian education policy is not strictly imposed or dominated by dominant groups but is engaged with resistance, negotiation, consultation to produce its own discourse. In this sense, education policy is a free subject of its own conduct toward national development. Cambodian education policy is a normative discourse of the state that gives effect to the government rationalities of national development. This normative discourse has been gradually subjected to Western political and educational discourses and national discourses that produced the truth claims to justify links between education, national values and national development. I will discuss how education is a form of governmentality and a discursive formation of the national development in chapters 6, 7 and 8. In the discussion in Chapter 6,7 and 8, I am particularly interested in how education policy discourses represent knowledge and seek knowledge about subjects in relation to national development.

In order to understand how the Cambodian governments between 1979 and 2013 thought about national development and the promotion of national identity and the connection

between education, national development and national identity, I will discuss the background context and the linkage between education and development in Cambodia from 1863 to 1979.

4.3. Background context and education development in Cambodia from 1863 to 1979

In order to explore the discursive linkage between education policy discourse and development discourses in the periods 1979-2013, it is important to examine the broad structural aspects of the history and governance of Cambodian education from the French Colonial period until the Pol Pot regime. The brief overview of political, legal and economic systems of Cambodia between 1863 and 2013 is mentioned in Appendix G, which provides a quick understanding of the overall governance of Cambodia since the French colonisation until present. This brief summary can give a general understanding on how education is conceptualised within the governance structure between 1863 and 2013.

Historically, Cambodian education has experienced chaos and the crisis since the colonial period, especially since the Khmer Rouge Regime (1975-1979) up until the Cambodia democratic kingdom (1993-2013). Since 1979, after the systematic destruction of the education system in the Pol Pot regime, education has become important as an area where development has been appealed discursively as a main resource for policy. My examination in this chapter takes the form of a history of government and its development problems to be addressed through education.

4.3.1. French Colony (1863-1953)

Cambodia was colonized by France for nearly one hundred years from 1863 to 1953. Cambodia was governed and controlled by the French Indochina colony comprised Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos. Before the arrival of the French colonists, Cambodia had been a sovereign state ruled by the king and governed by senior officials born from or

associated with the royal family (Osborne, 1969). Although the population was subject to taxation imposition, obligatory labour and military service, the conduct of the population toward the improvement of the welfare of the population was not the focus of the state (Osborne, 1969; Trankell* & Ovesen, 2004). The ancient state did not consist of elements of modern governmentality as defined by Foucault.

After the arrival of the French into Indochina, the modern state had been gradually introduced by France into its colonised states including Cambodia. According to Foucault's governmentality, the modern state ruled by shaping the conduct of the conduct of the population (please refer to the definition of the conduct of the conduct on page 35) in the colonies so that they became governable subjects toward the improvement of welfare of the populations (Gordon, 1991). Education was used to shape the conduct of the populations toward the modernisation of the state and thus the welfare of the populations was improved. The modernisation of education in the Khmer kingdom was techniques and practices of French governmentality in order to shape the conduct of Khmer people toward the creation of "new French men" (Osborne, 1969, p. 5; Vickery, 1986). New French men were described as "Westernised Cambodians who, through their loyal service, advanced [the French] civilizing mission" (Clayton, 1995, p. 4). Specifically, the education policy aimed to transform colonial subjects into civilised or elite subjects who were knowledgeable, responsible and participatory citizens to serve the colonial administration, and into citizens loyal to their colonial master and able to generate economic profits from the colony to serve French interests (Ayres, 2000a; Chandler, 1992).

In order to legitimise its intervention, the French administration constructed the discourse of civilising mission or the discourse of modernisation by which the French mission was to introduce modern political ideas, social reforms and new technologies into its colonies that were framed as undeveloped, uncivilised and impoverished places. This discourse labelled

France as being the high-civilised nation that had the role of transforming its colony into a modern or civilised place. The French used the discourse of civilisation that centred on the narrative of the decline of Cambodia since the downfall of the Angkor Empire and the necessity to be as civilised as the glorious past of Angkor. The discourse of civilisation was constructed to revive the greatest past of Cambodia but the real goal of France was to practice its power in its colonies.

Education policy was a discursive formation of colonial administration in which the modernisation or civilisation discourse was invoked with the ultimate aim to improve the welfare of populations. The modernisation or civilisation discourse constructed, on the one hand, Khmers as naturally non-perfectible in that they possessed defects inherent to their race such as being lazy (Martin, 1994, p. 36) since the collapse of the great civilisation of Angkor. On the other hand, the Khmer Kingdom was portrayed as poor, underdeveloped and uncivilized compared to France as a modern state. Education policy discourse centred on modernisation justified the intervention of French administration that was viewed as an indispensable means for bringing its underdeveloped Kingdom into a modern state. The modernisation discourse produced the hegemonic forms of this representation by which the French administration was able to manage the conduct of the conduct of colonial subjects and to generate the economic interest from the colony.

As a discursive formation of the modernisation, Cambodian traditional education was structured in a modern way following the French schooling system. Before the arrival of the French in Cambodia, education was provided in Wat (pagoda or temple) and only men were permitted to learn in Wat because teachers were Buddhist monks and students must stay and work in the pagoda (Chandler, 1992). The instruction was in Khmer language and Pali. Students were not only taught Buddhism (Satras) but also life skills such as carpentry (Bilodeau, 1955; Chandler, 1992). The French view was that these traditional schools

could not produce modern men who could contribute to the development of the modern state and economic interests of the state. From the 19th century, the French colonisation started the first scheme of educational restructuring in the Kingdom of Cambodia.

Educational restructuring was part of the techniques and practices of French governmentality in the colonies toward the modernisation of the French administration and its colonies. The first restructuring scheme of the French was to establish a small system of modern Franco-Cambodian schools such as “the French-language school of the Protectorate in Phnom Penh in 1873 that was renamed the College of the Protectorate in 1893, the College for interpreters, and French language primary schools in provincial capitals” (Morizon, 1931, p.178 quoted in Clayton, 1995, p. 3). The aim of this first scheme was only to train the natives (French word “*les indigenes*” refers to the population in the colonies such as Cambodian for Khmer, Annamite for Vietnamese and Malay for Cham) for serving in administrative positions in the colonial administration (Clayton, 1995).

The first scheme was targeted to only a very small number of the population in the colony that could possibly be trained for holding subordinate administration positions in the colonial setting. Some authors argued that in the 19th century, the French administration did not attend to Cambodian education as they did in Vietnam where French modern schools were widely introduced from the time of the first arrival of the French (Chandler, 1992; Martin, 1994). They suggested that this ignorance was firstly explained by the fact that Cambodia was not a strategically significant region of French Indochina. Secondly, the French administration constructed that the Khmers were “naturally ‘non-perfectible,’ that they possessed defects ‘inherent to their race’ such as laziness” (Martin, 1994, p. 36) and thus educating them was a waste of colonial resources. However, these views may appear to be erroneous if we examine this issue through the lens of governmentality. The education program in Cambodia was not neglected by the French administration but it was a technique of the French to introduce educational modernisation gradually in Cambodia if

the French wanted to achieve the real outcome of constructing citizens in Cambodia as civilised subjects.

The educational development scheme was enlarged in the kingdom from the 1900s. In 1918, the French administration developed the Code of Public Instruction setting the rules for elementary to university level education to be implemented in Indochina. This code replaced all previous regulations in Cambodia. The educational development scheme focused on the expansion of Franco-Cambodian schools, the establishment of Khum schools, teacher education reforms including capacity development for monk teachers, and the modernisation of Wat schools (Clayton, 1995). The French created the Ministry of National Education in 1943 by Decree 25 NS dated 24 April 1943 as a control and surveillance mechanism of education in the colony. Fergusson & Masson quoted Minson who wrote that the 1918 educational scheme was to create “a permanent educational system in Cambodia as a part of the French educational system for all Indochina” (Fergusson & Masson, 1997, p. 96).

The Franco-Cambodian schools, Khum schools and Wat schools were targeted to different groups but were linked as a network to regulate the conduct of the population toward the colonial development. Franco-Cambodian schools taught in French language and were targeted to French residents, Cambodian elites and officials who worked for the colonial administration. Franco-Cambodian consisted of two types of school: elementary schools (three levels) and full course schools (the three-year elementary cycle and a three-year complementary cycle) (Clayton, 1995). Khum schools were targeted to children in rural areas. Khum schools and modernised Wat schools provided the same curriculum as that used in Franco-Cambodian schools but the instruction was in Khmer. Those who passed the elementary examination from Khum schools and modernised Wat schools could study at complementary Franco-Cambodian

schools. Those who attended the complementary Franco-Cambodian schools and passed could become teachers. The French administration also developed training programs for Cambodian teachers in Franco-Cambodian schools, Khum schools and for monk teachers in modernised Wat schools. Before 1923, Cambodian teachers who graduated from complementary education received training from French educators during the vacation periods. In 1923, the French established a four-year training course for teachers at the Collège Sisowath (Clayton, 1995).

The establishment of these three different schools and teacher development programs constituted a set of practices and techniques of the French governmentality in order to produce governable subjects toward the improvement of the living conditions of the populations in the colonies. This aim could not be achieved if the French had put in place its educational system immediately and forcibly in its colony where tradition and culture had been strongly embedded in the society. Therefore, the French designed a new version of the education system that incorporated the French education system, French language and the traditional education system. Such an educational arrangement was a technique of both inclusion and exclusion by French governmentality toward its colonized subjects.

Bio power is a determinant element of modern governmentality. Bio power is defined as action on other living beings but it was not exercised in a coercive manner nor did it restrict the subject's freedom (Lemke, 2001). It was applied by the French colonisation in regulating the conduct of the natives in the colony through its educational modernisation program. Rather than suppress the freedom of the colonial subjects such as the Cambodian population, especially monks, in response to its modernisation program, the French created an education system that both satisfied its colonial administration and the natives to some extent. The subjects in the colonies were free subjects who could choose to study at Wat schools or Franco-Cambodian schools. As shown by Kiernan

(1985) quoted by Clayton (Kiernan 1985 quoted in Clayton, 1995, p. 6), more Cambodian students enrolled in Wat schools than in Franco-Cambodian schools. Clayton (1995) quoted the claim of Kiernan (1985, p.xiii) as below:

There were 160 modern [that is controlled by the French] primary schools with 10,000 pupils by 1925...but even by 1944, when 80,000 [Cambodians] were attending [some sort of] modern primary schools, only about 500 pupils per year completed their primary education...by 1944 there were only 1,000 secondary students...even by 1953, there were still only 2,700 secondary students enrolled in eight high schools in Cambodia. (p. 6)

In brief, education policy was a form of governmentality of French administration toward the improvement of the living conditions of the population in its colonies. To achieve this colonial goal, the French constructed the discourse of modernisation or civilisation that was promoted in education policy discourse while sustaining the local value of education its education policy discourse. Education policy discourse in the French colonisation period that centred on the modernisation discourse has been reinstated by successive governments of the post-colonial regimes. In the next section, I will examine how education policy was a form of governmentality and a discursive formation of the state justifying the linkage between education, nationalism and national development.

4.3.2. Independence (1953-1975)

France gave independence to Cambodia at the Geneva Conference on November 9, 1953. After independence, immediately after his abdication from the throne, Prince Sihanouk established a new movement called popular socialist community (or Sangkum Reastr Niyum in Cambodian language) that ruled the Kingdom of Cambodia following the victory in the 1955 election. Based on the Choun Nath Khmer dictionary, the word “*Sangkum Reastr Niyum or SRN*” is composed of the words, *Sangkum* that means group or association or movement, *Reastr* that means nation or people or community, and *Niyum* means love or common agreement or popular (Nath, 1964). Literally, these words expressed the accountability of the state toward the people and that power belonged to the

people. This benign expression was recognised everywhere in cities and rural areas by ordinary people. These benign expressions were chosen as an official name of the Sihanouk regime so that people would become subject to the political reform of the regime.

Sangkum was constructed by Sihanouk as the common meeting ground for all Cambodian peoples who were connected by comradeship and were united by the Buddhist religion and the king. It was labelled by Sihanouk as a movement of the Cambodian people and not a political party in order to serve the best interest of all people through his direct meeting with people and his popular and attractive speeches (R. M. Smith, 1967).

Sihanouk always constructed himself as “Father of the nation” and “Father of independence”. He rhetorically declared to people his commitment to “a struggle against social injustice and underdevelopment and intense and constant crusade for national development” (Sihanouk, 1981, p. 262). He always rhetorically declared that he was not interested in power and all policies and decisions were made in the best interest of the nation. However, the language used in his policies and the rhetorical speeches of Sihanouk are discursive formations that encouraged people to participate in the governing structure and then put them under its formal control, especially under the absolute power of the monarchy and the god king practice.

Sangkum was Buddhist socialism that ruled based on Khmer nationalism, loyalty to the monarch and respect of the moral order of Buddhism under the motto of Nation, Religion and King. The Buddhist socialism of *Sangkum* was emphasised by the official communiqué of the Executive Committee of the *Sangkum* and the royal government in 1961 entitled *Politique économique du Sangkum Reastr Niyum*, quoted by Slocomb (2006):

Our socialism... differs profoundly from Marxist socialism or Communism. It is essentially Khmer, taking inspiration directly from our religious principles, preaching mutual assistance and social action with a moral concern for all, implying a great respect for the human person and establishing its aim as the well-being and fulfillment of the individual. (p. 379)

The new regime was a political regime that combined the traditional attributes of Buddhist kingship, the symbols of nationalism, and some modern political attributes such as the democratic principles of the modern state in the nation building process. As a modern state, populations became the object and subject of the Sihanouk regime and were addressed in terms of their health, wealth and well-being. In order to improve the living conditions of the populations, the governing technique regulated the conduct of the populations toward elite citizens. A set of apparatuses that included institutions, procedures, calculations, practices and new forms of knowledge were put in place in the process of creation of elite citizens.

Education policy was a central political program that adopted the ethics of Buddhism for governing a population toward becoming elite citizens. Education was considered as the solution for the improvement of the welfare of the population, the condition of the population, personal betterment, and national, social, and economic development.

Educational expansion policy was put in place for shaping the conduct of the population to transform them into elite citizens to achieve social and economic development. By applying the existing French schooling system, "his ambitious education policies were to attain the goal of compulsory primary education for all and to increase education opportunities from primary school to university" (Dy & Ninomiya, 2003, p. 94).

Expansion of education responded to the regime's concern with equality and security goals that had not been ensured by the colonial administration. There were three types of schools: modified Wat schools (temple schools) that adopted the modern curriculums and accepted the enrolment of female students, and public and private schools under the Ministry of National Education.

The primary schools consisted of six years (from grade 12 to grade 7) that were divided into two levels, the first three years known as the *cycle primaire* and the second three years. Only the students who passed an examination upon the completion of the *cycle primaire* and obtained the Certificat d'Etudes Primaire Elémentaire were allowed to study at the second three years. The students who passed an examination upon the completion of the second three years of primary education and obtained the Certificat d'Etude Primaire Complémentaire could pursue their schooling to the secondary education level. The secondary education level consisted of six levels, the lower secondary level from grade 6 to grade 3 and the upper secondary level from grade 2 to grade 0. The students who completed twelve years of schooling and passed an examination received Baccalauréat I and those who completed thirteen years received Baccalauréat II. Fifteen institutions of Higher Education were created between 1953 and 1967 and used French as the language of instruction (Rany, Zain, & Jamil, 2012, p. 228). Technical education institutes were also established in response to the hydraulic agricultural works and the emergence of small-scale industry (Martin, 1994, p. 77).

The adult literacy policy was also put in place. The adult Khmer citizens must learn how to read and write by the end of 1965. This measure was particularly targeted at Chinese and Vietnamese who were residents in Cambodia (Martin, 1994, p. 72). Police regularly visited immigrants if they learned the Cambodian language. This was to ensure that immigrants respected the rules and became integrated in Cambodia society. Teacher-training centres were also established to provide training to those who wanted to become teachers. There were two newly training institutes, Institut de Pédagogique in Phnom Penh, and the teacher training school at Kantuout in the countryside funded by the United States to produce qualified rural teachers who would work in the rural areas. The French-related curriculum left from the colonial administration was reformed and Cambodian curriculums such as Khmer culture and history that were influenced by Buddhism were taught in schools. In

1967, the policy on Khmerisation of education was adopted. Existing textbooks in French must be translated into Cambodian language.

Education policy was a discursive formation of modernisation lodged with the political rationalities of the state toward the creation of modern states in Southeast Asia. The modern state in Sihanouk's vision was industrialized and technologically advanced. Education was viewed as important for transforming Cambodia into a modern state. Framing education policy by the modernisation discourse was in line with the modernisation theory that was a dominant development discourse during the 1950s and 1960s. The modernisation discourse placed the world's nation-states on a similar scale of progress associated with Western culture, science and values, with capitalism and with Western politics (Hall, 1992). After becoming a member of UNESCO in 1951 and member of the United Nations in 1955, UNESCO started to become involved in Cambodian educational development (Dy & Ninomiya, 2003). The education policy discourse and development discourse imposed by UNESCO centred on the modernisation of the nation state.

The Sihanouk regime aimed to constitute the governable subjects in the new independent state and, in other words, to create cooperative attitudes between the ruler and the ruled. The governable subjects under Sihanouk's vision were elite citizens or modern citizens, and citizens loyal to the monarchy and a Marxist egalitarian regime (Ayres, 2000b) for serving his absolute power. Elite citizens were those who had modern attitudes, a modern professional conduct in the workplace, and modern skills contributing to the economic development and the politics of *Sangkum* (Ayres, 2000b) but they also had to follow Buddhist values such as self-help, and self-sacrifice for the interest of the community and the nation. Young people were perceived as the most important new Cambodian elites created by *Sangkum* through education. Enormous numbers of Cambodian youth were

members of the Royal Khmer Socialist Youth (JSRK) that was established in 1957. This youth organisation was educated to promote the monarchy, the neutrality of the country, the religion of the country (Buddhism), the history and cultural heritage, and the modernisation of the nation plan as emphasised by Sihanouk.

The Royal Khmer Socialist Youth (JSRK) must drive towards progress, the understanding of other peoples, the assimilation of their culture, their technique and their science, without surrendering the traditions and assets inherent to our race, the true national institutions without which we would cease to be Khmers but would soon be lagging behind, and assimilated by our neighbours. (Raffin, 2012, p. 403)

Youth was believed by Sihanouk to be his chief instrument in national building and in the exercise of absolute power, and the development of youth through education become his political rationality. The governing that occurred during Sihanouk's regime thus was shaping the conduct of the conduct of the populations toward elite citizens who had modern skills and attitudes and ethics of Buddhism for nation building through education policy.

Education policy was also a discursive formation of nationalism. Education was a tool for promoting nationalism among the population. Nationalism was drawn from the pride of the glorious Angkor Empire, of the monarchical, political and religious institutions, the failure of previous regimes in history and the moral superiority of the ethnic Khmer—"Khmerness". Through this discourse, Cambodia would become a modern nation by reviving the past and becoming truly Cambodian again as it was before the invention of colonies and the intervention of the outside world into Cambodian territory. The discourse of nationalism emphasized the concern that Cambodian culture and identity could be destroyed by the outside world and culture (P. Edwards, 2007). Cambodia's nationalism discourse in *Sangkum Reastr Niyum* was based on nation, monarchy and religion. Sihanouk emphasised the role of *Sangkum Reastr Niyum* in establishing the nation as the past glorious nation and that "the aim of *Sangkum* was to give birth to a truly democratic,

equalitarian and socialist Cambodia, to restore the past greatness of our motherlands.”

(Sihanouk quoted in Yong, 2013, p. 25)

In 1952, Prince Sihanouk emphasized his role (the monarchy role) in generating independence from France. He discursively declared that Cambodia’s greatness and future depended on the continuation of the monarchy. Through the discourse of nationalism, the monarchy became the representation of the national unity as he discursively claimed that “I carry on my shoulders the overwhelming responsibilities of sixteen centuries of royalty, which has given grandeur to the country and peace to the people” (Chandler, 1991, p. 64). Later on in 1963, he stressed his sacred role in rebuilding the Cambodian nation that is provided by his people as quoted by Barnett (1990):

My compatriots venerate me with the respect of a god and hold me as a sacred character... the truth is that more than five million Khmers identify totally with Sihanouk. To injure, to wound, to humiliate me, is to strike at the Cambodian nation.
(p. 122)

Sihanouk discursively declared that he was the king who strictly respected Buddhist practices in leading the nation and the population toward prosperity and well-being. Education policy was a tool for transforming Cambodia into a glorious nation like the Khmer Empire that preceded colonisation. To achieve these ends, education policy served to ensure the legitimacy of the royal power in recapturing the great past of Cambodia. Education policy was a tool for promoting nationalism among the population and redirecting the loyalties of the young people toward the king and the nation. Through the discourse of nationalism, *Sangkum* for instance adopted a Khmerisation policy in education by eliminating the French language and education system from the Cambodian education system and introducing, for example, Khmer history and culture in the curriculum and all immigrants were required to read and speak Khmer.

In brief, the education policy of Sihanouk was rational and brought into reality by deliberate means. However, the program was not totally realised. For some scholars, the failure of

this program at the end of the 1960s came about because it was not carried out in line with the realities of the state (Ayres, 2000a). The program was too ambitious and hasty and the educational direction was toward employment in the civil service and social mobility more than the development of an advanced-industrialised country. Thus, this program led to higher unemployment in the economic sector and over supply of employment in the civil service.

Sihanouk paid more attention to the development of higher education urban areas through the creation of several universities in the Kingdom (Duggan, 1996). However, his policy benefited only people in urban areas (Duggan, 1996, p. 364) and resulted in a crisis in education system due to neglect in the development of basic education. Duggan (1996) commented on the failure of the education policy in that period:

The education system provided by Sihanouk was biased towards the nation's largest cities. Rural Cambodia did not benefit from the selective expansion strategies employed by the Prince and handsomely built universities did not assist rural children and their family's poverty. (p. 364)

The development during post-independence could not redress the political and economic instability in the country and resulted in Sihanouk's overthrow in 1970. In 1970, General Lon Nol, supported by the United States, took control in a peaceful coup d'état and announced the country as the Khmer Republic. This new government sought to integrate an ideology of republicanism, capitalism and democracy into Cambodian society. The Lon Nol regime abolished the monarchy that had been embedded in Cambodia since the existence of Cambodia in the world history. The coup d'état did not improve the previous lacunae of the Sihanouk regime but put the country into civil war for two decades. In 1975, the Communist force led by Pol Pot and the groups loyal to King Sihanouk took over the country.

Criticizing the management of the education program of Sihanouk's regime and the failure of the policy in national building, Lon Nol emphasized the improvement of the educational

expansion program of Sihanouk's regime based on modernisation and human capital theories (Ayres, 2000b). However, the education crisis left from the Sihanouk regime was not addressed and the crisis become a catastrophe because war destroyed the educational material, killed many of population and required more students to become engaged in the army. The Vietnamese war and the civil war between Lon Nol and the Communist movement ended development aid from the outside world to Cambodia and resulted in the overthrow of the republican regime by the Khmer Rouge.

While the political ideology between the two regimes was different, in terms of the educational program, the Lon Nol regime mostly continued the legacy of the previous regime (Ayres, 2000b). This could be explained by the fact that from the end of the 1960s to the early 1970s, Cambodia had been significantly involved with the American-Vietnam War under the leadership of King Sihanouk and Lon Nol, and educational development was neglected. King Sihanouk had a close relation with the North Vietnamese (Vietcongs) and allowed them to settle in Cambodian territory. General Lon Nol, backed by the United States, cracked down on Vietcongs in Cambodia. In the meantime, Cambodian troops were fighting the communist insurgence (Khmer Rouge) that had been getting significant support from the Cambodian population since its creation in 1951 by left wing students from France (Ieng Sary, and Salot Sar or Pol Pot) who adopted Marxist ideology.

4.3.3. Khmer Rouge (1975-1979)

After Lon Nol took power in 1970 through a military coup that overthrew the Sihanouk government, Sihanouk and his followers aligned themselves with the Khmer Rouge movement (Red Khmer-communist). With military support from the North Vietnamese army, Sihanouk-Khmer Rouge troops seized the country on 17 April 1975. Pol Pot, leader of the Khmer Rouge movement, immediately declared the country was under a new state regime, namely Democratic Kampuchea, led by the Communist Party of Kampuchea. The

main political program of this regime was to achieve an agrarian revolution toward the establishment of a new society by demolishing all previous legacies and the old system and structure left from capitalism, western ideas, thinking and institutions (Clayton, 1998, p. 3). The political agenda of this regime was simply “to transform Cambodia by replacing what they saw as impediments to national autonomy and social justice with revolutionary energy” (Chandler, 1992, p. 209). The envisioned ambition of Pol Pot’s mobilisation plan is to bring Cambodia into a powerful agrarian nation.

To create a powerful agrarian nation, Angkar¹ (the Khmer Rouge political organization) established new values and codes of conduct of the people that were totally different from the previous regimes. The new values created were based on the three ideological tenets of Angkar such as “mastery and self-reliance, physical labor, and the elimination of culture of the old society strongly shaped by Mao’s china” (Ayres, 1999, p. 209). Education programs served as a means for indoctrinating the new values and code of conduct of people. People were educated to be self-reliant, to adopt the socialist morality, to work hard, and to adopt the revolutionary culture for the building of the new socialist Cambodia.

The Khmer Rouge’s first plan was to systematically destroy the Cambodian education system and the previous educational administration and management structures and get rid of those who were well educated. Between 1975 and 1979, formal schooling was abolished and almost three-quarters of Cambodia’s educated population, mostly teachers, students, professionals and intellectuals, were killed or exiled (Asian Development Bank, 1996). After the systematic destruction of the old education system, the Khmer Rouge installed new schools and a new educational system (Clayton, 1998, p. 9). Educational

¹Angkar in Cambodian language means Organisation. It was an invisible but powerful entity that earned total obedience from everyone. Actually, according to Pol Pot in 1977, Angkar was purely and simply the political bureau of the central committee of the Communist party (Marie, p, 158)

policy was outlined in the 1970 Four Year Plan (1976-1980) to build socialism in all areas . Pol Pot's educational plan comprised three central ideological elements (Ayres, 1999, p. 212). Firstly, education mainly focused on learning of letters and numbers was essential for the learning of technology. The second was that the technology must be associated with practice. The third was that learning must cultivate "good political consciousness at the expense of culture and must demonstrate that the line of the party is correct" (Ayres, 1999, p. 212).

Formal education would consist of "three years of primary education in general subjects, three years of general secondary education, three years of technical secondary education, and three years of tertiary education in technical subjects" (Ayres, 1999, p. 212). The general subjects for the study "were reading and writing, arithmetic, geography of the nation, national science, physics, chemistry, history of the revolutionary struggle of the people, and the Party's politics, consciousness and organization" (Ayres, 1999, p. 212). Revolutionary songs were also taught in schools and diffused throughout the country. The songs propagated the new social ideology of Angkar and the primordial role of Angkar in the revolution and in the creation of the equalitarian society (Marston, 1994).

Children were required to attend at least three years of a part time primary school and after classes; the schooling was to take in factories, cooperatives and revolutionary establishments (Clayton, 1998). After attending classes, children were required to work in the collective farms for practising what they have learned. However, in practice, children did not attend schools and were overworked and malnourished.

Education policy was a discourse of nation building. Like previous regimes, the modernisation discourse was a discourse of nation building. However, the discourse of modernisation was not drawn from the Western modernisation discourse but from its own modernisation discourse, which stated that the modernisation discourse of the state-

framed post-independence modernisation programs based on Western modernity were corrupt, elitist, and urban-centric and thus needed to be modernised or replaced with an agrarian economy (Winter, 2007, p. 4). The modernised state according to the Khmer Rouge's view was a powerful agrarian nation. Specifically, education discourse emphasized the establishment of a powerful agrarian nation through the destruction of the old system and installation of the new education model. Khieu Samphan, the Chairman of Democratic Kampuchea quoted by Ayres (1999), emphasized:

In the old regime, did the school children, college students and university graduates know anything about the true national sciences? Could they tell the difference between an early rice crop and a six month rice crop? Did they know when and where rice was to be sown and transplanted? No, they did not. Therefore, we can say that they were separated from reality... Everything was done according to foreign books and foreign standards. Therefore, it was useless and could not serve the needs of our people, nor could it be of any help in building our nation (Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Daily Reports, 18 April 1977, H6 quoted in Ayres, 1999)

The production of rice was central to the discourse of nation building and defending. Shaped by Maoist discourses, the Khmer Rouge declared “the spade is your pen, the rice field your paper” and “if you want to pass your Baccalaureate exams, you must build dams and canals” (Locard, 2004, pp. 96-97). Nation building through the production of rice was based on the principle of self-reliance or self-sufficiency. Rice was important in the new regime for the survival of its people and to develop an agrarian based economy without external assistance and free from its enemies. Pol Pot was quoted as saying “with water we can have rice, with rice we can have everything” (Kiernan, 2002). Rice was also important for national defence. Rice was used by the Khmer Rouge as a means of exchange for arms and munitions from China that were used to defend themselves against an enemy like Vietnam. The discourse of nation building was linked to the production of rice and thus justified child labour in collective farms and in buffalo stables after attending school or during the study time.

Education policy was a discourse of nationalism that emphasized the greatest past of the Khmer Empire and the necessity to eliminate foreign powers and domination and influences that could lead to the extinction of Cambodia (P. Edwards, 2007, p. 9). Through the discourse of nationalism, education provided in the school and in the rice fields through manual work was a means to reconstruct Kampuchea (Cambodia) toward the glorious past of Angkor. Education was a means by which nationalism was invoked. In the songs taught in schools, for instance, students were taught and inculcated the revolutionary spirit of “Khmer children struggling (for social change) until blood flows out to cover the ground” and of participation in “the revolution until not a single reactionary imperialist was left alive” (Clayton, 1998, p. 10).

The discourse of nationalism centered on the transformation of Cambodia into a pure Cambodian society based on united ideology of a political community that was named “Original Khmer” in order to avoid the disappearance of Cambodia. This discourse of nationalism justified the cultural assimilation of Cambodia’s various ethnic groups into the ideal of Original Khmer and the killing of Vietnamese, Chinese and Muslim Cham populations and Cambodian people who were considered by the Khmer Rouge as “Khmer bodies with Vietnamese minds”. Education policy was a discourse of nationalism by which children were educated to hate Vietnam and to report their family members who spoke ill of Angkar, who were not honest with Angkar, and who had a Vietnamese mind.

4.4. Conclusion

In this chapter, I began by explaining what “policy as discourse” in general term means and how education policy is viewed as discourse to shape human conduct through technologies and discursive formation. Education policy is technologies of the government for the discursive formation of governing subjects to act in certain ways for the achievements of the governmental ends. In Cambodia from 1863 to 1979, there were

different governmental assemblages that created not only indoctrinated goal but also many specific aims by using many tactics or technologies of the government for the constitution of governing citizens to build the nation. In all the regimes, each governmental assemblage always had as its goal the building of the nation and the exercise of the power differential between rulers and ruled. The French administration concerned the transformation of Khmer people into French men through the education linked to modernisation discourse. Sihanouk's regime and its successor reinstated the constitution of educated or elite citizens for the national development through the education linked to modernisation discourse and the discourse of nationalism. In contrast to previous regimes, Pol Pot regime's agenda was to constitute extremely Maoist citizens for their mobilisation program toward the creation of a powerful agrarian nation through the education linked to production of rice discourse.

The linkage between education and development as development strategies of the government has been reiterated later in the governmental programs of successive regimes from 1979 to 2013 that I discuss in chapter 6, 7 and 8. The question of education connected to the national development and the construction of educated subjects in the political regime from 1979 and 2013 are investigated by Foucault's theoretical frameworks of archaeology, genealogy and governmentality. These three concepts are integrated in one analysis to examine how education linked to governmental practices, relations of power and knowledge within society and the formation of human subjects. In the next chapter, drawn from Foucault's theoretical framework, I describe these key concepts and the application of these frameworks to my research.

CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCESS

In this chapter, research design and process are explained. This study uses a post-structural method to examine the linkage between the discourse of education and the discourse of development in Cambodia. Through the reading of the corpus of data and the literature between 1979 and 2013 using Foucault's tools of genealogy, archaeology and the concept of governmentality, I examine the discursive linkage between education policy discourses and development discourses in Cambodia between 1979 and 2013.

The first section of this chapter will outline Foucault's post-structural method. I firstly explain the use of Foucault's genealogy to study the history of the present education policy linked to national development in Cambodia. Secondly, I discuss Foucault's archaeology that is used to trace, examine and analyse the discourses which in the thesis, the discourses of development and how these discourses are transferred or reformulated into the education policy texts and how the discourse constructed human subjects. Lastly, governmentality provides the understanding of the operations of the government, power and politics in the policies that link education to development. The second section of this chapter will discuss the application of Foucault's discourse approach to Cambodia. The third section will explain the research population and text sample choices.

5.1. Research methodology

My study uses a post-structural method to investigate linkages between education discourse and development discourse in Cambodia between 1979 and 2013. I combine three of Foucault's approaches, genealogy, archaeology and governmentality, to develop a framework to examine development discourses that appeared to construct education policy discourse in Cambodia between 1979 and 2013. Foucault's discourse approach is used together with its theoretical and methodological foundations (Jørgensen & Phillips,

2002). In this sense, discourse theory and method are interweaved as research tool for the empirical studies (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002) .

I begin this section by discussing how genealogy can be used for a critical analysis of discursive linkages between education policy and development. Through a genealogical approach, I consider the formation of discourse in education between 1979 and 2013 and the processes through which it came to construct education policy. I then move on to an archaeological analysis. I complete the methodology section by discussing the concept of governmentality.

5.1.1. Genealogical analysis

Genealogical analysis is applied to understand how educational policy has become what it is through an analysis of discursive practices—“the constitution of the subject within a historical framework” (Foucault, 1980, p. 117). In other words, how education policy discourse is a regime of truth in an historical context of struggles of power. The object is to determine the connections of ideas as well as the rupture or disjuncture of the linkage between education policy discourse and national development discourse that created principles and mechanisms of action at a particular time between 1979 and 2013.

Similarities and differences in education linked to development discourse in Cambodia from 1979 to 2013 are also examined.

Foucault’s term ‘genealogy’ comprises several conceptual elements resulting in different interpretations in practice. This concept is often linked with his concept of archaeology of knowledge which concerns the discursive production of forms of knowledge that I will discuss in the next section. Foucault’s genealogy draws on the concept of genealogy developed by Nietzsche. According to this concept, genealogy investigates the history of the present which is not necessarily a continuous process. Foucault, in his 1971 essay *Nietzsche, Genealogy and History*, asserts that:

The traditional devices for constructing a comprehensive view of history and for retracing the past as a patient and continuous development must be systematically dismantled... Knowledge is not made for understanding; it is made for cutting. (Foucault & Rabinow, 1984, p. 88)

According to Foucault, the traditional history method which views the present as continuous process of the past is not useful for understanding the present. For him, genealogy is a new historical method that is concerned with the investigation of knowledge/power/truth (i.e the relations of the history to power) within the historical period rather than historical truths. Foucault's genealogy drawn from Nietzsche's genealogy can be best explained in French version of genealogy below:

La généalogie est une enquête historique qui s'oppose au « déploiement métahistorique des significations idéales et des indéfinies téléologies », qui s'oppose à l'unicité du récit historique et à la recherche de l'origine, et qui recherche au contraire la « singularité des événements hors de toute finalité monotone ». (Revel, 2002, p. 37)

Genealogy is a historical investigation that is opposite to "metahistorical deployment of ideal meanings and indefinite teleology" and to the unicity of the historical narrative and to the research of the origin but it investigates "the singularity of events outside of any monotone purpose" (This version is my unofficial translation to English version of genealogy)

Genealogy is not concerned with the investigation of unicity of historical narrative, the search for origins or the continuity of the past but the complex process and the dispersion of events that have created the present. Genealogy is a historical critique of the complexity of the things and processes to understand the present. Genealogy not only traces singular events in the past but the contingency of historical events. According to Foucault, things have its own meaning that were true only within a specified historical and cultural context. This position puts him different from other history theorists who admit the universal "truth" of the past.

Foucault's genealogy is a historical critique that concerned the truth claims, the relation of power and the mechanisms of subjugation (Foucault, 1997). Claims to truth are not established by rules, facts or universal truths but are connected to the practice of power or

the discourse. Foucault asserts “there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations” (Foucault, 1980, p. 27). To understand claims to truth, we must understand “Who has power? How is it exercised? (3) What are its effects?” (Shiner, 1982, p. 390). The claims to truth created subjects through the mechanisms of subjugation (Foucault, 1997). The mechanisms of subjugation concerns how the subjects constructs one self and in relation to others through the complex network of discourse, knowledge and power and how the subject acts as moral agents to fit with the positions offered by discourse (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983 p. 237).

Genealogy seeks to understand discourses within an institutional context. Foucault’s genealogy views discourse as constantly constructed and reconstructed in the bracketed time and as not necessarily continuous between one discourse to another discourse. Genealogy is the method of understanding the forces or institutional mechanisms that create the discourse in a historical time. Dreyfus and Rabinow (1983) suggests genealogical analysis examines what “conditions, limits and institutionalises discursive formation” (p. 104). The rules, mechanisms, institutions behind power that limit or enable the discourse are different within a temporal boundary.

Genealogy seeks to examine the mechanisms behind power in different bracketed times which discontinue between time periods and between different discursive formations in different spatial and temporal parameters. Power is the key element in genealogy. According to Foucault, power does not operate in the form of a state hierarchy, for example states, institutions and individuals. However, it is “deployed and exercised through a net-like organization” (Hall, 1997, p. 77). Power is spread across different social practice. Foucault argued that:

Power...which is assumed to exist universally in a concentrated or diffused form does not exist. Power exists only when it is put into action, even if, of course, it is integrated into a disparate field of possibilities brought to bear upon permanent structures. This also means that power is not a function of consent. (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983 p. 788)

Foucault views power not only in a negative way but in a positive way. It is not only oppressive but productive. He states that:

What make power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it does not only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms of knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression.(Foucault, 1980, p. 119)

According to Foucault, power is controlled by a set of knowledge and complex set of knowledge. As Foucault claims, “Finally I believe that *this will to knowledge*, thus reliant upon institutional support and distribution, tends to exercise a sort of pressure, a power of constraint upon other forms of discourse” (Foucault, 1972, p. 219). Power thus is limited and regulated by social forces which maintain power structures, political and social orders. It cannot exist apart from social forces but it is inherent in them:

I am supposing that in every society, the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures, whose role is to avert power and its dangers, to cope with chance events, to evade its ponderous, awesome materiality (Foucault, 1972, p. 216)

These procedures are the rules that must be followed for a statement to be accepted as true within a society. These rules are usually controlled by powerful factions. Genealogical analysis thus investigates the institutional mechanisms and strategies to disseminate and translate ideas and knowledge into education policy and how policy discourse functions as regimes of power, knowledge and truth. Truth is produced by what can be said or written, by who can speak and who can circulate the discourse. Knowledge in education policy is a struggle site and is constructed through a network of power relations.

In this study, genealogical analysis investigates the institutional mechanisms and strategies to disseminate and translate ideas and knowledge of development into

education policy and how policy discourse functions as regimes of power, knowledge and truth. Genealogy also investigates how rationalities of thought about the linkage of education and development have become what they are at the present by the truth claims.

Truth is produced by what can be said or written, by who can speak and who can circulate the discourse. Knowledge in education policy is a struggle site and is constructed through a network of power relations. Genealogical analysis allows me to examine the way power/knowledge/truth is exercised to construct the discursive linkage between education and development within temporal and spatial parameters.

In the policy analysis, Foucault's genealogical analysis recognizes the contingent and incremental nature of policy development. Ball (1990) underlines the incremental nature of educational policy:

Policies shift and change their meaning in the arenas of politics; representations change, key interpreters change... Policies have their own momentum inside the state; purposes and intentions are reworked and reoriented over time. The problems faced by the state change over time. Policies are represented differently by different actors and interests... (p. 17)

Gale (2001) uses the policy genealogy adapted from Foucault's genealogy to study the modalities of power in the formulation process of entry policies in the Australian Higher Education sector. For him, policy genealogy analyses the policy making not by "bounded rationality"... or "incrementalism" achieved through "partisan mutual adjustment" (Gale, 2001, p. 389). Rather, the task of genealogical analysis is to address "(1) how policies change over time, but it also seeks to determine (2) how the rationality and consensus of policy production might be problematised and (3) how temporary alliances are formed and reformed around conflicting interest in the policy production process" (Gale, 2001, pp. 389-390). Policy genealogy investigates the change of power relations, the involvement of different actors, and the problematisation in the education policy process in sanctioning policy choices from one historical time bracket to another.

Genealogy is an addition to *Foucault's archaeology of knowledge* (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983) for an understanding of discursive rules of formation of objects within historical contexts. Genealogy is usually combined with archaeology of knowledge. This combined methodology analyses the set of discourses while associating them with a power analysis. Both knowledge and power are created by the “dispersion system” (Foucault, 1972, p. 38). This dispersion system is a formation system that produces discourse and power. I will discuss archaeological analysis in the next section.

5.1.2. Archaeological analysis

The task of genealogy is “to reveal the historical conditions of our existence, and an essential element in such a task is an archaeological analysis of the discursive rules of the formation of objects” (Mahon, 1992, p. 105). Archaeology seeks to reconstruct the structure of knowledge through the discursive formation. Whereas, genealogy seeks to study the rules, forces and institutional mechanisms that enable or limit what the discourse can say. Archaeology is a method of understanding of discourse, discursive statement and discursive formation. Archaeology is extensively explained in Foucault’s work on the *Archaeology of Knowledge* (Foucault, 1972) and on *The Order of Discourse* (Foucault, 1970). These two texts suggests archaeology as a tool for the investigation of discourse, discursive statement, discursive formation and the relation of discursive formation to the (re) production of knowledge, truth and the subject. In this section, I will explain what is discursive statement, discursive formation, the rules of formation (i.e. how to identify discursive formation in an artefact or artefacts) and the transformations of discursive formation into the regime of truth.

5.1.2.1 Discursive statement and discursive formation

Foucault’s archaeology analysis (Foucault, 1972) is a methodological approach for determining discursive statements which are believed as meaningful and true in a

specified time period. Foucault provides the procedures for collecting and examining data on the relationship between discourse and discursive statement. Foucault emphasizes the linkage between discourse and discursive statement as below:

We shall call discourse a group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation [...Discourse] is made up of a limited number of statements for which a group of conditions of existence can be defined. Discourse in this sense is not an ideal, timeless form [...] it is, from beginning to end, historical – a fragment of history [...] posing its own limits, its divisions, its transformations, the specific modes of its temporality. (Foucault, 1972, p. 117)

According to this definition, discourses can be understood as statements that are created by a number of conditions for its existence. Foucault suggests that one to identify the statements in social texts, artefacts of discourse by the investigation its conditions of existence to uncover the discursive formation. Foucault's discursive statement is different from other systems of language analysis: it "... does not replace a logical analysis of propositions, a grammatical analysis of sentence, a psychological or contextual analysis of formulations; it is another way of attacking verbal performances, of dissociating the various regularities that they obey" (Foucault, 1972, p. 108). The discursive statement is not created by the common system of language or sign (Foucault, 1972, p. 85). A discursive statement is not simply the proposition, sentence or grammatical or local order. Rather it is a system of enunciation, an "operational field of the enunciative function and the conditions according to which it reveals various units" (Foucault, 1972, p. 106).

Discursive statements and their enunciative functions are co-extensive with a discursive formation which is an element of discourse as Foucault (1988a) described:

When it is possible, in a group of statements, to register and describe one referential, one type of enunciative divergence, one theoretical network, one field of strategic possibilities, then one can be sure that they belong to what can be called a discursive formation. This formation groups together a whole population of statement-events. Obviously, neither in its criteria, in its limits, nor in its internal relations, does it coincide with the immediate and visible unities into which statements are conventionally grouped. It brings to light relations between the phenomena of enunciation which had hitherto remained in darkness and were not immediately transcribed on the surface of discourse (p. 321)

In order to understand discursive statements, one has to understand discursive formations. A discursive formation involves “mapping the system by which particular objects are formed and the types of enunciations implicated” (Foucault, 1972, p. 205). He simplifies his approach by asking “some questions about discourses: what are they? How can they be defined and limited? What distinct types of laws can they obey? What articulation are they capable of? What subgroups can they give rise to?” (Foucault, 1972, p. 26). According to Foucault, this formation system is “a system of dispersion” that can be examined in four areas.

The formation system is understood “as a complex set of relationships that function as a rule; this rule prescribed what has to be in rapport in a discursive practice, for it refers to a particular object, that puts into play a particular statement, for it uses a particular concept, for it organizes a particular strategy” (Foucault, 1972, p. 38).

A discursive formation constitutes (a) the objects of discourse, (b) the subjects within a discursive formation, (c) concepts that co-exist within a field of statement, and (d) strategies as the means through which discourse is practised. The rules of discursive formation are summarised in Table 2:

Formation of objects	Formation of enunciative modalities	Formation of concepts	Formation of strategies
Surface of Emergence	Institutional Site	Form of succession	Point of Diffraction
Authorities delimitation	The Speaker	Form of co-existence	Points of determination
Grids of Specification	The Subject of Discourse	Form of intervention	Authority of Function

**Table 3 Foucault’s rules of formation
(Foucault, 1972)**

The Formation of objects

The methodological approach seeks to determine how discourse objects are formed by looking at discursive statements. To identify the discursive statement, the archaeological

investigation of Foucault starts with the examination of “the archive of discursive practices, which collectively form the surfaces of emergence of a discourse, that is, the general system of the formation and transformation of statements, existing in a given conjuncture” (Foucault, 1972, p. 130). Surfaces of emergence examine new objects or new artefacts emerged as object of concern of a particular discursive formation. The new objects emerged originally in family, social group, community or society or social artefacts and are constructed by “rationalisation, conceptual codes and types of theory” (Foucault, 1972, p. 41). The new objects or artefacts become a focus of a particular discursive formation through a system of “authorities of delimitation” described as those to whom a society gives the authority to “delimit, designate, name and establish” (Foucault, 1972, p. 42). The objects or artefacts are then “divided, contrasted, related, regrouped, classified, derived from one another as objects” of a discourse (Foucault, 1972, p. 42). The process of formation of objects simply describe objects that are related to the same field of discourse. The formation of objects is essentially related to the identification of discursive statements. The identification of discursive statements is not easy because they are articulated everywhere in the texts. However, Foucault (1972) describes the way in which statements can be identified:

What one must characterize and individualize is the coexistence of these dispersed and heterogeneous statements; the system that governs their division, the degree to which they depend upon one another, the way in which they interlock or exclude one another, the transformation that they undergo, the play of their location, arrangement, and replacement. (p. 34)

Thus, to locate the discursive statements, one should identify the significant discourse objects in the discourse field. The significant discursive objects are often determined by the investigation of text production in the discourse field. Foucault (1972) stipulates that “discourse finds a way of limiting its domain, of defining what it is talking about, of giving it the status of an object—and therefore of making it manifest, nameable, describable”

(Foucault, p. 46). The understanding of a discursive statement must be examined in relation to its system of enunciation (Foucault, 1972) as noted by Foucault:

In short, what has been discovered is not the atomic statement—with its apparent meaning, its origin, its limits, and its individuality—but the operational field of the enunciative function and the conditions according to which it reveals various units (which maybe, but need not be, of a grammatical or logical order). (p. 106)

Foucault views discursive a statement not as a linguistic unit but as function (Foucault, 1972, p. 98). Discursive statement as function means that it “can be theorised as a discursive junction-box in which words and things intersect and become invested with particular relations of power, resulting in an interpellative event in which one can recognize and isolate an act of formulation ” (Graham, 2005, p. 7). Therefore, Foucault’s discourse is focused on the way in which texts have been produced in terms of their historical and social contexts rather than the analysis of the linguistic features of the texts (Taylor, 2004).

Foucault (1972) stipulates that:

It is not so much one element among others, a division that can be located at a certain level of analysis, as a function that operates vertically in relation to these various units, and which enables one to say of a series of signs whether or not they are present in it. The statement is not therefore a structure (that is, a group of relations between variable elements)...(p. 86)

Foucault’s discourse analysis approach is not about exploring the content or meaning of texts through the grammatical structure but how things can be said or done in a particular context and a particular time. In this regard, this study seeks to highlight linkages between power and knowledge and the ways in which these processes serve some interests over others through the analysis of historical, socio-cultural contexts.

The discursive statement then must be examined in relation to its system of enunciation which is the practices that provide or exclude the rights to speak, do or be, and that will be explained next.

The formation of enunciative modalities

The formation of enunciative modalities analyses the rules governing the statements of a discursive formation or, more simply, “the place from which they come” (Foucault, 1972, p. 50). The purpose of the formation of enunciation is to examine the ways the discursive relationships are functioned in an institution by examining the structures and processes of discourse institutions, the persons who have authority to represent the institution and make the statements, and the subjects that can make the statements. The first question is, “who speaks? Who, throughout all speaking individuals, is entitled to provide this kind of language? Who owns it? Who gives it its uniqueness, its prestige, and who in turn receives it or if not at least the presumption of truth? What is the status of individuals who—alone—have a regulatory or traditional right, juridically defined or spontaneously accepted, to proffer such a discourse?” (Foucault, 1972, p. 50).

The second question is, from where is the statement made? Foucault cites hospital as an example of an institution “where the doctor gives his speech and from which his discourse derives its legitimate source and point of application (its specific objects and instruments of verification)” (Foucault, 1972, p. 51). This site is defined as “a place of constant, coded, systematic observation, run by a differentiated and hierarchised staff, thus constituting quantifiable field of frequencies...” (Foucault, 1972, p. 51).

The third question is about the subject position making the discursive statement. Subject positions “are defined by the situations that the subject occupies in relation to various areas or groups of objects” (Foucault, 1972, p. 53). The subject absorbs, synthesises and transfers information from one discourse community to another. Foucault asserts that subject is created in discourse. According to him, subject is not the source of discourse but is an expression or dispersion of the discourse in which the subject is involved (Foucault, 1972, p. 54). According to Foucault, the subject is not an autonomous and sovereign

entity. He argues that “discourse is not the majestically unfolding manifestation of thinking, knowing and speaking subject” but, on the contrary, a totality, in which the dispersion of the “subject” and his discontinuity with himself may be determined” (Foucault, 1972, p. 55).

Another dimension of Foucault’s formation system is the formation of concepts that will be discussed next.

The formation of Concepts

The formation of concepts examines “the organisation of the field of statements where they appeared and circulated” (Foucault, 1972, p. 56). The statements are usually organized in a coherent manner or in the family of concept. There are three rules such as a Form of Succession, a Form of Co-existence and a Procedure of Intervention that the analyst can use to ascertain concepts within a discursive formation.

Firstly, Forms of Succession consist of three rules used to identify concepts in discursive statements. The first rule is how the statements are organized in the orderings of enunciative series such as inference, implication, reasoning, descriptions, generalizations and specifications. The types of dependence is how the statement is established based on “hypothesis, verification, assertion, critique, general law, application” (Foucault, 1972, p. 57). The rhetorical schema is how the statements are combined to characterize the architecture of a text (Foucault, 1972, p. 57). Secondly, Forms of Co-existence look at valuable indicators based on how the statements are made, such as the statement is truthful, well-founded reasoning, logical etc. The valuable indicators make discursive statements accepted and exclude other discursive statements. Thirdly, Procedures of Intervention examines the rhetorical scheme of the text such as argumentation style, techniques of writing, modes translating and transcribing, approximation of statements, application transfer, systematizing.

The formation of Strategies

The formation of strategies provides insight into how educational policy discourse operates as to constructing meaning in relation to social, cultural and political contexts. Institutions use interventions or actions (discursive strategies) to make a discourse and to produce particular effects. Formation of strategies consists of points of diffraction (identify the contrasting elements used in the discourse field), principles of determination (compare discourse choice with other options in the discourse field by determining why some statements are included or excluded) and authority of function (non-discursive practices that impact the discourse).

The task of formation of strategies is to compare discourse choice with other options in the discourse field by determining why some statements are included or excluded. This process is called "Framing". Foucault (1972) suggests that:

Economy of discursive constellation examines whether the discourse serves as one of many formal, equally valued, but different positions, perhaps as a concrete model of a broader ideology or if it mutually functions in a relation of analogy, opposition, or complementarity with certain other discourses. (p. 66)

In the analysis of the educational policy discourse, framing looks at why some decisions are included in policy and some decisions excluded. I will use archaeological analysis to examine how the field of education policy adopted discourse determined by global and development discourses and subject positions in the field between 1979 and 2013. The value of archaeological analysis to education policy formulation is to investigate the way in the education policy articulated the possibilities of education through the negotiation and adoption of discourses imposed from development discourses and global education policy discourses.

The formation of strategies refers to the relationship between the discursive formation and non-discursive domains that constrains or enables the discursive formation. Foucault

(1972) emphasises the relation of a discourse to non-discursive domains that work together to articulate the axis of power, knowledge and truth and the constitution of subject.

Archaeology also reveals relations between discursive formations and non-discursive domains (institutions, political events, economic practices and processes)... it tries to determine how the rules of formation that govern it – and which characterize the positivity to which it belongs – may be linked to non-discursive systems: it seeks to define specific forms of articulation. (p. 162)

Non-discursive domains include the institutional processes, social beliefs, norms, political events, economic practices and processes, or problems in the society that influence a discourse. These non-discursive domains do not alter or disturb the unity of the rules of formation of the discourse but they are not formative elements of discourse (Foucault, 1972, p. 68). The discursive formations work together with the non-discursive domains to create the game of truth or false claims about an object. In this study, I examine policy statements for their discursive and non-discursive formation. Education policy discourse in this study is thus produced by the rules of formation that are not based on scientific characteristics of discourses but the political practices that make the emergent discourse of education linked to the development.

Scheurich (1994) created a new policy studies methodology drawn from Foucault's archaeology of knowledge. He named this new methodology "policy archaeology". He suggests examining four arenas in policy archaeology: (1) the study of the social construction of specific education and social problems, (2) the identification of the network of social regularities across education and social problems, (3) the study of the social construction of the range of acceptable policy solutions, and (4) the study of the social functions of policy studies itself (p.300). His policy archaeology was adapted from the rules of formation in Foucault's archaeology of knowledge which consisted of formation of objects, formation of modalities, formation of concepts and formation of strategies. Based on Scheurich's policy archaeology, Gale (2001, p. 387) simplifies the way policy

archaeology was used to study the formation of Australian Higher Education entry policy. The policy archaeology asks: “(1) Why are some items on the policy agenda (and not others)? (2) Why are some policy actors involved in the production of policy (and not others)? and (3) What are the conditions that regulate the patterns of interaction of those involved?” (p. 287-388).

Regimes of truth

Discursive formation creates the material conditions (the rules of formation above mentioned) for a discourse that produces regimes of truth to justify governmental goals. According to Foucault, the regimes of truth are not the rationality or the universal truth but the truth as the result of discourse. These regimes of truth are constructed by the system of knowledge or the knowledge transformed in the historical period. According to Foucault, “this will to truth constituted realms of activity that concerned itself with the history of the range of objects to be known, of the functions and positions of the knowing subjects, of the material, technical, and instrumental investments of knowledge” (Foucault, 1981, p. 55). The will to truth is produced by the production of knowledge which is connected to the power relations or fields of power through discourse. Discourse is the power enabling certain knowledge to be produced and known and to be excluded in certain contexts and a particular time. The knowledge/power is often regulated by institutional procedures and social forces.

In terms of this present study, the regime of truth assists in revealing how education policy discourse uses regimes of the truth that give rise to the discourses of national development linked to the education policy discourse and to construct human subjects, institutional subjects and population. A key aim is to examine how human subjects are inculcated with skills, attitudes and values to participate in the national development. My interest is focused on the socio-cultural, political and historical conditions that produce the

regime of truth of the linkage between education, national identity and national development.

Foucault's archaeology concerns the discursive formation that explores the ways of thinking about governing on the deployment of education for the national development, specifically development discourses and power/knowledge axis that constructed Cambodian education policy between 1979 and 2013. The regimes of truth created by the discursive formation provide a critical analysis of the relationship between the power of the state and its use of discursive strategies in the development of education policy.

Specifically, it provides an understanding of how policy discourses use regimes of truths to justify the connections between education, national development and development. Based on the archaeology of knowledge, education policy is a discursive formation of national development and national identity created by the rules of formation such as the formation of policy objects, the formation of enunciative modalities, the formation of concepts, and the formation of strategies.

In the next section, I will discuss how human subjects are produced by the regime of truth through education policy discourse that is a technology of the government. .

5.1.3. Discourse and the formation of human subject

Human subjects are produced in and through discourse and by the exercise of power.

According to Foucault, there are three modes of objectification that transform human beings into subjects (Foucault, 1982, pp. 777-778). The first mode of objectification is the formation of subjects through the discipline of human sciences such as general grammar, linguistics, economics and biology. Human subjects are objectified themselves by their status in the human science, for instance based on different disciplines of human sciences teachers are objectified as speaker or productive labor. The second mode of objectification is through dividing practices by which subjects are divided inside themselves or from

others. For instance, in school, students are divided between those who are able and are not able to do the standard test. The third mode of objectification is how human beings transform themselves into subjects through the process of subjectification. This mode of subjectification is considered as forms of subjectivity by which subjects make themselves available to the positions within discourse. Foucault proposes new forms of subjectivity by which human beings should be liberated from the totalised power of state and the form of individualisation linked to the state and become self-regulating or self-ethical subjects (1982).

The new concept of subjectivity is closely linked to the concept of governmentality by which a new modality of power is exercised by the state. For Foucault, in the modern state, the subjects are regulated by the technologies of domination and technologies of the self in order to make them docile and useful citizens contributing to the improvement of the capacity of the state and the welfare of the members in the society (Foucault, 1988b). Technologies of power or of domination created the rules for shaping the behaviour of the subjects and put them under the domination of the state (Foucault, 1988b). Technologies of the self are focused on the self-regulation of the subjects by their own means or with a number of soft measures of the state in order to control the body, soul and mind (Foucault, 1988b).

In the next section, I discuss Foucault's concept of governmentality that is focused on the ways of thinking of how to govern. This concept of governmentality is used to understand the rationalities of different Cambodian governments between 1979 and 2013 that deployed education as a tool for national development.

5.1.4. Governmentality

General understanding of governmentality

Governmentality appeared in Foucault's lectures on Security, Territory, Population and the birth of bio politics at Collège de France (Foucault, 2007; Gordon, 1991). This concept is used for the study of the art of government, meaning the study of ways of thinking about governing. Foucault gave the definition of governmentality that can inform the study of the art of government as below:

By "governmentality" I understand the ensemble formed by institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, calculations, and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific, albeit very complex, power that has the population as its target, political economy as its major form of knowledge and apparatus of security as its essential technical instrument. (Foucault, 2007, p. 108)

According to Foucault, governmentality investigates rationalities or strategies in the practices of government and the way the power is exerted (Foucault, 1980, p. 119; Lemke, 2001). Rationality of government is explained as a form of thinking about ways of governing (Dean, 1999). So government activity is a rational activity through a regime of practices with a particular end (Dean, 1999; Rose, 1999). Based on the concept of governmentality, Foucault explains that there has been a new form of exercise of power that is called apparatus of security that has population as object and political economy as a new form of knowledge using calculated techniques and technologies of government.

Governmentality studies the ways the government directs, regulates and shapes human conduct to achieve certain ends through governmental programmes and techniques. The governmental programmes or techniques can be more or less rationalized or restrictive or non-restrictive on the freedom of the subjects according to political forms of government (Rose, 1999). Dean (1999) takes into account the morality and ethics in the practices of government in which the conduct of the conduct must reflect people's desires, interests

and aspirations to attain a particular end. Government thus concerns the ways it regulates individuals, institutions and entire populations and the way they govern themselves.

In this study, governmentality is an analytical approach of the rationality of thought of the government, its regimes of practices and its ends. Governmentality is also a way of thinking about governing that I explain below.

Governmentality as a way of thinking about governing

Governmentality provides the analysis of transformation of the mode of governing of the state during the bracket time period. According to Foucault, governmentality is conceived as a contingent political process and a singular historical event rather than a given fact. Through the concept of governmentality, Foucault studied the way power (the problem of how to govern the state) in modern states was exercised from Ancient Greece until present forms of neoliberalism particularly in Western European societies from the 16th century onwards (Gordon, 1991, pp. 102-104). For him, there has been a new form of thinking about how the power has been exercised toward the people. There has been a new form of knowledge that is called “political economy”. This new form of knowledge was used by the government in regulating a new entity which was named “population”. This new form of government by political economy is a liberal form of government in which the conduct of population is not regulated with totalised or rigid control but by several measures that treat an individual or group as the subject of an action and give them some scope of responses, reactions and interventions. Rose and Miller (1992) explain the way in which the conduct of conduct operated in very broad terms beyond the operation or activities of the government.

Government is intrinsically linked to the activities of expertises, whose role is not one of weaving an all-pervasion web of “social control”, but of enacting assorted attempts at calculated administration of diverse aspects of conduct through countless, often competing, local tactics of education, persuasion, inducement, management, incitement, motivation and encouragement. (p. 175)

Government is concerned with shaping conduct through people's desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs and not by force. Contrary to Marxist or liberty theory that dominated the social critique at that time, the practices of the government do not automatically oppose the freedom of the subject (Jeanpierre, 2006, p. 88). In this sense, the subject in governmentality is the powerful docile object of the governance. The subjects can act, under certain conditions, as producers of power by which their subjectivities are reinforced (Jeanpierre, 2006, p. 90).

According to Foucault, instead of rigid control on the populations, from the 16th century onwards, there was a trend of governmentalisation of the state in which the discipline power was created and provided to "police" alongside with the existing sovereignty power. The exercise of power on a population draws from the sovereignty and discipline. Governmentality is considered as "the art of government consisting of three elements: sovereignty–discipline–government" (Dean, 1999, p. 102) which has the population as a key element. So the triangle movement of sovereignty–discipline–government was the genealogy of governmentality. Sovereignty power is exercised by the juridical and executive organs of the state as an expression of popular will. This power belongs to the state for it is important to maintain the existence of the state. According to Foucault, subjects are not free in this domain of sovereignty. They must respect the laws and respect authority. Disciplinary power aims to discipline the human body. Disciplinary power can produce docile bodies, "that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved" (Foucault, 1977, p. 136). This disciplinary power is a technique aiming to transform human body to obedient subjects that acts in compliance with the social values, culture, rules or disciplinary mechanism of the government. The disciplinary mechanism is exercised through the state apparatus such as educational institutional, pedagogy, educational practices, learning standard etc.

Foucault distinguishes bio power and disciplinary power. Bio power regulates the entire population at the macro level. It is not only to discipline the individual but also to put an action globally on the “species body to optimize the health, life and productivity of the population” (Foucault, 1978, p. 139). In the modern state, bio power is a new form of power that is exercised in every level of the social body such as school, hospital, and governmental institutions and embedded in economic process (Foucault, 1978, p. 139) to improve the conditions of population. Bio power is thus consisted of “numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugation of bodies and the control of populations” (Foucault, 1998, p. 140). These techniques of bio power are operated in the art of government (governmentality) with an aim to shape the human conduct toward a governmental goal.

In brief, governmentality constitutes various techniques that were established to control, normalise and shape human conduct toward the creation of governable subjects. Those techniques concerned “who can govern, what governing is and what or who is governed and how” (Gordon, 1991, pp. 2-3). In this study, education can be considered as a technology of government for the achievement of national development and promotion of national identity and for the constitution of the subjects to serve national interests. Further, in this study, the power in the concept of governmentality provides a tool for the understanding of policy statements about the linkage between education, national identity and national development and the production of knowledge about population.

5.2. Discourse theories and education policy research in Cambodia

Discourse approaches have not been applied to public policy research in Cambodia.

Public policy research, including educational policy research, has always used the traditional policy research which focuses on the policy cycle, consisting of “describing the

social problem, discussion of competing policy solutions, policy implementation and policy evaluation, and probably followed by policy reform” (Scheurich, 1994, p. 298).

Applying traditional policy approach to public policy research, the education policy analysis in Cambodia is based on the access to the data and the information needed to formulate effective policy and implement policy. For example, the Education Strategic Plan has been developed and redefined by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport with the technical and financial support of development partners using the scientific planning tools such as Cambodia analysis, Projection Model, and the result-based planning (Sothea, 2013). For instance, in 2003, Dy & Ninomiya (2003) used conventional public policy research to study the impact of UNESCO on Basic Education Policies in Cambodia. The data used in his research were obtained from “interviews with policy makers and learners, fieldwork observations, speeches of top government officials, and education statistics and indicators” (Dy & Ninomiya, 2003, p. 3). Chhinh and Dy (2007) analyse the politics and economics of education reform in Cambodia from political, economic and global perspectives (Chhinh & Dy, 2007, p. 113).

The fact that Foucault’s discourse analysis is not used in post socialist Cambodia may be because Foucault’s theory concentrates on understanding social construction and forms of rationality on which the formulation of public policies in western societies are based. It may be because before 1993, policy analysis research was neglected and after 1993, with the influx of assistance from the western world, the approaches to policy analysis and critique have been structuralist, which is concerned with the ways in which the changing of political and economic structures of the state impact public policy and empirical methods in nature.

Since 2010, the notion of discourse has been seen in two education policy research projects completed by Western scholars. In his thesis on Cambodia National Education policy: global wants and/or local needs, Crowley (2010) views Cambodia’s education

policy as discourse in order to understand how the multinational organizations influence education policy in Cambodia. He suggested that “in the origin and adoption stage of the policy analysis, policy shall be understood as text and discourse in which policies and policymakers exercise power through a production of knowledge and truth in the policy and the most appropriate knowledge comes from international sources” (Crowley, 2010, p. 61). Crowley did not use Foucault discourse extensively in his study but simply introduced a small piece of the notion of policy as discourse drawn from the work of Ball, which might not be enough to provide new knowledge on the policy discourse framework in Cambodia.

Alexandra McCormick (2012) has introduced critical discourse analysis (CDA) to “analyse the role of language in promoting normative positions affecting the quality of education in Cambodia and in Laos, specifically to examine the ways institutional normative influences at levels within the Education for All (EFA) program have influenced education policies in aid-receiving countries” (McCormick, 2012, p. 18). CDA “can be useful for identifying political power dynamics driving policy processes in Cambodia” (McCormick, 2012, p. 40). Through CDA, McCormick claims that “policy arrangements and documentation in Cambodia and Laos were identified as forums for reproducing power imbalances sustaining national elite political interests, and dominant global agendas, through their composition and functions” (McCormick, 2012, p. 40). Her research is an extensive use of CDA of the education policy in Cambodia, which may shed light for constructing the analysis framework of education policy in Cambodia. It can inform my research in term of how the international norms influence and are translated into the national education policy and how the international development discourses are integrated, flourish and are flexible enough to be embraced by the education policy.

There is a very limited study of governmentality of education policy in post-colonial and post-communist states. There are only two significant studies of governmentality in non-

Western states; the first is by Fimyar (2008a), a governmentality study of the formulation of secondary level education policy in post-communist Ukraine, and the second by Tikly (2003), a governmentality study of post-apartheid educational policies in South Africa. The scarce studies of governmentality in non-Western countries can be explained in two ways. On the one hand is the fact that Foucault's governmentality focuses on the rationality and technologies that have underpinned the liberal and neo-liberal states since the 18th century in Western society (Fimyar, 2008a; Tikly, 2003). On the other hand, most education policy research in post-colonial states or in developing countries is done by the multinational organizations like World Bank, ADB, and IMF etc. who always use empirical or quantitative research, not the harder-to-comprehend post-structuralist concepts.

Governmentality can be used for the analysis of education policy in non-Western societies and post-colonial or post-communist societies. Foucault himself does not restrict the application of governmentality to the analysis of the practice of the government in non-Western societies although he provided the extensive explanation of rationalities of the government in Western societies in the 18th. Governmentality is a general framework for analysing the political rationalities, apparatus, procedures, technologies and mechanism of the government (Dean, 1999) that focuses on who can govern, what governing is and what or who is governed (Gordon, 1991, pp. 2-3). In the art of governmentality, the government must pay attention to problems of population, economy and security by using technologies of power and a set of knowledge. While those elements were inherent characteristics of Western and liberal states, they are also found in Non-Western and non-liberal states (Dean, 1999). Both liberal states and non-liberal states are composed of bio politics, sovereignty, pastoral power and the trend to the governmentalisation of the state (Dean, 1999, pp. 131-148). The major difference is that the non-liberal states do not secure the rights of citizens while the liberal states govern the subject through freedom and measures

to improve the subject (Dean, 1999, p. 147). In short, the difference rests in the conduct of the conduct in different types of states such as communist or liberal states (Sigley, 2006).

Utilising governmentality in non-western, post-colonial and post-communist societies like Cambodia, the practices and technologies of the government are not totally rationalised meaning that sovereign power and discipline power are still important elements. However, the political rationality underlining the liberal government has been gradually emerging in Cambodia. The legacy of the socialist regimes lacks of the art of government because the practices and technologies of the government are not rationalised (Gordon, 1991). This socialist legacy coexists with some principles of liberalist government as current form of governmentality in Cambodia.

Tikly (2003) approaches the education policy study in post-apartheid South Africa as a programme and set of technologies of government in compliance with rationalities underpinning the post-apartheid South Africa. The South African state is described as “governmentality-in-the-making”, consisting of “complex and sometimes contradictory elements that provide both continuity and discontinuity on what went before” (Tikly, 2003, p. 166). The education policy thus is constructed aligned with these rationalities. These rationalities are characterised by “neo-liberal governmental principles alongside the legacy of the past of the traditional role of the state in social welfare” (Tikly, 2003, p. 166).

The method used in my research is a comprehensive application of Foucault’s discourse analysis to policy research in general and the relationship of power, knowledge and education policy process in particular. Through this approach, I can contextualise the education policy making and the pattern of power in education policy processes between 1979 and 2013. This version of research methodology is another example of adaptation and interpretation of Foucault’s discourse to policy research, as Foucault does not provide a comprehensive example of his discourse analysis. By framing the education policy

discourse in development discourse, I can explore and identify policy spaces for various development actors (the developer actors and the developed actors) to provide different views of education in the education policy process and the development process.

5.3. Research design

In the previous section, I established a methodological approach grounded in Foucault's understanding of genealogy, archaeology and governmentality. In this section, I discuss the research design for my study drawn from the above methodological approach and the data gathering methods and analytical approach used in this study. I begin this section by explaining how I have applied the genealogical and archeological approach to create the corpus of data used in this study. I then discuss how I used genealogical analysis, archaeological analysis and governmentality as analytical tools for understanding the discursive linkage between education and development.

5.3.1. Applying genealogy and archaeology as methods of data collection

Foucault's discourse analysis in his genealogy and archaeology set a procedure for gathering data. The analysis undertaken in this study is heavily based on text sources. These text sources create the archive that is used for the discussion and analysis in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. Foucault defines the archive as "the law of what can be said, the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events" (Foucault, 1972, p. 129). It is "the general system of the formation and transformation of statement" (Foucault, 1972, p. 130). In order to use Foucauldian discourse analysis of the mass of documents, the process entails the recollection of the general archive at a chosen period and all discursive traces that allow the reconstruction of the set of rules. This archive provides an understanding of the processes and politics within a field of study and the discourses that were selectively appropriated and recontextualised to construct particular knowledge. The archive is used to look for "the systems that established statements as events (with their

own conditions and domain of appearance) and things (with their own possibility and field of use)” (Foucault, 1972, p. 128). Through the archive, the researcher can identify or reveal the discursive statements.

In order to create the archive or corpus of data between 1979 and 2013 used for the analysis, I used genealogy and archaeology. Based on genealogy, data are arranged sequentially according to the political regimes of the state between 1979 and 2013 that was divided into three bracketed time periods, 1979-1993, 1993-2000 and 2000-2013. The historical documents are also collected because they allow me to understand the processes and politics within a field of education policy and the discursive formation of education policy. Those documents further help me to investigate the ways in which power was exercised in making certain choices and decisions of education policy. Using this genealogy as data gathering method, my aim was to create the corpus of data that can address how policies change over time and who (social actors) is involved in education policy formulation.

Based on Foucault’s concept of archaeology, the texts were collected based on certain criteria. Firstly, the texts can provide information on how education policy is constructed in relation to national development in particular contexts, and that may give the researcher the possibility to unravel the discourse of development embedded in those documents. Secondly, the texts are associated with education discourse of the three bracketed times, 1979-1989, 1989-1993 and 1993-2013.

From the above data selection criteria drawn from genealogy and archaeology, the corpus of data (Appendix 1) was established from documents that were derived from the following sources:

- National policy documents and regulations guiding education and development between 1979 and 2013

- International policy on development and education
- Documents that put national policies under development
- Reports of development partners on the achievement of development through education
- Government reports on the achievement of development through education
- Political speeches
- Directives of political parties on education and development
- Analytical papers, literature and publications on education reform
- Website documents.

Data were collected in Cambodia and from the websites of international development organisations such as the United Nations and World Bank. Data were received from the National Archive of Cambodia, the legal database of the Royal Government of Cambodia, the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport, the National Library, the Library of the Royal University of Law and Economics, the Library of the Royal University of Phnom Penh, and the headquarters of the Cambodian People's Party and development partners. I searched for data by using search terms such as education, development, policy, bio politics etc.

Foucault suggests that research should not only “describe the discourses of education policy in a chosen period but ask new questions about how the discourses came to be and to examine the patterns of force that made possible particular thoughts and actions” (Foucault & Rabinow, 1984, p. 76). Foucault emphasised that “the discourse must be treated not as a theme of reviving commentary, but as a monument to be described in its intrinsic configuration” (Gordon, 1991, p. 60). The monuments (documents) of history must be read for their discursive formations by the examination of the rules of formations to understand the politics or the discourses that linked education to development. For this reason, research can generate discursive statements through the systematic reading of

data that is attentive to detail. Foucault termed this systematic reading as “gray, meticulous and patiently documentary” (Foucault & Rabinow, 1984, p. 76).

The selection of statements for the data corpus has been influenced by the concept of governmentality and the discursive rules of formation (discursive formation and discursive statements) and therefore education policy statements have been read for the way they are discursively established or discursively linked to other policy statements on development. I tried to discover the policy texts that have been formulated between 1979 and 2013 with the aim to trace the statements from the past and the discursive statements that can shed light on the present education policy. I looked for statements that created the truth claims and discursive formation about the linkage between education and national development. In brief, I tried to read the discursive statements from the corpus of the data to see how education has been used discursively for achieving the national development between 1979 and 2013.

From the data corpus, I firstly identified statements that can shed light on the rationalities of government, technologies and programs of government. These statements must say something about development and its connection to education. Here, I examined the statements in other researches from three Cambodian historical periods which I discussed in chapter 4: French colonisation, the independence period, and the Pol Pot regime. At a global level, I chose statements from researches on the emergence of the concept of development and the discourse of development in relation to education since the end of World War Two and the evolution of these concepts and discourses until 2013, as I discussed in chapter 3. The historical documents at national and global levels can assist with the discussion and analysis of the discursive linkage between education and development since the socialist regime in 1979 to the pluralist regime in 2013. This data

can identify the discourses and non-discursive domains that create the linkage between education, national development and governable subjects.

I also selected texts that show the shifts in the ways of thinking about governing, using education for national development between the bracketed time period between 1979 and 2013. I also collected the texts that show the connection of the governing of population to education and development or that link the regimes of truth to ways that the population was constructed as governable citizens. Here I examine how education and development were described in the discursive and non-discursive domains of Cambodian governments between 1979 and 2013. The list of texts that I have examined for this study is mentioned in appendix A. The texts selected for close analysis in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 are mentioned in appendix C, D and E respectively.

5.3.2. Semi-structured interviews

In addition to the text collection through genealogical and archaeological lenses, I conducted semi-structured interviews. I conducted interviews with policymakers including MoEYS senior officers, educational staff and development partners' staff involved in education policy development in Cambodia between 1979 and 2013. The interviews were designed to assist me to understand the educational discourses in case there were no documents recorded. The interview was designed to help me learn more the discourse that linked education to development in each time period, the rules of formation that form the discursive and the reason that these discourses were chosen and other discourses were excluded. The interviewees critically considered the policy making process. The total participants for the interviews were 8 people, among which there were two participants from development partners, four educational staff and two current Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport senior officers.

My original plan was to interview policy makers, senior officers of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport (MoEYS) and politicians between 1979 and 1993, and policy makers and politicians between 1993 and 2008. However, due to the political deadlock after the election in July 2013 which resulted in a plenty of mass demonstrations led by the opposition party and the explosion of strikes in the labour sector which caused death and injuries, the interviews were not able to be conducted as scheduled. During this precarious situation, policy makers and politicians were very cautious in providing any interviews, including interviews for academic purposes. In addition, conducting research in post conflict Cambodia is not easy due to the power embedded in any practices. Although I am an insider and a former member of the management staff at the MoEYS, I was unable to reach policy makers who were not currently positioned in the MoEYS. The information received from the interviewees is directly quoted in the research. The interviews were taped and transcribed in English. The study relies on text sources for analysis and, as some interviews were not able to be held, texts become the most important sources.

Having collected and selected the data based on criteria developed from the theoretical and methodological tools described above, I analysed the data. I used Foucauldian discourse analysis, genealogical analysis, archaeological analysis and governmentality, and that is discussed in the following section.

5.3.3. Analytical Approach

Having gathered and selected the data set based on criteria developed from the theoretical and methodological tools I have used in this study, I analyzed the data. I used Foucauldian discourse analysis, genealogical analysis, archaeological analysis and governmentality to examine the policy discourses that connect governmental rationalities such as national development and nationalism with education. These three approaches are complementary to each other. Although they do not constitute the same elements and

serve different purposes, I am not going to separate the analysis neatly into governmentality sections, archaeological sections and genealogical sections. Rather, I will integrate these approaches in one analysis.

Governmentality entails the analysis of new forms of power, new governmental rationalities and the linkage between the effects of power and governmental rationalities. In my thesis, governmentality is used to analyse modalities of power impacting the policy discourses that link education to national development and nationalism. From the policy statements, I examine rationalities for deployment of education as a tool for national development and promotion of nationalism.

In my study, I examine the genealogy of governmentality in Cambodia from the period of French colonisation, to colonial governmentality, to the current government that is an emergent governmentality. I focus specifically on the relations between the institutionalisation of education state apparatus and historical forms of construction of governable subjects from 1979 to 2013. I examine the practices of the government in education that has population as the object of intervention through a domain of knowledge (political economy).

Some particular histories and ideas of development and nationalism are examined to explore the governmental intervention in education. Here I follow Tania Murray Li, who stated that “governmental interventions configure ways of thinking and acting not by operating alone but by working as part of a constellation” (Li, 2007, p. 9). The constellation or conjuncture of histories and ideas of development and nationalism could provide the ideas of how and what the authorities want to achieve in terms of governmental ends.

Dean (1999) suggests that governmentality is concerned about the ways the actors engage and interact, rather than what they are doing or seeking to achieve. Rose and

Miller (1992) share the same idea on the analysis of political power based on Foucault's governmentality that:

Through an analysis of the intricate inter-dependencies between political rationalities and governmental technologies, we can begin to understand the multiple and delicate networks that connect the lives of individuals, groups and organizations to the aspirations of authorities. (pp. 175-176)

Foucauldian archaeology examines forms of knowledge that construct education policy. In the present study, to investigate the forms of knowledge that construct education policy, I examine the conceptual logics and political rationalities in education policies that have been used to connect education to national development and nationalism. Foucauldian archaeology addresses the questions in my study such as: what rationalities have been used to connect education to the national development and what forms of knowledge have these policies used for constituting the linkage of education, national development and nationalism? Political rationalities are defined as how the exercise of power is justified discursively among the actors (Rose & Miller, 1992). It can be put in other words, that political rationalities are justified not by true knowledge but a discursive formation by which the exercise of power becomes rational. Foucault's Archaeology of Knowledge in 1969 provides a methodological framework that is the discursive rule of formation of objects for understanding how power (political rationalities) is justified. In my thesis, I examine how the field of education policy adopted discourse determined by global and development discourses and subject positions in the field between 1979 and 2013 in order to justify political rationalities.

The authority of a policy is based on how knowledge and practices are conceptualized and valued, "what can be said and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where and with what authority" (Ball, 1994, p. 21). Policy is seen as a set of discourses that are constructed, contested and which limit the possibilities of thought (Ball, 1994, p. 21). I thus

trace, examine and analyse how the discourse of development and the discourse of nationalism are articulated or mobilised into education policy.

Genealogical analysis

In order to understand how rationalities of thought about the linkage of education and development have become what they are at the present, I examine the practices and processes involved in the relations of power that result in the dominant representations of education as a problem to national development. From the policy statements, I examine the conceptualisation of society, economy, politics and culture embedded in representations of education as a problem to national development. I examine policy statements that link issues or risks to national development and education and that claim education is indispensable for national development. I also examine the policy statements that represent education as the key instrument for promoting of nationalism. In my thinking, I always question what forms of power and forces are exercised to justify a claim.

Following this discussion of analytical tools, I outline the genealogical organisation of the research in the next section.

5.3.4. Genealogical organisation of the research

The organisation of the study structures around the concern of the state for the national development through education. I present the genealogical organisation of the research in three different phases. The first phase is Cambodia's socialist years 1979 to 1993 in which education policy was a form of illiberality and a discursive formation of the state of national reconstruction and defence and patriotism (Chapter 6). The second phase is the Kingdom of Cambodia 1993-2000 in which education policy was a form of very emergent governmentality and discursive formation toward national development and nationalism (Chapter 7). The third phase is the Kingdom of Cambodia 2000-2013 in which education

policy was an emergent neoliberal governmentality and a discursive formation toward national development and nationalism (Chapter 8).

In each chapter, I have selected policy statements from different periods for how they viewed the role of government directly and indirectly in the deployment of education as technologies of government to achieve national development and how they are a discursive formation of the government to produce knowledge that constructed education policy. Drawing from the Foucauldian approaches set above, I examine the representations of factors or forces in policy used to justify policy statements, institutional mechanisms and strategies used to legitimise policy statements, the construction of governing subjects, and discursive formation produced out of the discourses of development that functions as regimes of power, knowledge and truth at a bracketed time period of the study in a specified context.

In each chapter, I begin with the discussion of the nature of governmentality of each bracket time period and rationalities of government of the deployment of education as technology of government toward the achievement of national development and then I examine the discourses of development that constructed education policy and power relations that constructed the discursive linkage between education and development. My aim is to investigate the different forms of knowledge produced by the discursive formation and the power relation that create the regime of truth between education and development.

5.4. Conclusion and Limitations

In this chapter, I have explained the research methodology drawn from Foucauldian approaches of archaeology, genealogy and governmentality, the application of this research methodology in Cambodia and the research design of data collection and analysis approach for this research. Drawing from the three Foucauldian approaches, I

have developed the research design to integrate the three approaches into one analysis to analyze the policy statements that link education, national development and nationalism.

In applying these Foucauldian approaches, I am aware of its usage limitations and boundaries.

During my data collection in Cambodia, I found that historical records on education development and education policy had not been kept and most of the records were destroyed after being kept for a while. It is the limitation of the document collection in my study. The reasons for the shortage of historical records may be that people including governmental staff have not valued historical records, especially unpublished documents like reports, minutes of meetings and correspondence. Cambodia and each governmental institution have not had a proper system of archival collection and preservation. The lack of a record system in Cambodia made the research task harder.

In addition, the documents that I used as data are limited, incomplete, shorten or obscure. This made the research task harder because the historical research such as this study is enormously relied on the access to records in the long historical period as possible. The preservation of archive and the creation of corpus data for discourse analysis is addressed by Foucault.

The archive cannot be described in its totality; and in its presence it is unavoidable. It emerges in fragments, regions, and levels, more fully, no doubt, and with greater sharpness, the greater the time that separates us from it: at most, were it not for the rarity of the documents, the greater chorological distance would be necessary to analyse it (Foucault, 1972, p. 130).

Another limitation is that the conclusion drawn from this research is only one interpretation of the discursive linkage between education and national development in the selected corpus of data. I am aware that different researchers who conduct similar researches with the same aims may select data from other sources within the bracketed periods and may

produce different understandings on the power relations and the discourse of development that constructed Cambodian education policy between 1979 and 2013.

In conducting Foucault's discourse analysis, I have positioned myself as researcher and policy and legislation formulation and dissemination officer of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport in Cambodia in discourse so I have produced discursive statements from the policy texts. With these positions, I am aware that I am the subject of the discourses of the policy which are spoken through me. Ball (1994) emphasised the discursive effect of the policy that "we are the subjectivities, the voices, the knowledge, the power relations that a discourse constructs and allows... we are spoken by policies, we take up the positions constructed for us within policies" (Ball, 1994, p. 22). Policy statements are regimes of truth that govern one's self and others. From the selected corpus of data, I used Foucault's power/knowledge theory and the regime of truth to create my own discursive statements which can become another new way of thinking about or understanding the discursive relationship between education policy and the national development and about how individual subjects and populations might be constructed for the development. I understand that my reading of the truth claims and the discursive statements from policy texts can be conceptually and practically limited.

In chapter 3, I began with a discussion of globalisation, development and education that had been used for the background for evolving conceptions of developments since 1949 and examined how these concepts connected to economic, social and cultural views of education. In the next chapter, the analysis examines how education was deployed in the development strategies of the government in the socialist years between 1979 and 1993.

CHAPTER 6: CAMBODIA'S SOCIALIST YEARS 1979-1993: EDUCATION POLICY AND DISCOURSE TOWARD THE NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION AND DEFENCE

This chapter aims to analyse socialist Cambodia's education policy and discourses toward the national reconstruction and defence in order to provide an understanding that connects the rationality and mechanisms of government to the national development. It has six parts. The first part focuses on the analysis of the art of governing and the governmental intervention program through the lens of governmentality in the Cambodian state between 1979 and 1989. The second part focuses on the constitution of socialist subjects through the development of education policy. The third part examines how education policy shaped the conduct of the population to fit with the national development context. The fourth part discusses the governmental allegiances and networks that provided the conditions of existence of education policy discourses to reach the governmental ambition of national reconstruction and defence. The fifth part examines the discourses of development embedded in education policy in order to reach the governmental aim of national reconstruction and defence. The sixth part examines the change in Cambodian politics and in the mode of governing in Cambodia in 1989 in which the United Nations mission and the Western world assisted the Cambodian state with the national development. It also analyses new education policy discourse resulting from the changes of government rationalities.

6.1. Illiberal governmentality from 1979-1990: The art of government of the Heng Samrin Regime

In 1979, the Vietnamese troops and Heng Samrin troops took over the Khmer Rouge Regime. This event was considered by many researchers as an invasion even though it was claimed by both governments that it was legitimate. The new state, the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) led by Heng Samrin, was established under the control of

the Khmer People's Revolutionary Party (KPRP) which became the Cambodian People's party in 1991. The KPRP adopted political programs of the party and of the state following Marxist-Leninist ideology (KPRP, 1981a). According to these political programs, the KPRP created the revolutionary state toward socialism and declared the state belonged to proletariat (KPRP, 1981a). The new state was supported by Vietnam and the socialist nation bloc.

Formulating the Constitution that laid the fundamental rules for the conduct of the population and the governmental institutions was a priority of the PRK in order to legitimate its leadership. The constitution of the PRK was adopted unanimously in the first plenary session of the first legislature of the national assembly on 5 June 1981. According to Article 1 of the Constitution, the People's Republic of Kampuchea is a state "that has independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, peace and democracy step by step to socialism". It enshrined right to equality before the law, rights such as human dignity, life, freedom of expression and obligations without discrimination on the basis of sex, religion and race. However, in practice, the PRK was a strong authoritarian state that applied a system of severe penalties against political opponents, a system of control and surveillance, and a system of monopolistic power of the party state.

The PRK was a revolutionary state on the way towards socialism. The concept of revolution constructed the new state as being in a temporal phase that was needed to be built into the long term political goals and as totally cut off from previous regimes (Slocomb, 2006). The aims of the Kampuchean revolution included overthrowing the Pol Pot clique, transferring the power to the population, building complete peace, independence and democracy in Cambodia step by step to socialism, building the party at base level, increasing military power to defend the nation, and strengthening solidarity between Indochinese nations and all socialist countries (KPRP, 1981a; PRK, 1981).

The PRK was an illiberal and authoritarian state. According to Fimyar, “Illiberal governmentality can be defined as a form of the rationality of government that reinforces the division between the governors and the governed and the domination of one group over the other” (Fimyar, 2008a, p. 13). In this sense, socialist governmentality falls into the category of illiberal governmentality. The PRK was declared a socialist state ruled by the Kampuchean Revolutionary People Party (KPRP) by the 1981 Constitution. The new state was promulgated to serve the interest of the working class and build the communist future (PRK, 1981). In the transitional period of transformation from the socialist state to the communist state, the PRK was given complete control and surveillance over the conduct of the population through apparatuses of security of the state. The new government did not secure the rights of citizens. The new government exercised its power through orders, statutes, bureaucracy, and coercion.

As with liberal governmentality, illiberal governmentality consists of three elements: sovereignty–discipline–government” (Dean, 1999, p. 102). However the three elements are articulated in different ways from liberal governmentality (Dean, 1999, pp. 145-146). Liberal governmentality uses “techniques, rationalities and institutions characteristic of sovereignty and discipline but repositions them in accordance with bio power or bio politics” (Tikly, 2003, p. 163). The bio politics or bio power is exercised differently in illiberal governmentality or socialist governmentality. In socialist governmentality or illiberal governmentality, the bio politics introduces racism, meaning the right to exclude certain groups of people or even put some groups at risk is to “ensure the security and prosperity of the dominant population group” (Tikly, 2003, p. 163). The PRK, justified by this bio racism, used coercive measures against some people who were considered as counterrevolutionaries in order to assure the continuation of the socialism and to construct the revolutionary people.

Sovereignty is exercised with “the purpose to confirm or extend the might of the sovereign, demonstrated in the size of the realm, the number of subjects and the riches accumulated” (Li, 2007, p. 12). The sovereign power of the state is exercised through the judicial, executive arm, armed force of the state. With the sovereign power, illiberal government can use violence or crack down on the subjects to put them under its control. The political oppression, especially the lack of freedom of opinion, was often used by the PRK to control population in a pretext to secure the security, the stability and the social welfare of the population. The sovereignty power was often abused by the illiberal government under the pretext of ensuring the well-being of the population and increase its prosperity.

In illiberal governmentality, sovereign power coexists with disciplinary power. Disciplinary power can produce docile bodies, “that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved” (Foucault, 1977, p. 136). Discipline power is “the specific technique of power that regards individuals both as objects and as instruments of its exercise” (Foucault, 1977, p. 170). Disciplinary power sets the standard or performance that individuals must behave at in order to achieve the governmental aims. The disciplinary power was exercised mainly by the technology of the police and the technology of normalisation of the state. In *Discipline and Punish* (published in French in 1975 and in English in 1977), Foucault created the notion of police to ensure the implementation of the rules and to make individuals useful, docile and important elements of the state. “Police” in this sense is “a state institution isomorphic with the prison, both employing disciplinary techniques to control a free population and part of a carceral continuum” (Johnson, 2014, p. 6). The police are a state institution that works with the prison and have disciplinary power on individuals in the society. In his 1978-1979 lectures at Collège de France on the birth of bio politics, security, territory, population (Foucault, 2007), the role of the police was extended to regulating the public health, social welfare and the market place to ensure the welfare of the population and to ensure the state power. The subjects are subjected to normalisation

strategies such as norms, laws, rules so that they become useful and docile to the state. Shaping the conduct of the conduct through the police and normalisation strategies was the practice of the PRK.

Illiberal governmentality consists of the trend to the governmentalisation of the state (Dean, 1999, pp. 131-148), as in liberal governmentality. Foucault (1991) argues that from the 16th century onwards states have been progressively “governmentalised” meaning that state authorities do not rule based on absolute sovereign power but based on the mode of governing individuals, populations, civil society, and economic life with ultimate ends to increase well-being, security and prosperity of the population. This trend was seen in the authoritarian regime of the PRK. The PRK was increasingly attentive to the improvement of population, economy and security by its technologies of power and domination and a set of knowledge, in this case socialist political economy, to show that it could govern as the government of a modern state and differently from the Pol Pot regime and thus legitimate the state rulership.

The PRK established rules, calculated techniques and tactics based on socialist political economy to constitute the governable subject to improve the welfare of the population in line with its socialist political agenda. The subject under the authoritarian state is under the complete control and surveillance of authority (Fimyar, 2008a). The subjects in illiberal government are not free subjects and their rights, especially their freedom of opinion, are not ensured by the government. The major difference is that the non-liberal states do not secure the rights of citizens while the liberal states govern the subject through freedom and measures to improve the subject (Dean, 1999, p. 147). The subjects in the PRK were deprived of political rights and of freedom of expression. The state justified the lack of freedom of opinion and other rights by the collective interest and the Marxist-Leninist development theory. According to the Marxist-Leninist theory, socialist systems have

successfully left the two earlier stages (feudalism and capitalism) behind, but need to establish temporarily a dictatorship of the proletariat until the full communism is created (Bertell, 2016).

According to the literature concerning the PRK that are viewed through the lens of governmentality, the governing of the PRK led by KRPP focused on the creation of different rules and mechanisms for the “conduct of conduct” and for regulating the population toward the social welfare of the population and the economic development of the shattered Cambodia toward the national reconstruction and defence (Samrin, 1980).

6.2. National reconstruction and defence: Political agenda of the Heng Samrin regime

After the Pol Pot regime, there was a distinct shift of Cambodian politics and the mode of governing. Compared to the Pol Pot regime whose politics followed extreme Maoism, the People’s Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) paid attention on the national reconstruction and defence through particular technologies of power and socialist political economy. I will briefly outline the three elements in the national reconstruction and defence agenda of the PRK.

Economy reconstruction

Economic reconstruction was viewed as a key task of the new regime in order to ensure its populations survived and to improve the welfare of the populations who had been suffered from physical and mental torture by the Khmer Rouge. The state tried to create market in Cambodia after liberation from the Pol Pot regime. The first market in Cambodia emerged as the trade between Cambodians, Cambodians and Thais, Cambodians and Vietnamese by using gold and agricultural products especially rice (Sophal, 2013, p. 268) before the currency was put in circulation in the market in 1980. In 1982, in order to generate the

state income, the state started to collect tax when the national currency, the riel, was stabilised. But the tax collection was limited and not effective (Gottesman, 2003, p. 190)

Based on article 11 of the constitution of the PRK dated 27 June 1981, “the national economy is under state leadership”. The economy of the state was an planning economy involved in the creation of the collectivisation of the agricultural products produced by local production teams (*KromSamaki*) and successively in 1986 development of reconstruction and rehabilitation programs. *KromSamaki* was created in the rural areas to involve collectives in farming and harvesting (Martin, 1989). A *KromSamaki* comprised fifteen to twenty families, so each village could have many *KromSamaki*. The harvest, usually rice, was shared equally between all family members within *KromSamaki* including children, old persons and people with a disability. The participation in *KromSamaki* was voluntary (Sophal, 2013, p. 266).

The creation of *KromSamaki* was in response to the food shortage facing the regime. After the overthrow of the Pol Pot regime, Cambodia faced famine. Ea Meng-Try speculated “throughout the country, 5-10 percent of the population, amounting to 325,000 to 625,000 people, may have died of starvation in 1979 and the food shortages continued in 1980 due to drought, the shortage of seeds and a reduction in the number of rice fields” (Meng-Try, 1981, p. 219). The food assistances from international humanitarian organisations like International Red Cross and UNICEF were necessary in 1979 and 1980 and provided 300,000 tons of foods to the PRK instead of 200,000 tons (Meng-Try, 1981, p. 219). It was thus the task of the State to increase the rice production to feed its people due to the food shortages that continued in 1980 (KPRP, 1989, p. 4). Between 1979 and 1988, the harvest increased from 565,000 tons in 1979 to 2.7 million tons in 1988 (KPRP, 1989, p. 4).

The First Five-Year Program of Socioeconomic Restoration and Development (1986-90), or First Plan, was produced following the meeting of the state planning commission of

Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in Ho Chi Minh City in February 1984 (KPRP, 1989). The plan was prepared to address the Cambodian revolution through the development of agricultural production, naming it “the first front line”, and of the four sectors of food, rubber, fishing and timber. The plan addressed the economic cooperation with Vietnam, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries rather than the non- Marxist countries.

In 1989, economic planning was changed to free market economy due to the decrease in economic assistance by Soviet Union and from Vietnam. In 1989, it was the first time that H.E Kong Samol, member of Central Committee and the Minister of Agriculture, revealed the confidential data on the economic growth in Cambodia in 1986 and 1968 in the second conference of the party’s cadre to show that planning economy failed to make economic growth. In 1986, the total product of Cambodia was only 70 percent of the total product in 1968 and the income of a Cambodian citizen was only 20 percent of the income per person in 1968 (Sophal, 2013). In this conference, it was agreed that the planned economy, specifically the collectivisation, should be abandoned because it failed to increase the production and the living standard of the population. The most serious problem with the planned economy was that farmers relied on the orders from the state to allocate material, resources, means and tasks to produce the agricultural products and they did not have any rights on the products.

In the new economic reform, the state allowed the private ownership of the land, the privatisation of the state enterprises, and the reduction of subsidies from the state. This agenda was not totally new (the 1989 Constitution). Actually, in the KPRP’s Fifth Party Congress in October 1985, Heng Samrin, the president of the party, declared in the political report of the central committee that “the party recognised the private economy as one of the four economy branches of the state such as state economy, family economy, collective economy and private economy” (KPRP, 1985a, p. 69). With the new economic

paradigm, there was a shift in the function of the government which played a role as regulator of the market, and an emergence of rich people and poor people (Sophal, 2013, pp. 343-344). However, the shift from planning economy to free market economics benefited the elites as Hughes quotes: “it offers a matrix of resources that could shore up exclusionary loyalties within the weak state apparatus, and reduce the field of action for resistance in rural villages, as a means to strengthen the state militarily and politically” (Hughes, 2003, p. 19).

Security

The security was viewed as one of the most concerning issues of the revolutionary government. During that time, the new government was often attacked by the Khmer Rouge and other resistance forces such as Prince Norodom Sihanouk’s *Funcinpec* and the Khmer People’s National Liberation Front (KPNLF) led by Son Sann (KPRP, 1989, p. 2). These three forces created “a coalition government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK)” in exile in 1982 (KPRP, 1989, p. 2). The PRK did not have full control over the provinces along the Thai borders until the victory of the 1984-1985 dry season campaign of Vietnamese–PRK armed forces (KPRP, 1989, p. 2) over the CGDK forces. After this victory, CGDK changed the war strategies through small military units (Sophal, 2013, p. 204). In this situation, the PRK created a national defence plan by creating its own army to protect itself from the resistance forces through the creation of the K5 plan which was the strategic action plan for the defence of the Cambodian–Thai border (Slocomb, 2001). The attacks from the Khmer Rouge persisted occasionally even after the signing of the Paris Peace Accord in 1991 and the UNTAC administration (CPP, 1992, p. 2).

People (Population)

People (*pracheachon* or *probeapolarkor* in Cambodian language) had been increasingly central to all social and political relations and were given new roles and responsibilities in the PRK. People were constructed as having a key role in the construction and defence of the nation; in communist terms, in the nurture of the society through their labour. The role of people was emphasised in *VonyasaOprumNoyobay* quoted by Jordens (1991):

The Cambodian people bravely and heroically stand up to fight against and expel the enemies of all eras; in order to defend the nation, defend the race (*puichsas*) and win brilliant victories at all time (p. 16).

In order to mobilise people into the construction and defence of the nation, the state party created Solidarity Front for the Construction and Defence of the Motherland of Cambodia (the Front). The Front is the institutional mechanism by which the mass engaged in construction, defence and labour.

6.3. Internal context and process of education policy or education policy making apparatus

The new government had taken different strategies of power, networks, mechanisms, assemblages of particular apparatus and techniques so that the power of socialist government is exercised and the socialist subjects are constructed as in the way the government wanted.

Under this illiberal governmentality, education policy making was a rigid top-down and centralized approach. The education policies were formulated according the central planning of the state, aligned with the politics of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party and the socialist direction of the state (MoE, 1988, p. 30). The state determined the policies from the top level without taking into account rights or obligations of the citizens and without consultation with relevant stakeholders on the impact of those policies and whether the policies could be implemented.

The education policy making process involved multi-layered state policy makers. The relations of different actors regarding public policy was stipulated in the 1981 Constitution of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the Decree Law No.17 on the legislative instrument preparation process dated 13 July 1982 and other state instrumentalities. It was a kind of nominalisation of the policy making so that the state could control the education policy process. Four actors involved in education policy development between 1979 and 1989 were the Ministry of Education and its leadership, the Cambodian People's Revolutionary Council, the Council of Ministers, and the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party (KPRP). There was no clear separation of power in the state hierarchy and there was strong integration of state administration and the management of the state staff within the party. The party and the state were interwoven in the governance and the formulation of public policies including education policies due to the fact that the party structures were established parallel to the state structures. It was generally admitted in socialist Cambodia that the state and the party were the same (Sophal, 2013). The KPRP controlled the state apparatus meaning the Ministry of Education, the Cambodian People's Revolutionary Council and the Council of Ministers through a set of mechanisms. The KPRP thus controlled the education policy formulation process.

6.3.1. State institutions involved in education policy formulation

The first key actor was the Cambodian People's Revolutionary Council (Council of the State). According to the 1981 Constitution of the PRK, the Council of the State is the central executive body of the Cambodian State. It was chaired by Heng Samrin, Head of the Solidarity Front for the Construction and Defence of Motherland of Cambodia and was composed of the members of the Front. The Council of State was given constitutional power to organise the election of members of the national assembly, call for the meeting of the national assembly, issue Decree Law, promulgate laws and interpret laws in case of obscurity and nominate and dismiss the members of the Council of Ministers.

According to article 60 of the 1981 Constitution, the Council of State was a standing organ of the National Assembly. The Council of State was thus an executive and legislative organ. Based on the Constitution and article 5 of the 1982 law on the law making process, the State Council had the power to make the Decree Law in case of any emergency in which the National Assembly could not hold its plenary session. Under the guidance of the State Council, all ministries and governmental institutions were given delegated legislative power to make regulations and rules within or related to their administration areas, for example the Ministry of education in the case of education.

6.3.2. Council of Ministers

Council of Ministers was the supreme executive organ that managed the education system (MoE, 1988, p. 30) by issuing regulations, circulars, instructions and suggestions in education. Under the 1981 Constitution, the Council of Ministers was composed of the prime minister (chairman), two deputy prime ministers (vice chairmen) and twenty ministers who were elected by the National Assembly. However, representatives of the Front and other mass organizations could give their opinion on important issues in the plenary sessions of the council meeting.

The Council of Ministers was in charge of administrative works and implementing the policy. It had a very limited role in education policy formulation. It did not function as an independent government in policy formulation but as subordinate organ of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party (KPRP). It was only used as a mechanism to make the policy making formal. Between 1979 and 1989, only a few regulations in education were issued by the Council of Ministers. Those texts were not significant in education. They only provided more explanation to the texts issued by the State Council (List of regulations, annexe of the Document on History of the Ministry of Education, Youth

and Sport (DoPers, 1998). The Office of the Council of Ministers had very little control over the activities of ministries including the Ministry of Education.

6.3.3. The Ministry of Education (MoE)

The Ministry of Education was established by Decree Law No.4 of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council dated 26 January 1980 on the Establishment of the Cabinet of the Ministry of Education. According to article 2 of the Decree Law, the MoE was:

the entity of the Kampuchean People Revolutionary Council in charge of the management of education and its sub sectors such as adult education, general education and kindergarten, higher education and skill in line with the revolutionary cause, politics of the Party and the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council to protect and construct the People's Revolutionary of Kampuchea into a socialist country. (Council, 1980, p. 1)

The MoE was an executive organ responsible for "administrative tasks in education and [to] assure the ideological, methodological, pedagogical direction of education in compliance with the politics of education of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party and the government" (MoE, 1988, p. 30). According to Decree Law No, 4, the MoE was accountable to the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council for its action. Its main role was to create socialist citizens to construct the socialist nation and to prepare citizens to become responsible and disciplined for the coming of the communist world.

The Ministry of Education was composed of seven entities: secretariat (Krom 1 or Group 1); department of general education and maternal education (kindergarten) (Krom 2 or Group 2); department of adult education (Krom 3 or Group 3); department of cadre management (Krom 4 or Group 4); centre of curriculum and text book development (Krom 5 or Group 5); department of training and retraining (Krom 6 or Group 6); and department of higher education and specialist education (Krom 7 or Group 7). Later in 1984, control committee and department of planning and finance was created and later on this committee was a key institution in developing the policy and the program of the MoE. In

addition, Institute of Scientific Research and Centre of distribution of books and libraries (DoPers, 1998, p. 9). Based on Circular No.58 dated 05 May 1984 on the role, duty and management of Provincial education departments and District Education Office, the secretariat later became the provincial education committee that was established in all provinces to implement policy and politics of education of the state party and of the MoE.

Lacking capacity, ideas and expertise in how to lead the public sector after the Pol Pot regime, every ministry including the MoE had Vietnamese “advisors” and all “administrative, political and economic decisions had to have at least the endorsement of the advisors and were usually dictated by them” (Martin, 1994, p. 217). All cadres and service were supervised by a Vietnamese officer. At the head of ministries, there was a Cambodian minister and a Vietnamese minister nominated by the Cambodian people (Martin, 1989, p. 208). Cambodian officers at management level consensually declared that all text written by Cambodian officers must be submitted for approval from Vietnamese advisors responsible for the service before the diffusion (Martin, 1989, p. 208). Therefore, it is not surprising that the governance and the education policy formulation followed the Vietnamese governance system and policy making process.

The governance of the MoE had a very great resemblance to Vietnamese governance and was highly centralized. The governance was adapted from the principle of democratic centralism that was one of the tenets of the socialist governance that was imported from Vietnam and the Soviet Union. In the democratic centralism under the Marxist-Leninist Principle, all levels and groups joined in governance and then they must efficiently and effectively implement the decisions made. As a result of this principle, functionaries were elected at all levels to represent the collectives of teachers, students, doctors, workers etc. in order to popularize the state party direction and policy (KPRP, 1989, p. 7). The same principle was applied in the MoE; functionaries were elected at all levels, central level,

provincial level, district level, and school level. In schools, the national salvation union, youth association for national salvation, and group of pioneers were created (MoE, 1988, p. 31; MoE., 1981).

6.3.4. Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party (KPRP)

KPRP was the ruling party of Cambodia with monopolistic control of the Cambodian State. The 1981 Constitution, in its article 4, legalized the leadership of the KPRP in the revolutionary tasks of the PRK. In addition to the Constitution, all education laws, policies and regulations always started with clauses stressing education as a means to serve the socialist cause and socialist economy and train citizens for economic development and the preservation of the national and political identity prescribed by the KPRP. According to the KPRP history paper of the Propaganda Committee of the KPRP, following the resolution of the fifth congress of the KPRP in October 1985, KPRP was created on 28 June 1951 in the first party congress after the Indochinese Communist Party (ICP) decided to be divided into Cambodian, Laotian and Vietnamese communist parties. The KPRP had very close relations with the Vietnamese communist party because they struggled together after being part of the French Colony. There are a number of controversies in the choice of this date by the party due to the fact the party held the power and managed the Khmer Rouge regime (Frings, 1997). On 17-18 October 1991, an extraordinary congress of the KPRP declared the end to communism and changed the name of the party to the Cambodian People's Party (CPP).

In the paper dated 1985, the party was created to combat imperialism, colonialism and its affiliated groups through close collaboration with the Vietnamese and Lao people" (KPRP, 1985b). In January 1979, a pro-Vietnamese group of the Communist party of Kampuchea led by Pen Sovan and the Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation led by Heng Samrin, fought the Khmer Rouge troops, capturing Phnom Penh. The party group led by

Pen Sovan, the KPRP, governed Cambodia that was then named as the People's Republic of Kampuchea. From 1979 the KPRP obtained its power, and its legitimacy had been asserted by the 1981 Constitution and socialist discourse in all areas, particularly education discourses by which the politics and ideology of the state were diffused to the Cambodian society. According to a KPRP statute dated 1981, the leading role of the party was to protect the national independence step by step toward socialism (KPRP, 1981b, p. 1)

KRPP was an political organisation that was able to adapt itself to the shifts in every political context of Cambodia. While the communist ideology of the party affected the popularity of the party, it had undertaken political reforms to reduce external resistance (cracking down on the opposition group) and attract more members, such as its policy on intellectuals, changing the name of the party, initiating legal reform, and changing the civil service (Sophal, 2013).

6.3.5. The Mass: Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation (FUNSK)

The Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation (FUNSK) (the Front) was founded on 2 December 1978 in Kratie province by the congress of 200 representatives of revolutionaries (KPRP, 1985c, p. 8). The main role of the Front as claimed by Heng Samrin, Head of the Front, was:

to defend national independence, save the nation from Pol Pot and Ieng Sary Clique and help people recovering from the genocide, through the wide participation from people, intellectuals, compatriots including those working for the Pol Pot regime and those living abroad and monks into the Front and the increase of solidarity and consensus in the revolutionary movements a line with the policy of the Front. (FUNSK, 1978, pp. 8-9)

The Front accomplished the role in proselytising people based on its socialist ideology centred on three main themes (FUNSK, 1978). The first theme was that the Khmer Rouge Regime, specifically the Ieng Sary clique following Chinese Maoist ideology, was a barbaric genocidal regime. The second theme was that the new regime, Heng Samrin's

regime the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK), was the true socialist regime able to stand with the international socialist community. The third theme was the action to be taken based on the data and evidence of damage in every aspect in Cambodian society. For instance, due to the damage caused by Pol Pot in the education sector, the platform of the Front was to eradicate illiteracy and to rebuild schools at levels (FUNSK, 1978, p. 14).

In 1981, the KPRP central committee issued a decision to expand the Central Committee of the Front, organize a Front Committee in all provinces and towns and increase the work of the Front in the New Situation (UFCDM, 1981). There was to be an increased number of members of the Central Committee of the Front from different backgrounds, such as dignitaries, intellectuals, monks and representatives of ethnic minorities. At provincial level, the party committee assisted in organizing and electing the members of the Front Committee in that province. The Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation was renamed the Kampuchean United Front for the Construction and Defence of the Motherland after the general election and the opening of the first mandate of the National Assembly in 1981. The task of the Front was to encourage mass organisations that were created in every ministry and state institution to participate in the revolutionary cause, to convince people that their welfare and security could be guaranteed by the revolutionary organisation and to popularize the government policies (UFCDM, 1981) , for example one of the Front's tasks was to assist in the expansion of general education. Based on the Circular of the Central committee on expanding the Central Committee of the Front, organizing a Front Committee in all provinces and towns and increasing the work of the Front in the New Situation, the function of the PRP cadre was to ensure the activities of all levels of the Front followed a Marxist-Leninist direction and the socialist revolutionary cause.

The diagram below illustrates how the organisational structure of the party, of the Front and of the state is linked in a way that one cannot distinguish which one is the party, which one is the Front and which one is the state organisations.

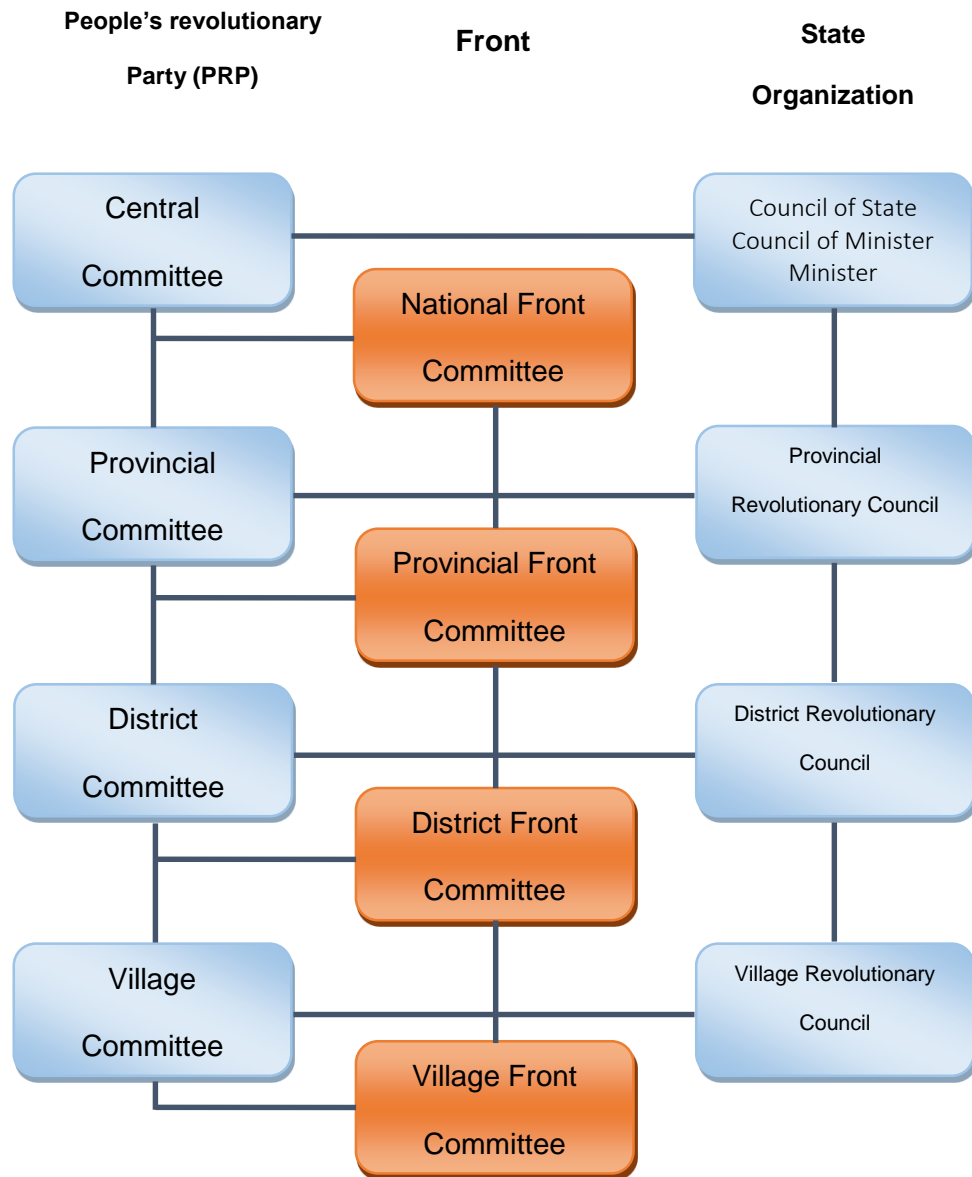


Figure 3 Organisational Structure of the Party, the Front and the State

6.3.6. Policy making control of the KPRP

The party, the Front and the revolutionary government's organisational structures paralleled each other from the village to the national level and were linked by an interlocking structure. The committees of KPRP were created from the national level to

village level (article 14, 15 and 18 of 1981 KPRP statute) parallel to the Front. Such organisational structure of KPRP was created in an attempt to mesh with the structure of the Front so that KPRP constantly controlled the Front. KPRP cadre participated in Front activities from the village to the national level through being members of the Front and the party committees.

At the national level, there was no separation of power between the Council of the State and the party until the middle of 1988 (Sopha, 2013, p. 85). The general secretary of the Central committee of the party, Heng Samrin, was at the same time head of the State Council. In the middle of 1988, there was a gradual separation of power between the state and the party at provincial level (Sopha, 2013, p. 85) and a shift in the day to day control and influence over policy making from the Party's central offices into the offices of the State Council. Revolutionary councils of the state were created at lower levels. Although according to the 1981 Constitution revolutionary councils were elected by citizens, in practice most of them were nominated by local KPRP cadre. Under the 1981 Constitution, the members of the revolutionary councils were KPRP members but the peasant who was trusted by villagers and sympathetic towards the socialist revolution was encouraged to be a member of the councils. In practice, it was rarely seen that peasants were members of revolutionary councils.

The words of leaders are more respected than law and the policy of the state. Speeches of party leaders were widely promoted in the mass media; statement about the number of students and teachers who died in the Pol Pot Regime in the year 1969 were included in political and ideological education which was provided to cadre and to students at schools, developing a culture of hatred of Pol Pot's regime. Heng Samrin, Head of the state, head of the Front, and general secretary of the party central committee, was a political icon during that period.

The Party controlled mass organisations such as the Kampuchea United Front for the Construction and Defence of the Motherland “the Front”, Union of Cadre, staff and workers, Association of Women and Youth from central to local levels. They simply implemented party and state policies in their areas of responsibilities (KPRP, 1989, p. 8). They had a limited role in influencing the formulation of policy including the formulation of education policies, for instance they were not consulted in the policy formulation process. All mass organisations functioned as transmission conduits to convey party–state policy to social groups and to mobilize social groups to fulfil the party–state structure, for instance, from officials in ministries, provinces and other lower levels (KPRP, 1989, p. 10).

The Central Committee of the KPRP together with the State council provided decisions, instructions and opinions that had a binding effect on public policy including education policy. In examining policy and regulations of the PRK related to education, the direction of education of the “the party and the state” was always referred to in the formulation of all education policies. During this period, the KPRP issued a number of educational policy statements which shaped education policies, such as Policies on Intellectuals, Resolutions at Congress of the Party such as resolution at Congress IV of KPRP dated 26 May 1981, and resolution in Congress V of KPRP dated 13-16 October 1985. KRPP policy was transferred into education policy through political mechanisms such as decisions and discussions in the State Council whose state cadre were also members of the KRPP.

The party controlled the educational state apparatus, the Ministry of Education, in a form of a chain of command from the party to the educational state apparatus. The party issued directives to guide the education domain of the state, and appoint and dismiss state staff. Educational cadre were nominated in the management level after obtaining the approval from the party (DoPers, 1998, p. 8).

The KPRP had a monopolistic power over the state. The KPRP controlled the education policy formulation between 1979 and 1991 based on the principle of democratic centralism. The state actors became the executive arms (the Council of the State, the Council of Ministers and the MoE of the KPRP) in the education policy making process. The discourses of KPRP became the normative discourses in education policy documents as a means to exercise the power of the state and to construct populations toward the development of Cambodia toward socialism.

6.4. Education for national construction and defence toward socialism

Education was viewed as a key for national development of the PRK and the State of Cambodia (SOC). The policy statement said:

Based on the challenges and the activities left from previous academic years especially academic year and strategic direction set by the second cadre congress, education shall be linked to national defence and national economy construction. Education strengthening and expansion plan shall be linked to labor plan and national development direction. Education must be linked to the education within the family and the whole society. The key direction for the next academic year is to enhance the quality of general education and increase the attention on vocational training and technical training. In order to achieve this direction, the state shall encourage labor education, vocational training at general secondary schools and technical training at all levels....and the establishment of private schools or classes (MoE, 1989, p. 1)

Education policy framed education connected to national defence and economic construction. Firstly, national defence was a discourse of the PRK centered on defending the race and expelling enemies (PRK, 1980). The enemies constructed by PRK were the previous regimes and leaders such as Sinanouk, Lon Nol, Son Sann groups, IN TAT group, Pol Pot, Khieu Samphon and Ieng Sary clique and foreign countries such as US and China capitalists and imperialists (PRK, 1980).

Secondly, due to economic change in socialist countries and the world toward fair economic competition, the slow economic growth and the decreased economic assistance of Soviet Union and Vietnam, the state economic planning system was changed to free market economy in 1989 for its economic survival and economic expansion in the

international market. Education, especially vocational and technical training and private schools, was perceived as a means to create qualified and multi-skilled workers having capacity for productivity to serve the national economic construction. Education policy was a discursive formation of reconstruction and defence of nation that created the regimes of truth through a system of knowledge/power.

The discourse of reconstruction and defence (*Kasangneng Karpier* in Khmer language) was constructed in previous regimes, such as the Sihanouk regime, Lol Nol and Pol Pot regimes, to justify and to fit with their political agenda. In Pol Pot's regime, the discourse of construction and defence was used in its national mobilisation program toward the creation of new Cambodia (*Kampuchea Thmey*) as a powerful agrarian state (Ayres, 1999). "Rice" was metaphor for construction and defence of the country (Ayres, 1999, p. 10).

Construction referred to "self-reliance" through the increase of the production of rice, and defence referred to the devastation of feudal remnants of previous regimes, intellectuals (class enemies) and the Vietnamese.

In the PRK, nation reconstruction and defence was emphasized in the third Congress party in which the Cambodian communist party was changed to the KPRP and adopted the new statute of the KPRP. The role of KPRP was to "defend national independence and build the motherland step by step through the transitional period toward socialism" (KPRP, 1981b). The KPRP was the ruling party of Cambodia with monopolistic control of the Cambodian State. The 1981 constitution, in its article 4, legalized the leadership of the KPRP in the revolutionary tasks of the PRK. The KPRP was to serve the interests of the peasant-worker class and the people, to help people from being slaves into becoming masters of their country living in freedom and happiness (KPRP, 1981b). The discourse of KRRP thus had normative values imposed on all state agencies.

The metaphor for construction and defence of the PRK was different from the Pol Pot regime. The different metaphor was constructed to separate the PRK leaders and the new regime from the Pol Pot regime because PRK leaders are used to be part of Pol Pot administration (Angkar; I briefly explained this term Angkar somewhere in the thesis).

“Labor” was the metaphor of construction and defence as emphasised in

Vonyasa Oprum Noyobay, quoted by Jordens (1991):

Production labor is the condition which protects the foundations of the motherland's independence, for to propel the fight for victories over our enemies, we need enough food supplies, tools, useable materials and medicine, to support the front line and guarantee the living standards of people behind the front line (*somoraphumkraoy*) (p. 16)

Defence and construction are possible because the people engage in “labor” (*poulakam*). Labor gives birth to people, society and materials of all kinds. It provides for the people's happiness (*sopheamongkulrobospracheachon*) on material (*sampheareh*) and consciousness levels (*smardey*) (p. 18)

Labor thus plays an important role to build the capacity, consciousness and morality of an individual. The discourse of construction and defence links to the discourse of labor and the discourse of education. The linkage between education and labor was drawn from the Marxist concept of labor that the development of humanity is “bound to humans producing themselves through labor” (Vincent, 1987, p. 155). According to the Marxist concept, labor is linked to the production and the production determines the well-being of individual and the state.

The totality of these... relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation on which there arises a legal and political superstructure and to which there corresponds definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being but on the contrary it is their social being that determines their consciousness (Sitton, 2010, p. 3).

By constructing the value of work, the PRK attempted to challenge long held traditions and a culture of using labor as a form of slavery and exploitation that subjugated Cambodian peasantry under old regimes and put Cambodian peasants at the lowest level of the social class (MoE, 1980c, p. 37). Labor was perceived as providing individuals with the capacity

for productivity and technical innovation, consciousness and morality, so that they could be masters of their own future and the society. Education connected to labor was constructed a means to create new socialist men who had capacity, consciousness, and morality to be masters of their own future and society. Labor education and vocational training was framed as a policy response to national defence and economic reconstruction.

The importance of education for national development was also expressed in the interview with a senior MoEYS official who has been involved in educational policy since 1979 and who emphasised the regime's policy on enhancing education for national development.

From 1979-1981 was a period of reconstructing and rehabilitating of both infrastructure and human resources. I call that period restructuring and rehabilitating because between 1979 and 1985 it was killing field period in which everything was all destroyed; we had not anything such as people, material, infrastructure and especially human resource i.e. human capital. 75% to 85% of teachers were killed. The Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport was mainly responsible for human development, human capital. From 1975-1979, there was no education. If we described in terms of the economic aspect, we could call 100% poverty or we started from the zero. That's why our policy was to make education about surviving without caring about the development or the quality. By restructuring and rehabilitation, I refer to collecting school-aged children and putting them in school despite the poor condition of schools and even conducting classes in the open air, in pagoda, under people's house or under the trees. (MoEYS interview 1 in Appendix F)

According to him, education was seen as a tool for reconstruction and rehabilitation of the shattered nation after the liberation from the Pol Pot regime. He presented the destruction legacy of the Pol Pot regime to justify the education policy that prioritised educational expansion as its key agenda. The education system was expanded to children and adults from various backgrounds. The new regime built the education at all levels such as primary education, secondary education, higher education and adult education. The expansion of education followed the socialist education theory, especially the Vietnamese socialist education model. For instance, the education system was 4+3+3 meaning four years of primary education, three years of lower secondary education and three years of upper secondary education. This system was applied to increase the time for productive labor, for the application of know-how to life, and in response to emergent needs for

human resources for national rehabilitation (Dy & Ninomiya, 2003). The education system taught the students the theories that must be linked to the practice, to labor and production. To facilitate this, “the state and the mass organisations at all levels are required to have measures for employing high school graduates, either in the production units at the base, in the armed force or for sending them to do short-term vocational skill training” (PRK, 1980 p. 4).

The three year plan 1980- 1982 on the action against illiteracy was put in place by the State Council in June 1980 with the key purposes to eliminate the politics of education in previous regimes and to build the cultural, political, and labour competency of cadres, staff, workers and soldiers. Literacy classes were required for all the people, males aged forty-five and under, and women aged forty and under. The goals of the three-year plan were set:

1980 was the year for mobilizing the movement, collecting a great number of people to teach and to study for building a model entity to experiment and disseminate. Each village should have at least one literacy class. We should gather at least half of all illiterate people to study. We must get 100 percent of cadres, staff, workers, soldiers, and youth and organize for those of them who can read and write already to complete the first education level. Each province must have complementary classes.

1981 was the year for pushing the movement to the top level. We must collect cadres, staff, workers, soldiers, youth and all people to study. Districts and communes must have complementary classes.

1982 was the year of striving to achieve the campaign to eradicate illiteracy. Step by step, we should end the campaign province by province in order to work towards achieving the goals with stability throughout the country and along with this to open more complementary classes. (PRK, 1980, p. 3)

6.4.1. The discourse of socialism

Education was raised as a key element of the national construction and defence toward socialism. The importance of education for building the Cambodian socialist state was expressed in the speech of Heng Samrin, the Head of the State, on the occasion of the opening of the three year action plan against illiteracy emphasising socialism and education.

Socialism places high value on knowledge. According to this point of view, the education for adults is really a basic means for building the economy and for defending the nation. Our people will practice new techniques in increasing the harvest if and only when they study this technique themselves...Cadres, staff, workers, soldiers, the people, all classes must have a high level of science and then we can build our nation and develop well and abundantly... Rebuilding the educational infrastructure and revolutionary education which has the characteristics of democracy and pure socialism is the vast task for creating a generation of people to be good citizens and a courageous army to serve the construction and defence of our beloved motherland and to advance towards socialism. (PRK, 1980, p. 1)

Socialist education was perceived as a main tool to serve the national construction and defence and to advance towards socialism. The socialist education was linked and expressed through the collectivism in education, the linkage between education and production, the development of technical education and the linkage between society and schools. The school in a socialist state had an important role in promoting revolutionary awareness, the awareness of being forged, preserving and being active in battle (PRK, 1986) and produces skills needed by and indispensable for the working force and the production.

Education policy in the PRK always elevated the importance of socialism in historically liberating Cambodia from French colonisation, American imperialism and their affiliated groups, from the Pol Pot regime, and in building the shattered nation that was perceived as the legacy of the previous regimes. One of the prevalent narratives of socialism by the PRK was how the socialist movement had brought the glorious victory of 17 April 1975, totally liberating Cambodia from the Pol Pot regime, colonialism, imperialism and political previous regimes (PRK, 1980). The socialist revolutionary movement led by the Cambodian communist group was constructed to help the country move away from the French colonisation and American imperialism that had been influences in the management of internal affairs of Cambodia from 1863 to 1975.

The Cambodian Communist group was a part of the Indochina Communist Party (ICCP) created in 1930 to gather together the communist groups in Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos

(KPRP, 1985b). The main task of ICCP was to struggle for independence from colonisation, feudalism and imperialism by following the Marxist–Leninist ideology. The Cambodian Communist group separated from ICCP in 1951, created the Kampuchean People’s Revolutionary Party and followed the Marxist–Leninist ideology. After the overthrow of the Pol Pot regime, KPRP adopted the political program of the party and the “revolutionary state toward socialism” following Marxist–Leninist Ideology (KPRP, 1981a).

The 1975 revolution turned out to be a tragedy for Cambodia until the liberation by the Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation led by Heng Samrin, and former Khmer Rouge cadre supported by Vietnamese troops on 7 January 1979. Pol Pot, leader of the revolution, ordered people to leave Phnom Penh in three days’ time (Martin, 1989, p. 172) starting from 17 April 1975. Pol Pot declared Cambodia as “Democratic Kampuchea” and started his deviant Maoist socialist political agenda to transform Cambodia into a powerful agrarian state. Pol Pot’s regime was considered as a genocidal regime that took lives of 1.7 million people by starvation, execution, and the worst working conditions. The new socialist discourse centred on the genocidal regime of Pol Pot, saying that:

Pol Pot-Ieng Sary-Khieu Samphan clique, follower of Chinese Beijing expansionism transformed our country into a hell on earth by implementing the deviant Chinese Maoist socialism and extreme reactionary doctrine and misleading lower ranking cadre to work for them. On 7 January 1979, the Kampuchean revolution with the support of Vietnamese people and troops liberated our country from the genocide regime, from the ferocious teeth of the Beijing Chinese expansionists and to create the People’s Republic of Kampuchea (KPRP, 1985b, p. 9)

This discourse implied that the PRK whose leaders were former Khmer Rouge cadre were not responsible for the genocide committed by the Pol Pot regime and only the PRK was a true socialist regime that built and protected the nation from foreign imperialism and Pol Pot’s genocidal regime. Through this discourse, the PRK leaders presented the problem in a way that demonstrated that they were not totally involved in the genocide although they joined in the communist revolution in Cambodia.

Education was regarded as an apparatus of the state through which the socialist ideology of the state was promoted and the power and interest of the state were served (Ayres, 2000a, p. 124). The establishment of legitimacy of the PRK was fundamental. On the one hand the PRK was led by the Kampuchean Revolutionary People's Party which was originally named the Cambodian Communist party that ruled the Pol Pot regime. On the other hand, the PRK was backed by the Communist Vietnamese government that was accused of invasion of Cambodia in 1979 under the humanitarian action and was not recognised by the outside world with the exception of some socialist countries.

In order to promote itself as the true nationalist group and the national identity, the PRK discursively promoted patriotism in its education policies. In the following section, I discuss how education policy was used by the PRK to disseminate patriotism as a self-promotion strategy and in the national construction and defence.

6.4.2. The discourse of patriotism

The discourse of nationalism emerged when Cambodia was under French colonisation and was used by Sihanouk's royalist *Sangkum Reastr Niyum* (1955-1970), Lon Nol's Khmer (1970-1975) and the Khmer Rouge Regime (1975-1979) as a driving force for social reform, including educational reform. The discourse of nationalism emphasised the salvation of the Khmer race from extinction at the hands of outsiders, the reconstruction of Cambodia like the glorious Angkor and Khmer empires, and the importance of state religion in the management of the state affairs. The discourse of nationalism was used or manipulated by those regimes to fit with their political agenda.

The discourse of nationalism was used by the PRK's leader to label the PRK as a pure nationalist regime, a real fighter against the French and their feudalist lackeys. Sihanouk and other previous political leaders were framed as an opportunist who cared only about

his own benefits and the benefits of his clan (PRK, 1980). Nationalism was emphasized on 2 December 1978 in Kratie at the first congress of the FUNSK (the Front):

Throughout the long years when Kampuchea was under the yoke of colonisation, imperialism and feudalism, many of our compatriots, cadres and combatants developed our forefathers' glorious tradition, and, despite innumerable difficulties and sacrifices, relentlessly struggled with sublime heroism against French and US imperialism to regain independence and freedom for the country, thus bringing glory to the magnificent Land of Angkor (Front, 1978, p. 1).

As expressed in the quote above, during the long century, Cambodia struggled to liberate itself from colonial and imperial powers. The origin of Cambodian nationalism was a reaction to foreign suppressions, especially Western influences. The Cambodian nationalist movement was created in the 1930s by Son Ngoc Thanh, a Khmer Krom, to demand independence from France (Martin, 1994, p. 45). In 1942, the nationalist movement, in a form of demonstration against the French, rose up following the arrest by the French of several nationalists including two Buddhist monks. From that time, anti-colonisation and anti-foreign imperialism became a central theme in the nationalist discourse of Cambodian nationalist groups, including the Cambodian communist party created in 1951 that then became the KPRP that ruled the PRK.

The concept of nationalism of the PRK was expressed in Khmer language as *srolanh cheat* or *sneaha cheat* (patriotism). The Khmer word for “patriotism” means love and support for Cambodia. In the PRK official discourse, the term “nationalism” was not officially endorsed by the PRK. In the PRK, the sentiments of the Cambodian people were not described as nationalist but patriotic, which in Cambodian language means “loving the state”. From this view, Khmer/Cambodian patriotism was the discourse of nationalism of the state. In the PRK, the leaders used the discourse of patriotism to demand the citizens recognize themselves as the Cambodian nation, give up their interests for those of state, and be loyal and serve the state. Through the discourse of nationalism, the PRK portrayed itself as representative of the will of the nation. As socialism was the political agenda of the

state, the PRK could use patriotism to require the citizens to love the socialist system and be loyal to the Communist party. Patriotism became the KPRP's rule of legitimacy. The leadership of the KPRP was claimed because of KPRP's patriotism in Cambodia's long struggle for national independence and liberation from US imperialism and the Pol Pot regime. Patriotism was used by the PRK to convince Cambodian people that the best way to love and defend the nation was to love and defend the state under the leadership of the KPRP.

Nationalism called for citizens to recognize the national's unique character, value, mission and destiny and that the strength of the nation depends on the quality of its citizens as qualified and pure socialist men. Drawing from this nationalist discourse, education policy set Khmer as an instruction language and foreign language was abolished from the curriculum. As claimed by the PRK leaders, these educational changes aimed to remove French influences from the Cambodian curriculum (MoE, 1980a, p. 21). Education policy set some guidelines for curriculum to be used in a classroom as a part of nationalist discourse, such as national history and tradition, KPRP legendary figures and heroic stories of revolutionary movements against French colonisation, American imperialism and the Pol Pot regime (MoE, 1980a), KPRP fundamental principles and policies and the great achievement of the KPRP in the Cambodian national building process, the unceasing efforts of the Cambodian national building process, and the struggle against foreign aggression.

The PRK presented discursively the Pol Pot regime as a problem in the national construction and defence and its destruction as a justification of the leadership of the PRK and the state party in the construction and defence process.

6.4.3. The discourse of destruction

The discourse of national construction and defence is linked to the narrative of the destruction by the Pol Pot regime, especially the destruction of the education system. The destruction by Pol Pot was discursively raised by the Head of the State and by education policies. Heng Samrin, Head of the Front who then became the Head of the State, emphasized the cruel acts of Pol Pot regime:

...the reactionary Pol Pot–Ieng Sary gang had begun taking Cambodia down the wrong path almost immediately upon liberation through such policies as the evacuation of the cities, forced collectivization, the abolition of money, and attack on family and village life. These acts foreshadowed massacres, more atrocious, more barbarous, than those committed in the Middle Ages or perpetrated by the Hitler fascists. (Front, 1978, p. 5)

This discourse was raised by the policy text of the PRK, the direction and educational tasks for academic year 1980-1981.

Under the barbaric genocidal regime of the Pol Pot–Ieng Sary clique, the country's infrastructure in the domain of education and of teaching has been completely shattered, with the educated, including students and teachers, singled out for slaughter.

January 1979 is considered as turning point of history of Kampuchians. The nation was saved from the mad cutthroats, intoxicated by the blood of millions of defenceless victims. (PRK, 1980 p. 1)

The discourse of education for development was linked to the discourse of destruction in the Pol Pot regime, and the narratives were the hardships and destruction brought about by the Pol Pot regime, including the systematic destruction of education, health, currency and markets, the use of forced labour, starvation and mass murder against the people, the suppression of religion and the destruction of the moral order of Cambodian society. This discourse was promoted by many scholars on the history of Cambodia, such as David Chandler, Margaret Slocumb, and Ben Kiernan (Mysliwiec, 1988, p. 11). Mysliwiec (1988), who had stayed in Cambodia during Heng Samrin, described the situation of Cambodia in 1979 as follows:

The country...had no currency, no markets, no financial institutions and virtually no industry. There was no public transport system; no trains ran and the roads were damaged and unrepaired. There was no postal system, no telephones, and virtually no electricity, clean water, sanitation or education. (p. 11)

The discourse of the destruction of education by Pol Pot was embedded in educational policy discourse. During the trial of Pol Pot's genocide regime by the national court in August 1979, the MoE issued a declaration on the crime committed by the Pol Pot regime in the education sector (MoE, 1980a, p. 50). The declaration started by recalling the liberation of Cambodia from American imperialism and then described in six pages the criminal acts committed by the Pol Pot and Ieng Sary clique in the education sector. The declaration focused on the murder of teachers and educated people by the Pol Pot regime, destruction of schools, libraries, materials, and schooling situation in Pol Pot regime. The figures on the destruction and damage in the education sector were always displayed in policy statements. The representations were reinforced by the descriptions of the destruction given by scholars and people who had been through this regime. The figures described how "in 1979 about 80 percent of teachers were killed. Of the 22,000 teachers in Cambodia in 1968, 7,000 remained in 1979 but only 5,000 returned to teaching and only 300 intellectuals were left after 7 January 1979" (MoE, 1980a, p. 48).

Education Level	In 1968	On 1 August 1979
Higher Education		
- Number of Lecturers	725	50
- Number of Students	11,000	440
Second and third level of Education		
- Number of Teachers	2,300	207
- Number of Students	106,000	5,300
First level of Education		
- Number of Teachers	21, 311	2,793
- Number of Students	991,000	322,379
Intellectuals from abroad		85 intellectuals on 1 July 1979

Table 4 Comparative figure of teachers and students in 1968 and 1979

Source: Educational Magazine, issue no.1 (MoE, 1980a, p. 48)

The figures in the education sector after the Pol Pot regime were always compared to those in the Sihanouk regime in which the education sector was well developed. For instance, the figures state that in 1969 in the Kingdom, “there were 5,275 primary schools, 146 secondary schools, and 9 institutes of higher education” (Clayton, 1998, p. 5). After the Pol Pot regime, almost all of the schools were destroyed and some were used as prisons, for example the Tuol Svay Prey high school was transformed to the well-known S-21 prison, and the Faculty of Pedagogy was used for storing vehicles and beer bottles (Clayton, 1998; MoE, 1980a). Pol Pot’s regime had left 1,025,794 adult illiterates (Ayres, 2000a, p. 139), especially women and the people living in the mountain areas. Through this discourse of destruction, the PRK presented the difficulties that the new regime faced in education development and national development that resulted from the US imperialist war in Cambodia and the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. In doing so, the state could assert its legitimacy and the role of the state and the party as true carriers of the revolution that had liberated the people from the genocide regime of Pol Pot, and as protector of the population from a return of the Khmer Rouge.

The destruction of the Pol Pot regime, especially the killing of human resources, created an impression that education was important for the national construction and defence. Facing the dramatic situation of Cambodia, Cambodia ‘needs new socialist men’ for constructing and defending the nation, according to the PRK leaders and its policies. Through a number of discourses that connected education to national construction and defence, the aim of the PRK was to produce socialist subjects.

6.5. Constituting socialist subjects toward national reconstruction and defence

The constitution of socialist subjects was a key task of the Heng Samrin regime. In order to ensure that the population behaved properly to fit with the political rational socialist governmentality of the Heng Samrin regime, subjects were constituted not to exercise their rights and freedoms but to be obedient and controlled by the state (Dean, 1999, p. 147). In order to create the socialist subject to build a powerful socialist state, the PRK built a new socialist education system (*krih oprum thmey sangkumniyum*). The development vision of the PRK was to create a powerful socialist state. Education was viewed as a key area of policy making of the PRK for the creation of skilled workers to reach this vision. The linkage between education and the creation of the socialist state was emphasized by the Decree Law on the education system as below:

The essential objective of the education system is to form new and good hard-working citizens with a kitbag of culture, of technical awareness, of a capacity for work, of good health and of a revolutionary morality ready to serve the Kampuchean revolution. Our schools must be organized as cultural centres open to all, [and] as a system of defence against the propaganda of the enemies. (PRK, 1986, p. 1)

Education policy was a machinery of the state to create new hardworking socialist men equipped with adequate attributes such as culture, technique and multiple skills, labor capacity and willing to work, good health, morality, true patriotism and internationalism to serve the Cambodia revolution and build the socialist state. In September 1980, the Revolutionary Council issued guidelines on the direction and educational task for the academic year 1980-1981 and the guidelines on administration and management of the first level of general education (grade 1 to grade 4). According these guidelines, the aim of education was to provide basics to transform students and pupils into good citizens, good workers and good soldiers with adequate attributes (MoE., 1981, p. 7).

The creation of the socialist state was linked to the development of the economy of the nation especially from 1985 when the state introduced the private economy. The rationality

of the education policy was to respond to the gradual change in economic paradigm that created an increased demand for skilled workers. The conduct of students was shaped for them to become qualified skill and multi skilled workers or laborers to serve the production process and the national economy. Higher and technical education was viewed as having an important role in the development of the economy. The education policy created skilled workers equipped with knowledge and skill in the production process.

The main objective of higher and technical education is to provide good political training and good technical training. Political training for all the staff should promote an ideology concerned with [the] objectives of socialism. [We] need to recognize that the most important thing pertains to political training and ideology of students (MoE, 1980b, p. 17).

Education policy served to create skilled workers for the production process and, at the same time, highly trained and moral cadres, police force and soldiers who were able to work with the mass movements and provide labor at the base level of production to defend the nation. In order to construct new socialist men, education was arranged according to socialist education ideas applied in other socialist countries. Education must be composed of five elements: moral and ideological education, intellectual education, art in education, multi skilled education, and physical education. The school had an important role to build the socialist citizens toward the establishment of socialist society. In November 1986, the State Council adopted a decree law on the education system. Article 1 of the decree law stipulated that:

School for general education should stand under the management of the state and should practice the general objectives of training students to become good workers with the pure spirit of loving the nation allied with the solidarity of international socialism, with proper conduct and revolutionary solidarity, with basic knowledge, with competency of labor, with bounteous health in order to fulfil tasks well into the future in an occupation towards serving the needs of defending and building the motherland.(PRK, 1986, pp. 1-2)

Article 6 of Decree law set the content of the curriculum for the creation of new socialist men. The curriculum “is based on political consciousness, revolutionary morality, and basic knowledge for competency in modern labor skills, production, agriculture, craft and

industry appropriate for the real situation of the Kampuchea revolution” (PRK, 1986, p. 3). According to this law, the new socialist man whom the state wished to build was composed of some characteristics. The first characteristic was political consciousness or class consciousness. Socialist men must adopt political consciousness or class consciousness. They acted against the bourgeoisie, colonialism, imperialism and feudalism. They avoided relationships with people who were considered as enemies of the revolution and who could put the socialist revolution in danger. Education policy imposed that students learn about the genocidal regime of the Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and Kheu Samphan cliques and criminal acts, such as the destruction wrought by this clique in the education sector which included the infrastructure and the killing of educated persons inspired by extremist Maoist socialism. Education policy was a machinery to make students aware of enemies and ready to attack the persons or regimes, for example American imperialism, and of the ideas that could be an obstacle for the progress of the socialist revolution, and follow strictly the politics and the direction of the Front and the Kampuchean Revolutionary Council (PRK, 1980 p. 4).

Secondly, the new socialist man must be equipped with revolutionary morality. The new socialist man had no ambitions for personal gain and fame. She or he was ready to sacrifice his own personal interest for the revolutionary cause. The new socialist man must support the solidarity with other communist countries. Education taught students to love, serve and protect the nation toward socialism, i.e. to become true patriots and adopt the spirit of solidarity of the three Communist countries in Indochina (Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam) and the Soviet Union and others socialist countries (MoE, 1980b, p. 2).

Thirdly, the new socialist man must study Marxism–Leninism ideology and increasingly raise their understanding. Education was to inculcate students with an ideology concerned with serving and protecting the nation toward socialism (MoE, 1980b, p. 7). Students at

high schools and higher education studied the Marxist–Leninist theories, World Revolutionary history, History of the Cambodian Revolution, the situation and the Role of the Revolution and the Policy of the Party.

Fourthly, labor was associated with production. Labor represented the working class so the new socialist man was the vanguard of the working class. New socialist men must engage in labor without distinction between labor and mental labor. Education policy set the combination of education and productive labor (PRK, 1980). All students were required to engage in productive labor that was part of the school work. They attended class in the morning and worked on the farms in the afternoon, for example. Other groups of students worked in the morning and attended class in the afternoon (MoE, 1980a, p. 21). Another approach was that the schools created factories or farms, or the factories created the schools. Directive for implementing the decree law concerning the system of general education, No.04SRNN, of Council of Minister dated of 22 August 1987 emphasized that:

All schools should have production base of their own such as timber or metal workshops, sewing or weaving... vegetable gardens or rice fields for serving the work of practice and research and clean relations with nearby production units for the purpose of work experience. (PRK, 1987, p. 2)

Lastly, the Kampuchean new socialist man must have varied skills to serve in different productive activities. They could be shifted from one activity to another when there was a need of the state. In this sense, socialist man should be at the same time peasant, worker, student or soldier. Education policy was designed to provide multiple skills to the students.

Intellectuals were considered as an obstacle for the PRK toward the creation of socialism.

They appeared to be liberal, individual, and lacked political and class consciousness.

These attitudes and behaviour were considered as contradictory to the proletariat behaviour and way of living. The PRK used coercive measures to crack down on those intellectuals, for example tens of thousands of political prisoners were put in prison T-3,

well-known and one of the largest prisons in the country, and tortured (Martin, 1994, p. 226). The crackdown was used with other control mechanisms to create an effective control over intellectuals.

In contrast, the state party (Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party—KPRP) later formulated the Policy on Intellectuals by which the state party recognised the positive role of intellectuals in the country and abroad in national building, recruited more educated people into the state party, provided training and upgraded educational qualifications of cadres and workers of the state party to higher education institutions and improved their living and working conditions (KPRP, 1985a) .

In the analysis of education policy above, the state connected the problem of national construction and defence and education with the construction of socialist men. In other words, education policy was a technology of Heng Samrin's government for the constituting of socialist subjects that would be under total control and surveillance of the authority and subjects that would have socialist political consciousness and skills for serving the national reconstruction and defence and the socialist economy of the state.

In the next section, I briefly discuss how Cambodian construction and defence and the creation of socialist subjects was involved with the geopolitics of Cambodia during the Cold War period.

6.6. Cambodian People's solidarity with Vietnam and socialist countries—Geopolitics of Cambodia during the Cold War period

The story of linkage of national construction and defence and education of the PRK and the State of Cambodia (SoC) can be considered as geopolitics. Cambodia was liberated from the Pol Pot regime with military support from Vietnamese troops in December 1978 and early 1979. The Vietnamese intervention in Cambodia was viewed as an invasion of Cambodia and was politically and economically condemned by the United Nations,

Western countries, Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and China.

Internationally, during the Cold War period, the Cambodian conflict resulted in two rival factions of two powerful blocs, the first faction composed of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK)², China, AESAN and the United States, and the other group was the PRK, Vietnam and the Soviet bloc (Deth, 2009). Both factions provided funds and support to their Cambodian counterparts in order to serve their interest and to gain power and influence in the region and in the world. Cambodia became a site for intervention and geopolitical expansion of the two blocs of the Cold War. For instance, the United States provided support to GGDK in order to challenge the Soviet influence in Southeast Asia. China was concerned about the increasing Vietnamese influence in the region. Vietnam and the Soviet Union wanted to prevent the Western and Chinese influence in Southeast Asia through the use of Cambodia in its geopolitical strategies (Buszynski, 1986).

Facing the political and economic crisis after the collapse of the Pol Pot regime, without the development assistance from Western world, the PRK sought support from Vietnam and the Soviet bloc to reconstruct the shattered nation of Cambodia. The development assistance of the Soviet bloc and Vietnam represented Soviet and Vietnamese hegemony in Cambodia. The hegemonic relation between the Soviet bloc and Cambodia during the Cold War was increasingly played out through the socialist aid for development of the Third World (Breslauer, 1987; Noguee, 1980). This aid was central to the introduction of the socialist development framework for the Soviet-led promotion of national development in

² The Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea (CGDK) was formed in 1982 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. This Coalition was composed of the Khmer Rouge, FUNCINPEC (a royalist resistance movement led by Sihanouk) and the KPNLF (a republican resistance movement led by Son Sann, a former Sangkum era prime minister). The main purpose of the coalition was to remove Vietnam from Cambodia). This coalition had been recognised by the United Nations as a legal representative of Cambodia and had the seat at the UN General Assembly until the end of the Cold War.

Cambodia and was a tool to reach its strategic goal (Guan-Fu, 1983). Soviet development aid to Cambodia was a form of power relation exerted by the Soviet blocs over Cambodia as had been done in other Third World countries (Escobar, 1995). This power relation was produced by the discourse of solidarity of the socialist development. The discourse of solidarity was constructed by the Soviet blocs to impose colonial powers to provide development aid to the Third World due to the damage the former caused to the latter (Burnell, 1997). This discourse labelled the relation between the Soviet blocs and developing countries as equal and based on mutual advantage (Burnell, 1997). Based on this discourse, it was not compulsory for the Soviet blocs to give the aid to the Third World but the aid was based on generosity and mutual assistance. However, the discourse of solidarity merely reformulated the power relation or domination between the Socialist blocs and the aid recipient countries.

The relationship between Vietnam and the PRK dates back to the colonial period when nationalist groups in Indochina created the Indochinese Communist Party (ICP) for the revolutionary and independence cause in 1951. This relationship had been gradually hegemonic in its informal form and became obviously hegemonic following Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia at the end of 1978 and occupation of the country for the next decade (Emmers, 2005). Vietnamese hegemony over Cambodia was exercised through its military and territorial expansion following the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation with Cambodia in 1979 (Emmers, 2005). In the years following the invasion, along with its coercive strategy, Vietnam had employed non-coercive means to create the hegemonic relation in Cambodia, such as offering aid development to Cambodia, installing Vietnamese advisors in all governmental institutions and diffusing its socialist ideology at all layers of Cambodian administration and society. This hegemonic relationship was generally criticised by the public and contested by Cambodian resistance forces and its allies. It was against this context that the PRK backed by Vietnam used its state party

apparatus as a discursive tool to increase the legitimacy and the credibility with the public. Education policy linked to national reconstruction and defence was a discursive formation of the PRK to reach this strategic goal.

The linkage between education and development is an apparatus of geopolitical governance and development. Education policy was an arena for propagating and promoting the discourse of solidarity with Vietnam and socialist countries. The Fourth party congress in 1981 emphasized the discourse of solidarity with Vietnam and socialist countries as below:

Our party closely associated authentic patriotism with brilliant proletarian internationalism. The line of the Party is to raise high the two banners of patriotism and international solidarity, solidarity with the Soviet Union which is the strong bulwark of peace and socialism in the world, solidarity with every socialist country, solidarity with the revolutionary forces and progressive forces in the world, and, foremost solidarity with Vietnam to develop the alliance of the three countries of Indochina (KPRP, 1981a, p. 5)

The KPRP had always been presented as a subcommittee of ICP before its separation in 1951. According to the KPRP history paper of the Propaganda committee of the KPRP following the resolution of the fifth congress of the KPRP in October 1985 (KPRP, 1985b), KPRP was created on 28 June 1951 in the first party congress after the Indochinese Communist Party (ICP) decided to be divided into Cambodian, Laotian and Vietnamese communist parties. The role of the party was constructed as combating imperialism, colonialism and its affiliated parties through close collaboration with the Vietnamese and Lao people. After the separation, the KPRP was still represented as the successor of the cause of ICP in struggling against colonialism and imperialism to strengthen the national independency, and to ensure development and peace in society. The militant solidarity between Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos was constructed by the KPRP as having emerged in the colonial period when the three countries were under the same French colonisation and they struggled together for independence, freedom and socialism and this solidarity had continued until the present.

However, the solidarity between Cambodia and Vietnam was discursively reinforced by the state and its policies. Heng Samrin, the head of the state, head of the Front and Secretary General of the PRK, always emphasised gratefulness to Ho Chi Minh for bringing in Marxism–Leninism to fight the colonisation, and to the Vietnamese government and Vietnamese people for helping Cambodia move away from the Pol Pot regime as below:

For the next three years and a half, Cambodia was engulfed in a tragedy 'unknown in the history of mankind', until: Faced with the danger of extinction of the nation and loss of the country about to fall in the hands of the reactionary Beijing Chinese expansionists, in December 1978, a number of true Kampuchean communists gathered patriotic forces and created the Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation, and incited the people to rise up and annihilate the genocidal regime. In response to the pressing (cham bach) wishes of the Kampuchean revolution, the Vietnamese people and army helped us truthfully in every way to fight for the historic victory of 7 January 1979, to destroy completely the regime of Pol Pot, to put an end to the danger of genocide, to liberate our country from the ferocious teeth of the Beijing Chinese expansionists, and to found the People's Republic of Kampuchea (KPRP, 1985c, p. 6)

The narrative of the development discourse was the solidarity with socialist countries and developing countries, including the states with a different social system and other people regardless of political orientation, especially those struggling to win and consolidate national independence. The metaphor “yoke” was used in the narrative of discourse of socialist development. Through this metaphor, the socialist block constructed the developing world as being exploited and controlled by the Western world, which was constructed as fascist or imperialist.

The discourse of solidarity with socialist countries against the colonial or imperialist yoke labelled Cambodia as being a victim of foreign oppression and exploitation like other developing countries, and legitimated the socialist Kampuchean Revolution as a movement that had taken action against foreign oppression in Cambodia. This discourse was constructed to put Cambodia on an equal status with other socialist countries including Vietnam and Laos. All KPRP documents, PRK documents and PRK’s leaders always emphasized solidarity with Vietnam and Laos in this way:

Cambodia, Vietnam and Laos, having shared a long history of struggle, remain in all allied solidarity. Each always respects each other's sovereignty, rulership and territorial integrity and are equals in their friendly, cooperative efforts to defend their nations, peace, economies and culture. (KPRP, 1985a, p. 10)

The solidarity with Vietnam and Laos subscribed to the international socialism was constructed as having commenced from the colonial period when the three Indochinese countries were part to the French colonisation. This solidarity was stressed discursively by the PRK leaders in all PRK policies, including education policy, as important for the national building and the development of the Kampuchean revolution.

The link between education and national construction and defence was an instrument of geopolitical governance of Vietnam and the Socialist blocs. Education was used for development aid and created a hegemonic relation between Cambodia and its Vietnamese patron and its socialist donors. To produce this hegemonic relation, the strategic transfer of socialist educational values was discursively used to construct new socialist men subjected to the international socialism.

6.7. The State of Cambodia (SOC) between 1990 and 1993: Education for national development in the transitional period

Cambodian politics entered a new era in the 1990s. When the Cold War ended with the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the Vietnamese troops were withdrawn from Cambodia under the pressure of the international community. Following the collapse of the Soviet bloc and the withdraw of Vietnam, Cambodia prepared itself for future dramatic changes. The end of the Cold War also brought about a new resolution to the Cambodian conflict. The 1991 Paris Peace Agreement and UN resolution established a transitional monitoring agency to manage and control Cambodian government and institutions (UNTAC) until the general election was completed. Following this resolution, there were influxes of multinational and international development agencies into Cambodia, which were new actors in the national building process. These agencies have been increasingly involved in Cambodian

development through its construction of discourse of education-for-development narrative on Education for All (EFA).

6.7.1. Education governance structure: Is socialist governance abandoned?

The withdrawal of the assistances given by fraternal socialist countries, particularly Vietnam and the Soviet Union, from Cambodia following the end of Cold War resulted in considerable change in the political and economic landscape of the PKR. The party state, KPRP was transformed and adapted itself to fit with the new changing circumstances in order to survive and maintain power in Cambodia. It renamed itself to a less communist name, the Cambodian People's Party (CPP). It established a new party platform in which all Cambodian citizens enjoyed political freedom, assembly freedom and right to be defended in the courts and the economic liberalisation toward a market economy replaced Marxism (Cambodian People's Party, 1992).

The PRK was changed to the State of Cambodia by abandoning the long-held socialist ideology to adapt itself to a new democratic paradigm and capitalism. The most significant changes were the economic changes. A new system of "mixed economy" in which joint ventures between the state and the private sector were created, and the right to own, use, bequeath and inherit land, were both introduced (SoC, 1989).

Although the political and economic changes were intended to move the country from planning economy to market economy, the political, bureaucratic and administrative structures of the state were still the same as the previous communist structures of the People's Republic of Kampuchea (Word Bank, 1992, pp. 12-13). The structure of the state was described by the report of the World Bank as "the former interventionist role of the state, persistent centralism and the absence of a clear delineation between the public administration, as an instrument of the executive branch, and the other institutions of the state" (Word Bank, 1992, p. 22). However, through the free market system, there was

competition for financial advantage among the elites and the nomination of family members of elites and politicians in positions of influence in Cambodian politics (Sophal, 2013).

In the education sector, although the MoE gradually improved management structures at provincial and school levels by transferring the local authorities to lower management levels of MoE (line ministry), education policy processes seemed the same as in the previous regime and there were not significant changes in education policy except the introduction of Education for All principles (EFA) into education policy. During this transitional period, the higher education and vocational training division was separated from the MoE and became the Ministry of Higher Education and Training, which later in 1993 after the universal election organised by UNTAC, was reunited as the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport.

The directions for the educational policy formulation were determined in the educational meeting for each academic year. The educational meeting, which later was renamed educational congress, was a meeting among educational officials at central level and provincial level of the MoE. Education planning was the responsibility of the Department of Planning and Finance which was created in the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The Department of Planning prepared the education development plan based on the policy directions determined by the educational meeting for each academic year and sent it to the Ministry of Planning (MoE, 1993, p. 36). The educational directions agreed in the educational meeting and education development plan were reported to provincial (*Krong* or Town) governors for further establishment of action plans to be implemented in provinces. Although there was a gradual transfer of authority from local authority (the People's Revolutionary Council in the People's Republic of Kampuchea, provincial

governors in the State of Cambodia) to line ministry, local authority still had an important role in the implementation of education policy.

6.7.2. Mission of the United Nations Transitional Authority (UNTAC) in Cambodia

Based on the 1991 Agreement on a Comprehensive Political Settlement of the Conflict in Cambodia dated 23 October 1991, a Supreme National Council chaired by Prince Norodom Sihanouk and composed of four Cambodian factions, the Royalist National United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Co-operative Cambodia (FUNCINPEC), the Cambodian People's Party (CPP), Party of Democratic Kampuchea (Khmer Rouge), and the Khmer People's National Liberation Front (KPNLF), was supervised by UNTAC.

According to Paris Accord, "UNTAC's mandate involved institution building and social reconstruction to secure an end to armed conflict and a transition to genuine democracy" (UNTAC, 2003, p. 1) . UNTAC's mandate included "aspects related to human rights, the organization and conduct of elections, military arrangements, civil administration, maintenance of law and order, repatriation and resettlement of refugees and displaced persons and rehabilitation of Cambodian infrastructure" (UNTAC, 2003, p. 1). UNTAC had direct control over five Cambodian agencies, foreign affairs, national defence, finance, public security and information (United Nations, 1991). It also had the supervision of other agencies including education that could influence the outcome of elections or those it considered necessary to oversee to maintain a neutral political environment (United Nations, 1991).

UNTAC exercised the authority based on "advice" approved consensually by the factions represented in the SNC provided that the advice did not contradict the objectives of the Agreement. According to the mandate provided by the agreement, UNTAC did not have a significant role in the education sector. Therefore, the education sector and the formulation

of education policy operated through the existing structure of the Ministry of Education and there were only a few changes in educational policy and policy making process in Cambodia during that period.

UNTAC brought some significant political and economic changes to the State of Cambodia. For instance, the State of Cambodia changed from a brutal state of war to a peaceful country, from strong authoritarian country to democratic country, and from a planning economy to free market neoliberal economics. However, the security in Cambodia was still not maintained. In rural areas, the fighting between various resistance and government forces always occurred, thousands of people were injured by landmines, the refugees who had fled during the war to Thai borders were repatriated and resettled into Cambodia. In Phnom Penh, there were riots in the University of Phnom Penh, the propaganda of different political groups were disseminated throughout the country and there was a gradual flux of foreigners and international development organisations in Cambodia (Cambodian People's Party, 1992). Beside this security issue, UNTAC had an limited mandate in the social welfare sector especially education. Education thus was still in a terrible mess, enmeshed in the political, social and economic chaos facing Cambodia during the transitional period.

6.7.3. New international development actors and new discourse of rehabilitation and reconstruction

The Paris Peace Accord has brought a significant change in how the Western international community viewed Cambodia generally. By early 1993, more than 30 international agencies were operating more than 100 educational projects in Cambodia (Duggan, 1996). The influx of multinational and international agencies into the social, political and economic structures of Cambodia has continued to the present although UNTAC completed its mission after the 1993 Cambodian election. The State of Cambodia, whose mandate was to manage the education system, was increasingly dependent on

multinational financial organisations to reform their education. The government mobilised more stakeholders from the Western world into education development after the withdrawal of the aid from the socialist bloc and started to follow the western educational paradigm while maintaining some important social aspects in education policy and the role of the state in regulating the education system. Among the international development organisations, UNESCO was a key non-state actor in the education making process.

The involvement of UNESCO in Cambodian education policy formation was dated back to 1951 when Cambodia became a member of UNESCO. But its involvement was ruptured when it withdrew its office from Cambodia between the 1970s and 1980s due to unrest and civil wars in Cambodia (Dy & Ninomiya, 2003). After the participation of the State of Cambodia in the World Conference on Education for all (WCEFA) in 1990, the international community especially United Nations agencies including UNESCO declared they would assist Cambodia in the national reconstruction and rehabilitation, which resulted in the opening of a UNESCO office in Phnom Penh in 1991. The involvement of UNESCO in education development was significant in the 1990s especially in basic education for all (Dy & Ninomiya, 2003). With the cooperation of UNESCO, the Ministry of Education conducted training sessions on educational management and planning for administrative and management officials at the central level and the provincial level of the Ministry of Education in the 1992-1993 academic year, and seminars on educational policy and planning for achieving the EFA goal in 2000 (MoE, 1993).

International interventions in the Cambodian building process were justified by the discourse of national rehabilitation and reconstruction constructed by the International Community. The discourse of national rehabilitation and reconstruction was constructed by the Paris Peace Accord 1991. Cambodia, presented as enmeshed with tragic conflict and

bloodshed, needed international intervention and assistance. The Paris Peace Accord presented the Cambodian situation as:

Concerned by the tragic conflict and continuing bloodshed in Cambodia, the Paris Conference on Cambodia was convened, at the invitation of the Government of the French Republic, in order to achieve an internationally guaranteed comprehensive settlement which would restore peace to that country. (United Nations, 1991, p. Annex 2)

The discourse of rehabilitation and reconstruction permeated international aid in support of Cambodia's rehabilitation and reconstruction during the transitional period while waiting for the new general election in 1993 to create a new democratic government as well as long term development for Cambodia. The discourse of rehabilitation and reconstruction created a system of knowledge that justified the humanitarian action of the international community to help Cambodia with the protection of the national sovereignty and violability from the outsider, the exercise of the self-determination of Cambodia people and Western standards (United System) of national development and to contribute the regional and international peace and security (United Nations, 1991) .

The construction of Cambodia as having tragic conflict and bloodshed, as underdeveloped, as a security threat to the region and the globe, and the ability of Cambodian people and government to deal with these situations, brought together the narratives of morality, economic and financial aid, democracy, human rights and liberalisation to justify the necessity for United Nations and international community intervention in Cambodia. This discourse established a new order of power between Cambodia and the international community, usually the domination of the international community over Cambodian internal affairs.

The development of education and training was an important theme of the discourse of national rehabilitation and reconstruction. Education and training was constructed as an indispensable means for national rehabilitation and reconstruction. The Paris Peace

Accord stipulated in its annex on the Declaration on the Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Cambodia point 11, that:

In this rehabilitation phase, particular attention will need to be given to food security, health, housing, training, education, the transport network and the restoration of Cambodia's existing basic infrastructure and public utilities. The reconstruction phase should promote Cambodian entrepreneurship and make use of the private sector, among other sectors, to help advance self-sustaining economic growth. (United Nations, 1991)

Education, especially basic education focused on numeracy and literacy, was constructed as important for national rehabilitation (Hun Sen 1991 quoted in Dy & Ninomiya, 2003, p. 3). Education were constructed for promoting Cambodian entrepreneurship toward national construction which was seen as a long term development plan for the new Cambodian government after the 1993 general election.

There was a new policy discourse of Education for All that connected to the discourse of national rehabilitation and reconstruction that had emerged in Cambodia in 1990 following the participation of the Cambodian delegation in the World Conference of Education for All. This new discourse was displayed in order to show the break with the past socialist discourse and the move into another new discourse of neo-liberalism. However, in practice, the discourse of socialist education-for-nation building continued to be applied in state curriculum although socialist education rhetoric was gone from official discourses of state policies.

6.7.4. The discourse of Education for All (EFA) for socioeconomic rehabilitation and development

The discourse of Education for All (EFA) was introduced in Cambodia following the participation of a Cambodian delegation in the Education for All summit in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990 (WCEFA) and the national EFA workshop in Cambodia in 1991, with financial and technical support from UNSCO, UNICEF and UNDP. The discourse of EFA

articulated education as a tool to address the basic learning need of all children, youth and adults:

Every person—child, youth and adult—shall be able to benefit from educational opportunities designed to meet their basic learning needs. These needs comprise both essential learning tools (such as literacy, oral expression, numeracy and problem solving) and the basic learning content (such as knowledge, skills, values and attitudes) required by human beings to be able to survive, to develop their full capacities, to live and work in dignity, to participate fully in development, to improve the quality of their lives, to make informed decisions, and to continue learning. (UNESCO, 1990, p. 3)

The discourse of meeting basic needs was promoted by the discourse of education as a human right as espoused by the World Declaration on education for all that states “recalling that education is a fundamental right for all people, women and men, of all ages, throughout our world” (UNESCO, 1990, p.1). This rights-based discourse reaffirmed the existing right to education discourse as promoted by the United Nations Declaration Human Rights. The discourse of meeting basic learning needs is also a discursive formation of the socioeconomic development. The declaration postulates education as a tool for promoting socioeconomic development:

Understanding that education can help to ensure a safer, healthier, more prosperous and environmentally sound world, while simultaneously contributing to social, economic and cultural progress, tolerance, and international cooperation (UNESCO, 1990, p. 2)

All of society has a contribution to make, recognising that time, energy and funding directed to basic education are perhaps the most profound investment in people and in the future of a country which can be made. (UNESCO, 1990, p. 8)

This global discourse of EFA was constructed by the western world in the 1990s as a justification of the intervention of multinational development organisations in the developing countries in the name of development. The discourse of EFA centered on economic human capital discourse in which education was seen as a way to develop a workforce and national economy and human rights. For instance, the major themes displayed in that discourse were of education as a fundamental component of national development, poverty reduction or/and economic growth, formal, universal and free

primary education, adult literacy, life skill and technical and vocational education, quality of education and marginalized groups (UNESCO, 1990).

Between 1991 and 1993, the discourse of EFA permeated national education policy. Without clear understanding of the concept of EFA, this discourse was espoused in leaders' speeches and education policy in order to seek technical and financial assistance from multinational development organisations and the western world for educational development. For instance, Prime Minister Hun Sen addressed state education policies before the Education for All conference in 1990, emphasising "the need to lighten the government's burden, together with the assistance of international organisations and to permit the opening of private schools", and stating that the government perceived "the need to make urgent reform of the curriculum of general education at all levels, to improve teacher competencies and to strengthen educational quality and the management capacity of the ministry" (Hun Sen 1991 quoted in Ayres, 2000a, p. 147).

In the national workshop on Education for All, 1991, Prime Minister Hun Sen stressed the important linkage between basic education focused on literacy and numeracy in national rehabilitation (Hun Sen 1991 quoted in Dy & Ninomiya, 2003, p. 3). In line with the global discourse of development centred on human life, knowledge and decent living standards, the state presented basic education's important role in attaining social development goals toward the improvement of the condition of the population.

The themes which this discourse were clearly displayed were mobilising students to schools, strengthening education quality at all levels especially at primary education level and non-formal education to enhance the achievement of literacy and numeracy, establishing an educational data system, institutional strengthening and stimulating international community and private education institutions for educational courses (MoE, 1993, p. 24).

By adopting a new discourse of EFA in its education policy discourse, the State of Cambodia wanted to show the international community its effort in nation building through the development of human resources and attract assistance from the international community to improve the access and the quality of education for national development. However, this discourse was confronted with the discourse of socialist education that still remained in the transitional period. The discourse of EFA was opposed to the discourse of socialist education in the PRK which was still promoted in the school curriculum in the State of Cambodia. For instance, the state of Cambodia still maintained some ideological content in education subjects, such as the 1991 State of Cambodia preparatory exam paper for final year school students wishing to study at higher education (Jordens, 1991). Socialist education discourse that connected study to labor was still espoused.

6.8. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that the education policy discourses were made by the state party (KPRP) and were transferred into the education policy through executive arms of the state party. The significant executive arm in the education sector is the Ministry of Education. As discussed above, the KPRP had the decision making powers in all areas under the revolution including education. The KPRP issued the guidelines on education policy and the Ministry of Education simply put these guidelines into action through the development of national education policy. That was the discursive linkage between education and national construction and defence.

The discourse of national rehabilitation, reconstruction toward socialism and defending the nation, a set of discursive statement about the brutal acts of the Pol Pot regime, the deconstructed act of colonisation, imperialism and feudalism by socialist revolution, and the fraternity between Cambodia and Vietnam and among socialist countries and the discourse of patriotism, were presented in education policies. These discourses were used

to promote the regime's legitimacy and to govern the population toward national reconstruction and defence toward socialism. The population was moulded to be new socialist men constituting socialist attributes. However since 1991, the new discourse of Education for All (EFA) linked to national reconstruction emerged in Cambodia along with the influxes of multinational development agencies that has been increasingly involved in Cambodian development. The new discourse and new actors have been presented in the policy making process of successive regime, which is discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7: NEW REGIME 1993-2000, NEW EDUCATION POLICY AND DISCOURSE TOWARD THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE EMERGENT NEOLIBERAL GOVERNMENTALITY

In this chapter, I discuss the nature of the post socialist mode of governmentality in Cambodia characterised by the departure of socialism and the move toward neoliberal governmentality. Following the discussion of the nature of the post socialist mode of governmentality in Cambodia, I discuss the internal context of education policy making and educational reform between 1993 and 2000. Finally, I analyse education policy documents that linked education to national development between 1993 and 2000, using discourse analysis to deconstruct the complex network of discourses implicated with knowledge and power that constructed and justified the governmentality rationality of post socialist Cambodia.

7.1. Post socialist governmentality

The national election in 1993 put Cambodia into a new regime, the Kingdom of Cambodia. Under the new constitution promulgated on 24 September 1993, the Kingdom of Cambodia is a Constitutional Monarchy and pluralist and liberal democracy regime with a free market economic system (RGoC, 1993). The national election, with financial and technical support from UNTAC, put the Khmer Rouge rebellion to an end. After the declaration of the election result, FUNCINPEC and CPP formed a coalition government. Prince Norodom Rannaridh, the president of FUNCINPEC, was appointed as the First Prime Minister and Hun Sen, the deputy chief of CPP, as the Second Prime Minister. This coalition was constructed to maintain the national stability. This coalition government shared control of the ministries and the provinces. During that time, the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport was led by Minister Ung Hout from FUNCINPEC. However, the power of the CPP in governance was still dominant. In all ministries, civil servants

continued to respect CPP officials who were secretaries of state, rather than FUNCINPEC ministers. Due to the inequality of the coalition, the tension between Hun Sen and Rannaridh that had gradually increased since 1993 resulted in the fight between the troops loyal to Hun Sen and the royalist troops loyal to Rannaridh. Hun Sen's troops won the fight and chased Rannaridh and other non CPP politicians into exile.

Although there was political chaos and tension within the coalition, the new government priority was to show to its people it could govern as a government of a modern state. Using Foucault's governmentality, this meant that the government must attend to issues of population, economy and security using the particular technologies of practices and domains of knowledge. The ultimate aim of the new government was to improve the welfare of the populations, increase its conditions, and increase its wealth, longevity and health etc. To reach this aim, the priorities of the government were to build governmental capacity, for example through the capacity building and downsizing of the civil service (Ayres, 2000a) toward achieving macro-economic stability and to establish the rules for the conduct of the conduct, to create measures to regulate the population and develop measures in the macro-economic arena to enable Cambodia's integration into the global economy (RGoC, 1994, 1996).

The new government had to engage with regimes of practices and the knowledge to address any issues by a deliberated and calculated technique toward the improvement of the welfare of the populations. These regimes of truth and knowledge were no longer coercive rules and surveillance but government by distance, in which people were not necessarily aware of how their conduct was being conducted or why. Although there was a shift of mode of governing from the absolute power of the state toward the neoliberal mode of governmentality, the political tradition of patronage politics embedded in Cambodian society since the Angkor Empire and the legacies of previous regimes persisted. As a

result, the governmentality in post socialist Cambodia took the form of emerging governmentality characterised by both change (neoliberal features) and continuity (patronage networks). This emerging governmentality is illustrated by the education policy process and reform in Cambodia between 1993 and 2000.

7.2. Internal context of education policy making and education reforms in development context between 1993 and 2000

Since 1993, Cambodian education policy has been impacted by the globalisation of education policy-making. As a consequence, a range of actors and ideas have been influenced the formulation of Cambodian education policy. Ball, as quoted by Edwards (B. Edwards & Brehm, 2015), highlighted the way in which new kinds of policy actors come into play following the shift of political and economic context of global and national policy-making:

The boundaries between state, economy, and civil society... [become] blurred; there are new voices within policy conversations and new conduits through which policy discourses enter policy making; and there is a proliferation of policy networks nationally and globally. (p. 278)

Such shifts have replaced bureaucracy and administrative structures of the state, have introduced new actors, new processes and new discourses into the education policy making process. The shifts in the policy climate which have been seen in Cambodia resulted in complex processes of education policy making. Education policy making in Cambodia has resulted from a complex interplay between internal and external actors in an ambiguous manner to maintain the benefit and the power of local political elites and to accommodate the external actors. Ayres (Ayres, 2000a) commented on this complex interplay, saying that “Cambodia’s education policies are negotiated and contested at several levels each serving to subvert policy formulation, introducing ad-hocery into the national planning framework often associated with development perspectives” (Ayres, 1998, p. 6). This resulted in education policies that were often ambivalent and amorphous,

which gave the possibilities to the government to interpret them differently in different contexts to different people to fit its goals.

Although external actors were given space in the education policy making process in Cambodia, the state is still the dominant powerful actor in education policy formulation. In order to limit the participation of external actors and non-actors in the education policy process, the state used state sovereignty and Cambodia's historical instability and division and its cultural context as justification of the exercise of power of the state and its leader, the Second Prime Minister Hun Sen, on educational development. The democratised structure of education policy making could not be worked well due to the fact of the hierarchical culture and patronage network in a Cambodian socio political context. Education policy was on the lips of those in higher authority, especially the second Prime Minister, Hun Sen, in order to reinforce their power and legitimacy rather than for the national development. Those who work under those with power do not contest or question the decisions made by their leaders although the decisions are not rational or justified for the improvement of educational development. The decision or speech of the leader was an order which must be respected by those at lower levels in the hierarchy.

The education policy process was very fragmented and poorly coordinated. The formulation of education policy was also in charge of others governmental institutions for instance the Ministry of Higher Education and technique, the Ministry of Women's Affairs, Youth and Sport, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery, and the Ministry of Culture whose higher educational institutions were under the technical supervision of the Ministry of Education. Vocational and Technical Training and non-formal education fall under the jurisdiction of others ministries such as the Ministry of Social Welfare, the Ministry of Women

These overlapping responsibilities of government ministries, and the fact that the legal mandate of each ministry or agency was not established, restricted the suitable division of work in the core institutions and ministries (RGoC, 1995). The clear responsibilities of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport were only established by the law on the establishment of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport dated 24 January 1996 and the Sub Decree on the Organisation and Functioning of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport dated 23 March 1998.

The first policy reform that initiated major structural changes in education levels in Cambodia was a 12 year reform plan. The education system of 4 years (for primary education level) +3 years (for lower secondary education) +3 years (for upper secondary education level), applied in 1979 after the fall of the Khmer Rouge, was expanded to a system of 5+3+3 and then to 6+3+3 in 1996. It was implemented in response to the national rehabilitation need for human resources. The education system during the thesis was writing consisted of four levels: preschool education, primary education, secondary education (lower and upper), and higher education. The basic education consisted of 9 years of schooling, six years of primary education and three years of lower secondary and must be provided to all citizens (RGoC, 1993).

The second policy reform was national curriculum policy. There was a change of economy, political agenda and social reality in Cambodia after the signing of the Paris Peace Accord in 1991 that led to the national election in 1993. The planning economy was changed to free market economy. The socialism regime was abandoned and democracy was adopted. Previous curriculums of the People's Republic of Cambodia in 1980 and 1986 were not able to create skilled workers to respond to the post-communist economy. In response to this situation, the national curriculum 1996-2000 policy was formulated, based on curriculums of Sihanouk's regime, the 1980 and 1986 curriculums of the People's Republic

of Kampuchea, and curriculum policies of developing and developed countries in the world.

The third policy was decentralisation policy. The school cluster system piloted in 1992 was expanded to all provinces in 1995. The cluster school was composed of five to six geographically proximal schools among which one was a core schools and others were satellite schools. The cluster school system was a mechanism for coordinating central government support, strengthening school management, managing scarce school resources, increasing capacity of local staff, and enhancing teaching and learning (MoEYS, 2000). The funds for school development were directly transferred to schools via clusters upon the submission of the cluster's plan to the MoEYS.

Next I investigate through the archive the discourses that were selectively circulated and legitimated within the field of education to construct the education policy text. The analysis will demonstrate how the education policy discourses were related to the discourse of development as a mechanism of power and control.

7.3. Education linked to national reconstruction

Education was perceived by the Royal Government of Cambodia as being a national priority. Constructed under the broader aim of "Sustainable human development", education was considered as a means for national rehabilitation and reconstruction (RGoC, 1994). The national rehabilitation and reconstruction was connected to improving the quality of, and access to, basic education and the reinforcement of educational administration (RGoC, 1994). Two year later in 1996, the Cambodian development context passed from the phase of rehabilitation or emergency relief toward the phase of national reconstruction and development. Education was presented as indispensable for the achievement of the development vision of the Royal Government of Cambodia. The

Socioeconomic Development Plan Phase I (SEDP I) through its development strategy set the future for Cambodian society as:

...a socially cohesive, educationally advanced, and culturally vibrant Cambodia without poverty, illiteracy and ill health where all Cambodians live in harmony free of hunger, inequity, exclusion, and vulnerability. (RGoC, 1996, p. 10)

In this statement, the development vision of the Royal Government of Cambodia was to create a cohesive, harmonious, educationally advanced and culturally vibrant society where people are free of hunger, inequity, exclusion and vulnerability. Education was seen by the Royal Government of Cambodia as an instrument to create this new development vision of Cambodia as the planned state:

Eradicating poverty is the single most important objective of the Royal Government of Cambodia...Moreover, the current impoverished state of the human condition constitutes a major, intractable barrier to the improvement in skills and productivity required for Cambodian economic growth. Either way, reducing poverty is an imperative, as is the need to create a perception among the population of moving towards a more equitable society.

A major thrust of the Plan...is toward social development. This is reflected, first, in the emphasis on the development of the rural areas where some 90 per cent of the country's poor reside; and second, in the direct nature of the attack on poverty proposed, through health programmes, rural water and sanitation programmes, primary education programmes and the specific identification and targeting of vulnerable groups. (RGoC, 1996, p. ix).

This statement constructed primary education as a direct contributor to poverty reduction. The discourse reaffirmed the discourse of education for poverty reduction espoused by the international development organisations in the global south in the 1990s. Education was perceived as a means toward the reduction of the poverty of Cambodia which would lead to economic growth. The linkage between education and socio economic development was espoused by the Minister of Education, Youth and Sport in the educational meeting on 31 August 1994:

Based on the priority tasks of the Royal Government of Cambodia for national rehabilitation and development in line with liberalisation of economy and privatisation policy, the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport set out three policies:

- universalizing nine years of basic general education, and developing new opportunities of functional literacy, linked with the activities or employment of the learner for the people who had no access to the formal system
- modernising and improving the quality of the educational system, through effective reform, in order to respond appropriately to the present and future socio-economic requirements of the country
- linking training development with the requirement of both employers and workers by paying more attention to practical vocational training and other forms of skill development. (Ung, 1994)

In this statement, the Minister invoked economic liberalisation policy of the Royal Government of Cambodia in the national development process to establish normative understandings and values about the linkage between education and socioeconomic development. This new linkage between education and socio economic development required new values and approaches towards post-socialist education. To promote a new value of education, the Minister positioned educational reform focusing on modernisation, improvement of the quality of the education system, and the training approaches that would meet the requirements of employers and workers as a key component of the present and future socio economic development.

7.4. Education democratisation

The discourse of education democratisation was promoted in the Cambodian Constitution and education policy. The Constitution enshrines rights to free primary and secondary education to all children in public schools, and quality education regardless of race, gender, sex, national origin, age, disability, culture, language, political tendency, religious belief, social status, wealth or other status (RGoC, 1993). The Constitution has normative value imposed on all government institutions. In line with this normative discourse, the education policy discourse centred on the narrative of “making 9 years of basic general education available throughout the country and developing new opportunities for functional reforms” (MoEYS, 1994, p. iii).

The discourse of education democratisation is linked to the individualisation of education as opposed to the collectivism of education in the socialist regime from 1979 to 1993. The democratisation discourse reaffirmed the normative discourse of Education for All constructed in 1990 at the World Conference for EFA at Jomtien, and that was further developed in the Dakar Framework in 2000 and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The normative discourse of Education for All articulates the narratives that education is an individual human right, education is a fundamental component of national development and economic growth. Education for All is focused on early childhood care and education, formal, universal, and free primary education, adult literacy, life skills programs and technical and vocational education, gender equality and quality of education. Based on this discourse of education for all, basic education has “an objective to meet the basic learning needs of all human beings in terms of literacy, oral expression, numeracy, problem solving and knowledge, as well as the values and attitudes required by an individual to develop and participate in society” (Dy & Ninomiya, 2003, p. 2).

However, in the context of post socialist Cambodia where the socialist system and centralised governance was still embedded in Cambodian governance structure, there is a conflict between the democratisation discourse and the discourse of subordination and hierarchy and the gap between the policy discourse and the practice. Various discursive constructions employed in policy documents promoted and maintained the hierarchical balance of power between the MoEYS and other stakeholders in the policy process. The MoEYS acquired the formal status of authority as central body of the executive branch of power in the education sector (RGoC, 1998), and has many absolute and uncontested powers in the education sector in terms of education policy and planning development, monitoring and governance.

7.5. Community participation in education

The discourse of community participation in education emerged in 1992 when the MoEYS launched the school clustering program that became the national strategy in 1995. One of the purposes of the school cluster policy was to encourage management of shared resources at a decentralised level (MoEYS, 2002, p.1). The discourse of community participation in education was disseminated in the guideline on school clusters. School clusters represent:

Open and democratic forums that allow also a deeper involvement of communities as important parties for education as teachers and school principals... Over the past years the Royal Government of Cambodia has tried its utmost to achieve the goal of guaranteeing to every child the access to education and quality learning. However hard the Government has tried, it has not been able to reach this set goal. This is due to the inadequate participation of the community (MoEYS, 2000, p. 5)

The language used in this citation is unclear. It only stipulates “community involvement” but does not define what community involvement means in the Cambodian context. The roles of stakeholders involved in community involvement are also not defined. Anderson (1998) refers to “the linguistic slippage that occurs with regard to the meaning of participation and the diverse agendas that are promoted within its discursive umbrella” (p. 574). He suggests that participation is used as a strategy to uncover the power relation within educational governance. Specially, he suggests participation usually provides greater legitimacy to the educational institution and leads to greater regulatory control of schools rather than the constitution of a democratic citizenry and redistributive justice for marginalized groups in the situations that are viewed as in crisis (G. L. Anderson, 1998, p. 573). This discourse strengthens the legitimacy of the school by representing the school management in term of democratic consultation and shared responsibility between the school and community.

The education policy discourse embedded in the school cluster policy established a regime of truth, a common sense that came to be seen as self-evident of democratisation

or participation in school management and served to exclude other representations. The discourse of participation has permeated the language “making people central to development by encouraging beneficiary involvement in interventions that affect them” (Cooke & Kothari, 2001, p. 5). The narrative of discourse of participation has generally been empowerment and involvement of local people in educational decision making processes that affected them. At the common sense level, participation is something that everyone wants, especially the participants. In the international arena, the discourse of participation has become hegemonic in development discourse since the mid-1980 and was promoted by international development organisations and non-governmental organisations.

The regime of truth can be reinforced by Cambodian tradition and previous regimes that viewed the community should and must participate in education development.

Traditionally, Cambodian community has contributed the cash, labour and materials for construction and improvement of school buildings (Pellini, 2005). Under Sihanouk Buddhist Socialism, ‘community’ refers to people engaged in collective work such as school construction, the extension of canals or routes, and the campaign for eradication of endemic disease etc. (SRN, 1961). In socialist Cambodia, community took the form of *Krom Samiki* (solidarity group) consisting of 10-15 persons engaged in agricultural production and school construction. The policy discourse thus persuades the communities that their participation is substantial and thus they are included, with their acquiescence, in the power structure of the state.

However, against this backdrop of participation, it was very hard for the community to find their own voice or have it listened to in the school management. The discourse of community participation is hampered by Cambodian culture that has embedded the notion

of hierarchy in social life. Pellini (2007) quoted O'Leary and Meas (2001) about the hierarchy in Cambodian society as below:

All pervasive principle of social life is the notion of hierarchy. All social relationships are hierarchically ordered. The hierarchy is primarily expressed in terms of age, then comes gender, wealth, knowledge, reputation of the family, political position, employment, character of the individual and religious piety. The hierarchy depends on everybody observing the status hierarchy and keeping his/her place in it. (pp. 185-186)

The school management level and higher level of the MoEYS, like other state entities in general, still have authority and power. The community still has *Korob*, *Kaud*, *Klach*—“respect, admiration, fear” toward the state authorities and their civil servants (Ojendal & Sedara, 2006, p. 518). Although *Klach* or fear is a negative term that represents the crude power of the state, *Korob* (respect) or *Kaud* (admiration) are the soft power of the state. The combination of these three expressions of power justifies the exercise of power of the state and the community subjected itself with acquiescence to this power relation.

The hierarchical organisation has an impact on the compositions of the school committees and other associations or organisations that represent the community interest in educational development. Those who are in the hierarchical status of the village and those who are able to reflect the views and the sentiments of the community, like Village leaders and laymen, often don't have the necessary expertise to contribute instrumentally to school (Pellini, 2007). Moreover, the decision making of the School cluster committee was based on consensus. The consensual participation may cover the exercise of power of the state through the strategy of inclusion in the management system of the state as described by Cooke & Kothari:

Discourse of participation covers the power relations in the consensual participation as the basic for collective action. Consensus “can serve to marginalise dissenting voices and participation can be seen as a mode of inclusionary control”, a means of inducing willing subordination to particular power structure. (Cooke & Kothari, 2001, p. 110)

The discourse of community participation in education reproduced existing dominant power and structure. It was demonstrated by the bureaucratic structure of the cluster management. Cluster School Committees from the national level to district level were created. The Cluster School Committees at lower levels must submit the report on the implementation of the school cluster policy to the committee at higher level. In consequence, the policy discourse that promoted community participation was only a new sound managerial strategy which served to cover the power relations in educational management due to the inherent hierarchical culture strongly embedded in individuals and Cambodian society. As the policy discourse on participation in education promoted through the guidelines on school cluster is mandatory, participation gives another responsibility and not additional power to the community.

The power of participation cannot only be viewed through a conceptualisation of power as domination but through the rationalities, technologies and outcome of the participation on constructed subjects. In neoliberal governing, participation created technologies of liberal governance to produce modern and self-disciplined citizens or organisations as responsible agents in their own national development. In fact, for the Royal Government of Cambodia, partnership was a changing pattern of governing in order to govern better through the constructing of communities as self-governing subjects. Participation was a technology of the state and the MoEYS through which the state could motivate different stakeholders to engage in collective activity oriented towards the social and economic development.

The government viewed the civil society and community as playing important roles in delivering better education services to the citizens, especially to those in disadvantaged areas where the MoEYS could not reach. It thus paid attention to the change of its own structures of authority and conduct, the role of the state in social welfare functions, by

providing the right and autonomy for civil society and community. The involvement of community in education was a discursive shift of the state on the politics of education and the governance of education. This discursive shift demonstrated the change of the relation between the MoEYS and the communities from the governing with absolute power of the state to the shared authority with the community. This shift was contrasted to the previous discourse surrounding the state authorities that was characterised by distance, fear and contempt (Ojendal & Sedara, 2006).

The Ministry designed a structure to allow the community to participate in the cluster management. Cluster School Committees from the national level to district level were created. Cluster Schools Committees “shall have a Council for consultation, discussion, evaluation of outcomes and planning continued activities” (MoEYS, 2000, p. 19). This Council was named Local Cluster School Committee whose members are the principal of the core school as chairperson, village chief, commune chief, chairperson of Village Development committee and local people. The key task of this council was to assist the development and implementation of the cluster’s plans, coordinate with local authorities and with the District education office and engage communities in school activities. Through this council, the community could participate in the planning process of cluster schools; thereby the development plans of cluster schools could reflect the local needs (MoEYS, 2002, p. 9).

The mechanism of the Local Cluster School Committee shaped the conduct of the community, educational staff and local educational administration and management to become transparent, accountable and efficient citizens. Through the planning process, the communities were given the right to decide on their development priorities and roles and responsibilities to manage school development planning and delivery and funds. The villagers could control the contracts engaged for the school development, hold meetings to

follow up the project and the budget expense, and demand the school be accountable, transparent and efficient in the school development process (MoEYS, 2002). This mechanism improved the relations between the educational management levels, especially the schools and communities.

7.6. Peace, security, political stability and social order

Peace, security, political stability and social order were constructed by the state to justify the liberalisation of economy in line with international political orientation and its exercise of patronage power. Peace, security, political stability and social order were considered as fundamental for preventing the threat to lives of people and violence that could be occurred in the society. Following the general election in 1993, Cambodia was still a fragile state because there were continuously conflicts between different factions especially the Khmer Rouge's troops still continued their insurgent activities in the countryside for year before the real political and social order and security were in place in Cambodia (Springer, 2009a). In this fragile context, the freedom of individuals were restricted in order to maintain human security and national security.

Springer emphasises on the discourse of peace, security and political as “discursive devices that function to palisade the interests of capital and shield the government's authoritarian dispositions and explicit use of violence from both local public censure and international accountability” (Springer, 2010, p. 938). Peace, security, political stability and social order limited the contestation of the public on the political agenda and of external actors on some agenda of education policy. The external actors and the citizens generally accepted the necessity for order and stability for Cambodia especially between 1993 and 2000 during which time the Pol Pot rebellion had just ended and the UNTAC mission was completed. They also shared the view that peace, security, political stability and social order is prerequisite for economic development and for promoting neoliberalisation

(Malakolunthu, 2010; Springer, 2009a). This perception is reinforced due to the fact that article 41 of Cambodia's new constitution states, "Khmer citizens shall have freedom of expression, press, publication, and assembly. No one shall exercise this right to infringe upon the rights of others, to affect the good traditions of the society, to violate public law and order and national security". In the name of order and security, the people is therefore exposed to the restriction of freedom of expression in whatever forms on policies or practices of the government.

The discourse of security, peace, political stability and social order subjected the citizens and non-governmental organisations to the limitation of their rights and freedom in favour for the domination or hegemony of the state and to enable free market or free economy to function efficiently.

There is a linkage between security to sustainable development (Duffield, 2006).

According to him, the current approach of sustainable development is to form people to "live within the limits of their own powers of self-reliance" (Duffield, 2006, p. 152). This approach was seen in the development strategy of Cambodia between 1993 and 2000 (RGoC, 1996). The governmental strategies were to improve the conditions of people especially the marginalised and vulnerable groups toward fulfilment of basic needs, the enjoyment of market choice and self-responsibility (RGoC, 1996). Education is strongly linked to security and sustainable development. Education produces self-reliance or subjectivity of citizens to protect themselves from threats, to improve their living conditions and to contribute to the national development.

7.7. Discourse of knowledge and skills

Discourse of knowledge and skills

A new discourse in Cambodian education was the creation of knowledge and skills for the population to respond to demands of the job markets. The discourse of skills and knowledge constructed a new democratic and market oriented citizen. This discourse was distinct from the previous education policy discourse in the socialist regime which centred on the creation of new socialist men and the discourse of collectivism. The discourse of skills and knowledge was articulated on the discourse of humanisation of education, the discourse of individualisation, the discourse of child-centred pedagogy, the discourse of democratization of student and teacher relations, and the discourse of diversification of curriculum and teaching materials and discourse of evaluation. However, the discursive shift was textual and partly rhetorical, which demonstrated greater external influences on governmental policy makers rather than a rupture from socialist-style policy practices.

Globalisation discourse: global knowledge economy discourse as an agent for shifting education policy discourse in Cambodia

Policy makers represent globalisation, the knowledge society, uncertain events and rapid political, economic and social change as concepts that need policy responses (Lingard, Rawolle, & Taylor, 2005). In constructing the discourse of globalisation and global knowledge economy, events and rapid changing environments, national policy makers justify and impose the new role and approaches to education. They have linked concerns about the national development to the characteristics and skills of the population, both nationally and globally, thus linking education politically to issues of the state, the economy, culture and human capability.

In the globalized world, knowledge is “the driver of productivity and economic growth” and knowledge economies are “based on the production, distribution and use of knowledge and information” (OECD, 1996a, p. 4 & 7). In its 1996 report, the OECD suggested governments develop policies that promoted the capacity to learn, to use tacit (know-how)

knowledge to transform codified knowledge (p.13) and to use and innovate with technology. The knowledge economy according to the OECD entails human capital formation by which the learning activities are embedded in some kinds of institutional arrangements and in social processes (OECD, 1996a). The knowledge economy is constructed by the World Bank (WB) differently. According to the World Bank, “global knowledge economy is transforming the demands of the labor market throughout the world. It is also placing new demands on citizens who need new skills and knowledge to be able to function in their day-to-day lives” (World Bank, 2003, p. 2) . The new approach to education favors the market and individualism as means for developing knowledge and skills for the knowledge economy (OECD, 1996a).

Influenced by the WB discourse of global knowledge economy, the education policy discourse in Cambodia promoted the creation of new skills and knowledge for populations so they could respond to economic liberalisation, and integration with the global free market (Ung, 1994). The new task of education was to create skills for workers to meet future social, economic and labour market demands through universalizing nine years of basic general education and developing functional literacy, improving the quality of the educational system and development of practical vocational training and other forms of skill development. In order to reach this policy priority, the discourse of creation of skills and knowledge was promulgated in the national curriculum policy as below:

National curriculum aims to develop human resources comprised of knowledge, skills, experience, morality, tolerance, cooperation, solidarity, national unity, national consciousness, love of justice, respect for law, respect for human rights, environmental preservation, identity, and valuing of national culture and civilization, self-reliance, self-confidence, ability to solve daily problems, creativity, industry, responsibility, ability to promote one’s family’s well-being, and participation in national rehabilitation and development based on democracy and pluralism. (MoEYS, 1996, p. 1)

Cambodian government policy makers justified and imposed the new role and approaches to education. They linked concerns about the national development to the characteristics

and skill of the population, both nationally and regionally; thus linking education politically to issues of the state, the economy, culture and human capability. The old communist approaches to education, such as collectivisation of education and the approaches to education with their focus on memorisation and drilling, were abandoned. Introducing knowledge, skill and new approaches to education as re-conceptualised goals of education for a new situation and context of Cambodia was viewed as response to the demands and challenges of a globalised world that focuses on economic liberalisation and privatisation and political democratisation.

However, there was no clear definition of knowledge, skills and abilities in the national policy document. There was no clear distinction of skills, knowledge and ability. The list of skills and knowledge has also been ambiguous. The policy discourse did not mention clearly what exactly constitutes knowledge, skills, abilities and creativity in constructing useful and skilful citizens to respond to the demands and challenges of a globalised world.

The key skills, knowledge and ability required to respond to the demands and challenges of a globalised world, from the policymakers' perspective were:

- Literacy skill, oral expression, numeracy, problem solving and knowledge as well as the skills, values and attitudes required by an individual to develop and participate in society
- Industry, interests in modern technology, willingness to work with others, management knowledge and skills, and readiness to take on jobs suitable to the learners' qualifications and preferences
- General as well as special science and technology knowledge and skills and being able to speak a foreign language
- Awareness of social changes and of the need to preserve traditional and modern arts and culture
- Ability to apply new technology in carrying out their duties and constantly improve their capability
- Ability to transform their appreciation for work into accomplishment with a cooperative spirit and competent management

- Awareness of international social progress and be able to develop the nation. (MoEYS, 1996, p. 2)

The lists of skills, knowledge and abilities were so very broad and could be referred to anything that could respond to the labour market. The vague categories of the skills and knowledge could reframe the notion of knowledge economy easily in order to accommodate different actors and different interests of state actors and non-state actors.

Having justified the reorientation of education goals from socialist education values to create socialist men, to the creation of skills and knowledge to construct market oriented citizens, the policy set out that the student learning and evaluation must be balanced. However, since the issuance of this policy, there was no clear performance assessment process at all levels of education. At primary education, there was no minimum learning standards and nationally set grade referenced achievement tests, except a proxy indicator that was the progression rate from grade 4 based on teacher-made and marked tests (MoEYS, 2001). At secondary education level, student performance was assessed through a provincially managed grade 9 examination and a national grade 12 examination organised by the Examination Office of the MoEYS (MoEYS, 2001). This assessment might be seen as an individual approach to learning in order to motivate students to achieve higher performance. In the absence of agreed minimum standards of performance for all levels of education, it was difficult to assess the validity and reliability of these state quality measures, especially in grade 9 where national level moderation was underdeveloped (MoEYS, 2001). Therefore, the policy agenda of learning and assessment was only a terminological change which did not impact educational quality.

This new approach to education was imposed from the state without a wider consultation with the public to gather the feedback, which were attributes of the socialist legacy. The citizens could not contest the values, views and understanding of education imposed by the state. This absolute power of the state was sustained by various technologies and

mechanisms of power such as horizontal and vertical surveillance and the system of rewards and punishments (Dean, 1999). In the absence of the consultation and the feedback, the policy agenda was only rhetoric and an object for passive consumption (Codd, 1988, p. 246).

7.8. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined ways in which education became as an important area of the public policy of the Post socialist Cambodia from 1993 and 2000 for national reconstruction and formed a moral and economic subjects. I have argued that following the general election in 1993, the former Cambodian socialist state began to restructure its socialist structure in a more flexible and complex way in order to adapt itself to a more sustainable governmentality. Post-socialist governmentality in Cambodia was a hybrid system drawing from the political tradition of a patronage system and the legacies of previous regimes and neoliberal governmentality. Therefore, there was a tension between governmental attempts to secure its power and its patronage practices through its rhetorical statement of maintenance of peace and political stability and the necessity to manage itself to face with global economy and politics. Cambodian government created the strategies that linked education to national development in order to produce citizens that had skills, national and global characteristics to serve their purpose of exercise of patronage power and the economic development in the globalised era. The constitution of economic subjects by the practice of governing between 1993 and 2000 that engaged education to the national development has been reiterated in the next political regime between 2000 and 2013 that is discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 8: NEW REGIME 2000-2013, EDUCATION POLICY AND DISCOURSE TOWARD THE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE AGE OF NEOLIBERALISM

8.1. Government reforms since the second mandate 1998-2003 and neoliberal governmentality: Old wine, new bottle

In July 1998, Cambodia held a general election for the second time for the second mandate 1998-2003. There were three political parties among thirty nine that won seats in the national assembly. The Cambodian People's Party (CPP) won 64 seats, the FUNCINPEC party won 43 seats, and Sam Rainsy's Party won 15 seats. The CPP established a coalition with the FUNCINPEC party in which Hun Sen, one of the powerful leaders of the CPP party remained the Prime Minister, and Prince Ranariddh, head of the FUNCINPEC party, became the president of the New National Assembly. Hun Sen has been in power as Cambodian Prime Minister until the present time through his skilful manipulation of patronage politics, politicization of the civil service, the military and the police, and his ability to provide Cambodia's socio-political stability and economic growth (Un, 2011).

Since the second mandate, the Cambodian state has been deeply underpinned by neoliberal political rationality which has been put into effect through neoliberal political programs and technologies of the government. However, the neoliberal political rationality has co-existed with the traditional political rationalities, programs and techniques of previous regimes. This kind of rationality can be called, according to Fimyar (2008b) in her study of policy making in post-communist Ukraine and Tikly (2003), "emerging governmentality" or "governmentality-in-the-making". Emerging governmentality is "a form of political rationality in which the discursive space has acquired liberal connotations, while the practices and legacies of the previous regimes still persist both at the governmental and individual levels" (Fimyar, 2008a, p. 573). Governmentality-in-the-making according to

Tikly, is composed of “complex and sometime contradictory elements that provide both continuity and discontinuity on what went before” (Tikly, 2003, p. 166).

This kind of governmentality has been applied in China (Sigley, 2006), and Vietnam (Thiem, 2015). In these countries, the mode of governing of the state has closely concerned the improvement of the welfare of the populations, the increase in their conditions and the increase of its wealth, longevity and health etc. It has not been more coercive rules and surveillance but government by distance in which “people are not necessarily aware of how their conduct is being conducted or why” (Li, 2006, p. 275).

Policy is a mode of government by distance by which the populations are managed, controlled and disciplined. The state has developed numerous policies for the administration and management of population toward goals that have been planned by the government. This new form of governmentality leads to rearrangement of the political traditions of the state to inspire the populations and to reduce the resistance from the society, while the socialist political traditions have been maintained. The rearrangement has been organised under the new approach called “old wine, new bottle” (Thiem, 2015).

According to the Constitution which is one of the most liberal constitutions in the world, Cambodia is a pluralist democratic country. However, in practice, Cambodian government is neither democratic nor authoritarian but is defined by a political strategy that combines democratic and authoritarian features, such as election, separation of powers among the executive, legislative power and judicial power set by the constitution as with other western world countries, and surveillance and control technology that has been seen in previous regimes. This surveillance and control technology has been used through the patronage system at all levels of the state. Policy reforms have been developed to accommodate the inspiration of population and promote the legitimacy of the government while the patronage politics are still behind the scene (Springer, 2009b). Patronage-clientism is

defined as “ties involving a largely instrumental friendship in which an individual of higher social-economic status (Patron) uses his own influence and resources to provide protection and/or benefits for a person of lower status (Client) who, for his part, reciprocates by offering general support and assistance including personal service to the patron” (Scott, 1972, p. 8). For instance, the Cambodian elites always get the leasing rights on the public assets and the public property-swap deals from the government (Springer, 2011). In return, they provide financial support to high ranking officers of the ruling party for conducting development projects. This practice has been common in Cambodia especially in the country side where the local government relied on party financing for their development funding and made villagers subject to complex economic and political control (Hughes, 2009, pp. 210-211).

Cambodia has politically remained under the tight control of a single ruler, Hun Sen, who has been in power as Cambodian prime minister since 1985. He has been the dominant figure in Cambodia since 1997 following his crack down on FUNCINPEC loyal troops and his solidification of power within and outside his CPP party. While being a part of the CPP, he has been able to “build his own independent power base which affords him a position above party control, with personalised networks that permeated and supersede state institutions” (Un, 2005, p. 219). The Prime Minister’s talks are very influential on the Ministries and governmental institutions in the formulation and the implementation of policies.

In brief, the Cambodian neoliberal governmentality has developed in the form of recombining and rearranging different elements of neoliberalism and the patronage politics in a very complex socio and political context to accommodate diverse aspirations of the population while sustaining the solidified political power of the ruling party and the Prime

Minister. The ambivalence and fluid form of neoliberal governmentality in Cambodia is illustrated by the education policy process and reform in Cambodia.

8.2. Internal context of education-policy making and education reform in Cambodia since 2000

Education policy in Cambodia is a case of an emergent governmentality in which the political leadership has always declared it as the most important means for the national development but financial constraints, lack of political commitment, expertise and the strategy make the reform slow. Moreover, due to the fact that Cambodia is strongly embedded in a patronage system and a top-down decision making, the speeches of the Prime Minister Hun Sen have been influential on the education making process. Thus, although many reforms have been established by the Royal Government of Cambodia, the Cambodian education system is viewed as structurally too centralized.

Education policy making is a complex process. Education policy making in Cambodia has resulted from a complex interplay between internal and external actors and factors in an ambiguous manner to maintain the benefit and the power of political elites and to accommodate the aspirations of the population toward the improvement of the welfare of the population. Firstly, there are many types of normative instruments of the state on education and there is no clear distinction between the jurisdiction of each instrument and between the roles of executive and legislative branches in producing these normative documents. In the case of conflict, the executive branch, especially the Prime Minister, always has power in issuing governmental or verbal orders to govern education. Further, the existing system of government, which consists of many management layers from the national or central levels and many joint or mixed working groups at all levels, is characterised by the duplication of authority and issues numerous normative documents that are poorly coordinated.

Secondly, education is a key development sector that requires the involvement of many actors both internal and external. The Royal Government of Cambodia has to establish the education policy making process that can accommodate as many stakeholders as possible in the education policy process, especially external actors, while maintaining its previous political regime of patronage network, the solidified power and the benefit of political elites. This has resulted in education policies that are often very complicated, ambivalent and amorphous, which give possibilities to the government to interpret them differently to fit its goals.

Since 2000, educational reforms have focused on restructuring of the MoEYS, educational decentralisation and a national curriculum. The restructuring policy focused on the revised structure of the MoEYS in terms of education planning, management, delivery and monitoring. It aims to instil management culture in education institutions through performance monitoring, such as allowance based performances, and responsibilities and accountability for operational budgets (MoEYS, 2005, 2009). The Public Financial Management (PAR), internal audit systems, planning, monitoring and evaluation systems aim to enhance institutional development and increase capacity to manage the education system toward the provision of education service to the people with quality and effectiveness. The restructuring policy also focuses on the improvement of the relations between the state, civil society and the private sector. The relation between the state and the civil society is improved by the Sector Wide Approach (SWAP) to development where the government, and national and international stakeholders come together to plan and harmonize educational priorities, policies and strategies (DFID, 2000).

Secondly, the decentralisation policy aims to transfer greater authority and responsibilities to provincial, district, commune, school level and community level for education service planning, management, delivery, reporting and monitoring, with central Ministry's role

focused on policy and strategy development and sector and programme monitoring (MoEYS, 2001, 2005, 2009). Thirdly, the national curriculum policy 2004-2009 sets out knowledge, skills, attitudes and ethical conduct that should be instilled into the students so that they become self-reliant in their own development and for the national development (MoEYS, 2004).

In Cambodia, education has been constructed as a problem and solution to the national development which is focused on economic and social development. There is a strong linkage between education, economy and social justice. In order to foster the economy through education, education must be an object of urgent change. Education and those in educational spheres are subjected to a reform agenda that will promote economic and social reforms. The linkages between education and economic and social reforms are promoted by a network of discourses as discussed in the next section. This linkage is shown in the figure 4 below:

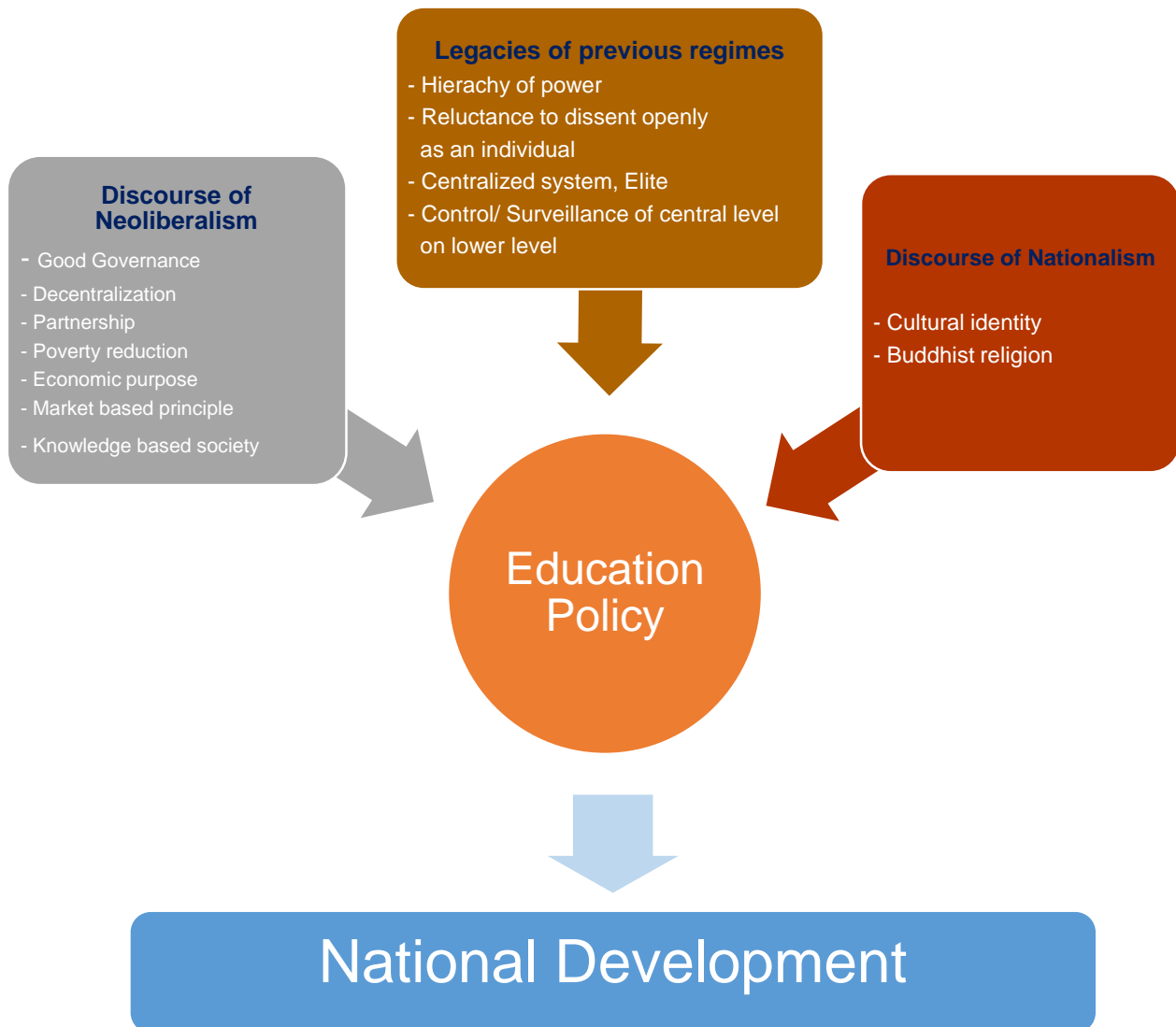


Figure 4 The intersection of discourse of neoliberal development, legacies of previous regime and discourse of nationalism

8.3. Good governance and national development

Good governance, a key component of neoliberal development, is a discursive formation of neoliberalism in which the power of the state is legitimised. Good governance discourse also constructs self-governing subjects, individuals and institutions, who actively contribute to the national development. Good governance was often declared by Cambodian leaders

as state reform. The Prime Minister of Cambodia, Hun Sen said, “if we make a reform, Cambodia will 99% survive, otherwise we will 99% die”. He added that “the Royal Government will continue to enhance good governance at all levels of state institutions to guarantee transparent, effective and highly responsible public service delivery, establishment of sub-national democratic governance structure, promoting the rules of law, justice, and social equity, improving development and poverty reduction, and increasing people’s participation through continuous active promotion of in-depth and comprehensive state reforms” (RGoC, 2004). This discourse is always raised by MoEYS leaders as a key for education reforms in the country.

H.E. Dr.Nath Bunrean, Secretary of State of MoEYS, is the most important person in the education sector. He has been deeply involved in education reforms since he attended the 1990 conference on Education for All (EFA) in Jomtien and has been appointed leader in the MoEYS for over two decades. He has emphasised bringing together all actors in education, government institutions, development partners and civil society organisations in order to meet MDGs and the EFA framework. He has been chairman of all key educational reform working groups, such as Education Strategic Plan Working Group, Public Administration Reform Working Group, Decentralisation and De-concentration Working Group, Focal Person of EFA committee, Teacher Policy Working Group, Legal and Judicial Working Group (that was eliminated in 2014), Public Financial Management Reform Working Group, steering committee of Capacity Building Partnership Fund, and Education Congress Secretariat. He is very influential on the formulation of education policy through his knowledge of educational evolutions in the world, the politics of education and the national development context, and his capacity to build up the partnerships between the MoEYS and development partners.

Good governance is always claimed by multicultural organisations, multilateral and bilateral donors, government institutions, civil society organisations, intellectuals and citizens within the state as the driving force for development (Grindle, 2004). It was a popular buzzword in the 1990s regarding development (Cornwall, 2007). It is “hard to resist in both political and academic circles, stemming from its presentation as political and academic circles, stemming from its presentation as non-political, non-ideological and sanguine” (Springer, 2010, p. 939). This creates the common sense of the notion of good governance in everyday life in Cambodia (Springer, 2010). Common sense led to the consent of institutions and individuals towards the government policy and created the neoliberal subjects. According to Harvey (2005), common sense is:

...constructed out of long-standing practices of culture socialization often rooted deep in regional or national traditions. It is not the same as the good sense that can be constructed out of critical engagement with the issues of the day. Common sense can, therefore, be profoundly misleading, obfuscating or disguising real problems under cultural prejudices. (p. 39)

Good governance discourse is promoted by different actors in the development field, both external actors and internal actors with the state. Development partners, the Cambodian government, NGOs, community, and citizens share a common language about good governance. These discourse coalitions reproduce the discourse of good governance and make it dominant. Thus, the institutions and individuals become the subjects of this discourse who will conform to market behaviour.

The concept of good governance emerged in Cambodia in the 1990s when it was opening up to the western world for financial and technical assistance to support its national development process. In Cambodia, there is an absence of definition of good governance and a lack of understanding of good governance by the government institutions. Without giving a clear definition of good governance, the government can easily frame this concept in its policies based on whatever their goal is to be achieved. However, the concept of good governance has been framed in a neutral way and in a consistent way in government

policies. It is framed in a neutral way to inspire, persuade and motivate people to embrace its neoliberal governing.

After turmoil, the Khmer Rouge regime, civil war and the collapse of Cambodian socialism, Cambodian people perceived that the government led by the former Khmer Rouge soldiers since 1979 had governed with violence, expressive power, manipulation and a patronage system (Crawford, 2003). In order to change the perception of people thereby to become the subjects of its neoliberal reforms, the government had to promote the discourse of governance in its policies. Good governance developed in the Rectangular Strategy phase I in 2003 and has been a continual cornerstone of the politics and development agenda of the Royal Government of Cambodia up to 2013 (RGoC, 2004, 2008b). The Rectangular Strategy for Growth, Employment, Equity and Efficiency Phase I and II articulates “good governance as the most important pre-requisite condition to achieve sustainable economic development with equity and social justice” (RGoC, 2004, p. 6; 2008b). According to this Rectangle Strategy, good governance focuses on fighting corruption, legal and judicial reform, and public administration reform including decentralisation and de-concentration reform and reform of the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces. This document, illustrated by the figure showing the four sides of the Rectangular Strategy, attempts to convince the people and the relevant stakeholders that good governance was the most important factor driving any governmental reforms toward the national development. The elements of good governance represented by interrelated actions for promotion of good governance have been elaborated in a consistent way in the Rectangular Strategy and in line with other concept of good governance applied in other democratic countries. This illustration can make one believe that good governance is crucial for the governmental national development agenda, which the government is committed to achieve.

Governance has been viewed as a key challenge for the national development. Many reports of development partners have emphasized the corrupted government mechanisms in the development, the deficiency of administration, and centralised administration without public participation. Transparency International Organisation listed Cambodia in 2015 as one of the most corrupted countries in the world which is at the 150th rank among 168 countries in the world (Transparency International, 2016). In a similar way, Cambodian people have also perceived the weakness, corruption and deficiency of public administration and management in Cambodia. The perception and the corruption in the Cambodian situation can make more sense of the need for good governance reform.

Good governance is a discursive formation by which the government has attempted to construct self-governing subjects through the creation of common sense in its citizens about good governance. However, the ultimate goal is not the good governance itself but encouraging macroeconomic stability, utilisation of resources in the most efficient way and integrating Cambodia within the global economy (RGoC, 2008a). The outcome of the good governance reform is in line with the good governance agenda initiated by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in developing countries that is conceptually linked to economic liberalisation (Springer, 2010).

In the belief that education plays an important role in the liberalisation of the economy, following the political agenda of government, good governance discourse has been incorporated in the education policy. This discourse has been used as a strategy to penetrate market behaviour into educational institutions and agencies and their staff who are expected to be accountable for their actions and activities. The policy discourse that centres on good governance produced the regime of the truth that can create the habit of good governance in individuals and institutions, such as efficiency, accountability and transparency that shape them as *homo economicus*. Good governance has been

discursively used in the education policy to achieve this goal. Although the discourse of good governance expressed through benign discourse such as efficiency, accountability and transparency is prevalent in education policy texts, there is no clear definition of good governance in the education sector in education policy texts, which has led to different interpretation by different stakeholders. This absence of definition makes this discourse fit with different stakeholders based on their preferences and their interventions in the education sector.

The narratives of this discourse were slightly different in ESP from 2001 to 2009. Between 2001 and 2005, the term 'good governance' was not yet used in the education policy because the discourse of good governance became the discourse of development in Cambodia only in 2003 when the Royal Government of Cambodia adopted the Rectangular Strategy Phase I 2003-2005 in 2003. The ESP 2001-2005 was the document that focused strongly on educational management especially on the conduct of all stakeholders involved in the education sector and less on education quality. Throughout the ESP and ESSP's text, there are a number of statements, especially those related to good governance, that direct the conduct of those involved in education.

The language referring to good governance was promoted in education policy: "the education reforms are designed to be consistent with Government's broader policies for a national program for administrative reform (NPAR), fiscal and financial reform and gradual decentralisation and de-concentration plan for public service management" (MoEYS, 2001, p. 1). It "is designed to take account of critical governance concerns, especially the need for policies and strategies that guarantee transparency, accountability, predictability, and participation in the planning and monitoring of education spending and its outcomes" (p.12). The discourse of good governance was espoused in the statement of financial management and monitoring of MoEYS (2001):

The long term policy goal for education financing is to guarantee that no potential student will be excluded from access to education or training opportunities for any reasons or inability to pay. An associated goal will be to put in place fair and equitable financing mechanisms, taking account of affordability by government, parents and other potential contributors. Another associated goal is that sufficient information will be made available to all contributors about education costs in order that they can make effective judgments on the value of both current and future investment in the sector (p. 12).

In ESP 2006-2010, the language of good governance was starting to be used in education policy. The narrative of good governance centred on ensuring the efficiency, accountability and transparency that are prevalent throughout all policies in every sector of education.

The ESP 2006-2010 (MoEYS, 2005, p. 13) states, “an accountable and effective institutional and governance framework that ensures standards improvement and quality services needs to be put in place at central, provincial, and district and school level”. The policy discourse emphasises increasing operational autonomy and accountability regarding operational budgets at school and training institution levels (p.13) and on increasing transparency and improving monitoring and accountability of teachers, schools and post-secondary institutions (p.14).

Another narrative of discourse of good governance was the predictability of financial resources. ESP 2006-2010 states that “the Ministry recognizes that effective implementation of the ESP policy and strategy will require predictability of available resources” (MoEYS, 2005, p. 19). This means that if the good governance is not well applied in the education sector, the MoEYS may run out of budget for implementation of its educational programs. ESP thus set out the mechanism for the improvement of monitoring and reporting in their decentralized education sectors.

Good governance discourse was promoted in the statement about improving financial and performance monitoring and reporting in compliance with Public Administration Reform (PAR) and Public Financial Management Reform (PFM) of the Royal Government, whose aim is to improve financial management and monitoring. The policy discourse emphasised

monitoring and reporting on their fiscal plans and on all educational programmes in order to increase accountability on government, parents, private sector and individual in the financing of education at all levels. The MoEYS states that “it is also important to ensure sufficient information to all contributors to education costs in order for them to effectively judge on the value of current and future investments in education” (MoEYS, 2005, p. 18). This discourse aimed to show educational stakeholders the government’s commitment to improve the effectiveness and efficiency and thus the fund is offered to the government.

Teacher effectiveness, efficiency and accountability discourse was central to the discourse of good governance. According to ESP 2006-2010, “the elimination of informal contributions, offset by improved performance-based teacher salaries and allowances, is designed to create a climate within which Government and communities are prepared to hold school directors and teaching and non-teaching staff accountable” (MoEYS, 2005, p. 19). The creation of this performance-based teaching aimed to eliminate informal payments to teachers and make quality improvements (p.19). The informal payments to teachers were problematised by development partners as detrimental to the economic development of Cambodia. As a matter of fact, in the Cambodian context, some informal payments are culturally and morally acceptable. We have been taught to pay the tribute to our teachers for their sacrifice in teaching us to become good citizens of the society. The MoEYS thus promoted a discourse of teacher effectiveness, efficiency and accountability to satisfy the development partners in shaping teachers to become neoliberal subjects.

There is little difference between the discourse of good governance in ESP 2006-2010 and in 2009-2013. The discourse of good governance permeates the statements:

- strengthening good governance in management, compliance and performance,
- improving the quality and efficiency of planning, monitoring and evaluation of sector plan performance at national and sub-national levels,
- increasing the quality and efficiency of administration management,
- increasing the quality and efficiency of education infrastructure management,

- improving the predictability for medium-term financial planning and decentralised financial management and good governance and regulatory system,
- increasing public financial accountability and educational institutions' responsibility for operational budgets and program decision making,
- increasing service remuneration and incentives linked to teacher performance and standards
- increasing transparency and improving performance monitoring and accountability of teachers, schools and higher education institutions,
- improving the quality and efficiency of technical and vocational education, life skill education and vocational orientation,
- creating learning standards for students at grade 3, 6 and 9 nationwide,
- strengthening the education sector performance and impact monitoring system. (MoEYS, 2009, pp. 15-16)

According to the statements above, the discourse of good governance permeated in management, efficiency, transparency, accountability and predictability in the financing of education, efficiency and accountability of educational administration and management and teachers, compliance and performance and impact monitoring. The discourse of good governance was even more encouraged in education policy through the creation of two important government agencies, governance office under the Department of MoEYS, and the Department of Quality Assurance by Sub Decree 84 on the organisation and functioning of the MoEYS in 2009 (RGoC, 2009). The Department of Quality Assurance is responsible for conducting “quality and efficiency monitoring of all activities related to education quality and efficiency improvements for learners, the learning environment, the content, curriculum, documentation, teaching and learning methods, facilities, instructional materials, and school management with community participation” (MoEYS, 2009, p. 19). The Office of governance is responsible for the implementation of the good governance reform and the decentralisation and de-concentration reform in the education sector.

In term of the concept, the discourse of good governance in education policy discourse 2009-2013 is not different from the concept of good governance in education policy discourse 2006-2010. What makes the difference is the structure and presentation of the

discourse in education policy discourses and texts. The discourse of governance 2009-2013 is articulated in education policy in a non-technical and neutral way and political way. It is developed through a simple language of planning that is easily understood by everyone, even ordinary people. However it is expressed in vague language in order to accommodate all relevant stakeholders in education. The narrative of the discourse of good governance in the education policy is always referred to as Public Administration Reform, Decentralisation and Decentralisation reform and Financial Public Management Reform that are the guiding reforms of the Royal Government of Cambodia toward the national development. This reference is emphasised by ESP quoting the Rectangular Strategy:

The Royal Government recognizes the need to ensure consistency in terms of hierarchy, role, substance, coherence and synchronization between the Rectangular Strategy, the National Strategic Development Plan and the Sectoral Development Strategies as well as other policy documents, investment programs and the national budget. This calls for a review of the timeframe of the National Strategic Development Plan and Political Platform of the Royal Government which includes the Rectangular Strategy as its socio economic agenda. (MoEYS, 2009, p. 1)

The structure of the text follows the formal text construction of the National Development Strategic Plan (NDSP) and other government policies and follows the same formulation and consultation process. ESP 2009-2013 emphasises:

Following the Royal Government's guidelines on the preparation and update of the National Strategic Development Plan 2009-2013 to ensure consistency with the Royal Government's mandate, the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport formulated the Education Strategic Plan 2009-2013 in broad consultation with relevant ministries, development partners and provincial offices of Education, Youth and Sport. (p. 2)

It was illustrated by bullet points, chart, figure and map that could be easily understood by all relevant stakeholders and readers as a whole and thus become the subject of education policy discourse. The language and structure of ESP can accommodate politically all relevant stakeholders in education and thus become the subject of education policy discourse, discourse of governance. The discourse of good governance thus

inspires educational institutions, education personnel both teaching staff and non-teaching staff, and students to become neoliberal subjects.

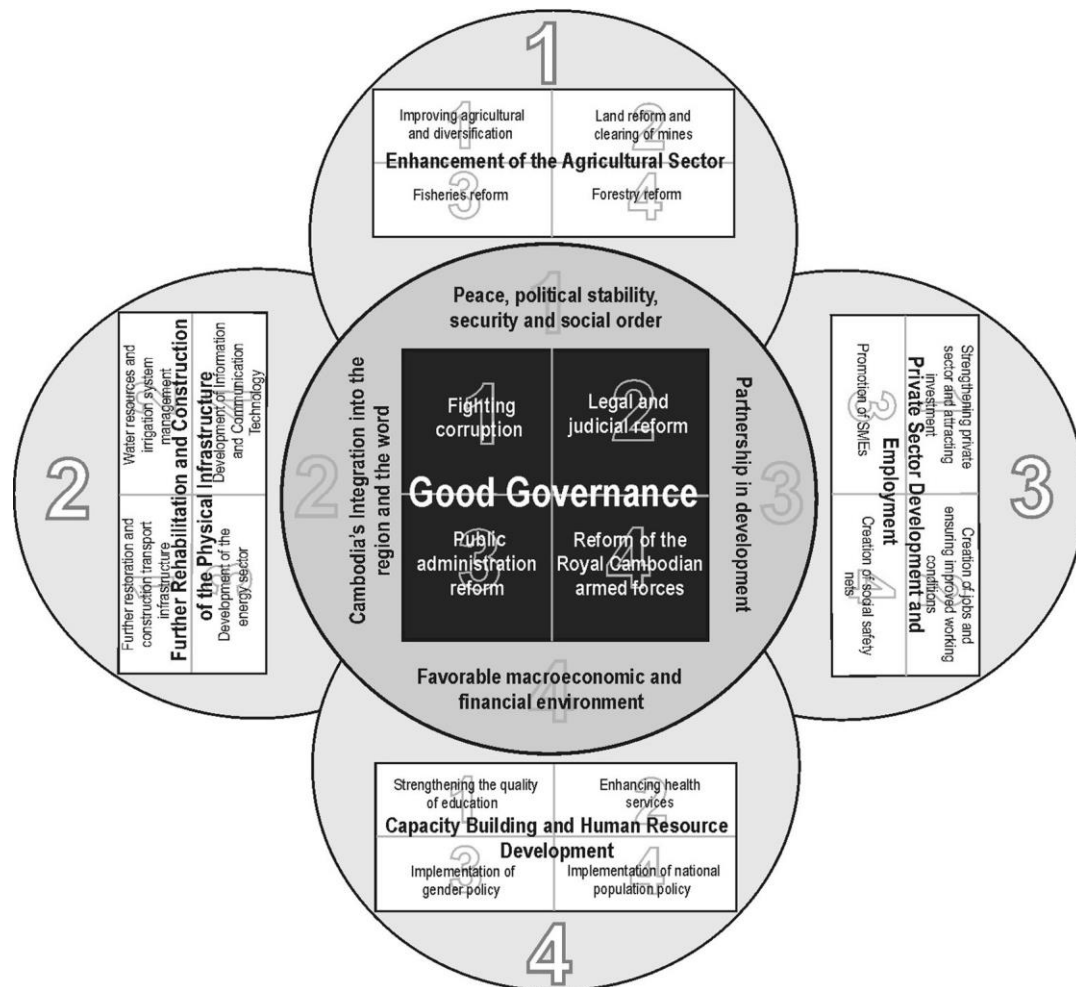


Figure 5 The Rectangular Strategy for Growth, Employment, Equity, and Efficiency in Cambodia

(Source: Rectangular Strategy of the Royal Government of Cambodia)

8.4. Decentralisation in education

The discourse of decentralisation is another development discourse embedded in development policy and education policy. Decentralisation has been perceived to be a key element to the development by delegating greater decision making power to local governance and empowering local communities to participate in local development. In the late 1990s, aid agencies started to promote decentralisation as a driving force for

development in aid recipient countries including Cambodia. The aid agencies emphasised discursively “higher centralised structure of civil administration” and that there was “no local civil administration directly representing the people” resulting in inefficiency and ineffectiveness of aid in development (Asian Development Bank, 2002, p. 43). The discourse of decentralisation has been used to support the development agenda in Cambodia.

Decentralisation is in Cambodian terms “*Wemachaka*” meaning “out from the centre”, which originated from Pali/Sanskrit language (Nath, 1964). This term emerged in the late 1990s during which time aid agencies started to promote decentralisation in Cambodia. This word is not understood by ordinary people and probably by some educated persons. However due to the absence of simple political words for expressing downward or upward accountability between central level and local level, this term, *Wemachaka*, has been used as an official term since the launch of the decentralisation and de-concentration reform in the late 1990s. In order to make decentralisation reform be embraced widely by the people, a number of simple narratives of the discourse of decentralisation are embedded in education policy discourse. This discourse is articulated in a number of narratives such as the discourse of partnership, the discourse of transparency and the discourse of participation of community. These policy discourses can construct self-governing subjects.

The discourse of decentralisation is a new discourse of governing in Cambodia. There is a discursive shift of state in the politics of education and the governance of education. This discursive shift demonstrates the change of the relation between the MoEYS, development partners, private sector, civil society organisations and the public, from a governing with absolute power of the state to sharing authority and expertise with those actors. The discourse of decentralisation has permeated the policy statements in ESP 2001-2005, ESP 2004-2008, ESP 2006-2010 and ESP 2009-2013 as can be seen in the following:

ESP 2001-2005

The ESP 2001-2005 is based on an assumption of increased participation of all stakeholders in defining priorities, implementing them and monitoring how effective the programs have been. This will fit with government's broader program for gradual decentralization and de-concentration plans for public service management (MoEYS, 2001, p. 1).

The Ministry's long term policy goal is to put in place planning and management systems that allow for greater responsibility for decision making at districts, community and school levels. The development of these systems will need to be responsive to broader public administration reforms including the implications of any new role for communes and of revised responsibilities for the Office of the Provincial Governors and Provincial Departments of Education coming out of current Ministry of Interior review. (MoEYS, 2001, p. 26)

ESP 2006-2010

The Ministry's on-going priority is to enable greater delegation of authority and responsibilities to provincial, district, commune and school level. Central MoEYS departments will increasingly implement policy and strategy development and sector and program performance monitoring. A priority for ESP 2006-2010 is to consolidate and extend measures that build up capacity for decentralised education service management at province, district and school level. (MoEYS, 2005)

ESP 2009-2013

MoEYS will take appropriate measures that are aimed at institutional and capacity development for educational staff for decentralization by restructuring working procedures, developing legislative instruments, and training education officers at all levels in technical skills. The continued emphasis on PFM, internal audit systems, planning, monitoring and evaluation systems will enhance institutional development and increase capacity to manage these systems. (MoEYS, 2009, p. 13)

The education policy discourse, terms of shared responsibility, participation and cooperation of the state and relevant stakeholders were randomly used. This discourse changes the perspective on the traditional mode of education governance by which there was clear distinction of power between the state and the public. The discourse of decentralisation articulates the participation of communities and learners in education. The MoEYS will "enhance parent and community involvement in all stages of schooling especially by commune councils" (MoEYS, 2009, p. 15). It is strengthened by article 36 of the Law on Education which set that "parents or guardians of minor children who are dependent and learners shall have the right to active and full participation in order to

develop educational standards at school and national levels, directly or through their representatives” (RGoC, 2007a).

The discourse of centralisation and the discourse of governance

Emerging governmentality strongly articulates the discourse of centralisation on governance and yet not the governance of the soul or self-governance which is the element of the modern governmentality. Various discursive constructions employed in policy documents promote and maintain the hierarchical balance of power between the MoEYS and other participants in the policy process. The MoEYS has acquired the formal status of authority central body of the executive branch of power in the education sector. It has many absolute and uncontested powers which range from planning development, monitoring and governance. All works of technical departments at central levels and lower levels of MoEYS must be under the control of the MoEYS. The activities report of all these institutions must be submitted to the MoEYS (RGoC, 2009). It is a part of the technology of control and surveillance from the MoEYS (Foucault, 1977) in a way that Rose and Miller (1992) describe:

Writing codifies customs and habits, normalising them, both transforming them into repeatable instructions as to how to conduct oneself, and establishing authoritative means of judgment. “Power” is the outcome of the affiliation of persons, spaces, communications and inscriptions into a durable form (p.184).

The centralisation or subordination discourse is permeated throughout the policy documents by such language devices as the use of the imperative, the prevalent use of “shall” and the frequent use of authoritative phrases such as “approved by the Ministry”, “determined by the Ministry”, “agreed upon with the Ministry”. The use of “compliance”, “determination”, and “pursuance” strengthens the centralisation discourse (RGoC, 2009).

8.5. Partnership in education

In the perspective of discourse analysis, partnership in development is socially constructed. The construction of partnership by the parties in the development process may differ markedly although, at a common sense level, the concept of partnership contains the notion of equality and trust amongst the partners on an agreed vision. For instance, the language of partnership conceals, in the public policy context, significant power differentials between, for example, public authorities, international development organisations, NGOs and communities. This has been critiqued in the study of development as discourse. The development as discourse has been studied by a number of scholars concerned with the representations of developing or underdeveloped countries as a justification for intervention from the First World/Third World (Escobar, 1984, 1995; Ferguson, 1990).

Before 1995, the international development discourse articulated the power differential between the global North and South. This power differential was reflected by the economic conditionality associated with structural adjustment lending and political conditionality (Crawford, 2003). Since 1995, in response to the critique of unequal relationship between the global North and South, the new language of partnership based on more equal relations between the North and South has been developed predominantly and in an ambiguous manner by different actors in development (Crawford, 2003) . In 1995, Wolfensohn, new president of the World Bank, constructed the concept of partnership that entailed “the participation of civil society and the poor in the development of economics and policies” (Long, 2001, p. 50). Through this language, there was an emergence of new actors in the policy process, such as nongovernmental actors and the poor. This led to the redefinition of the concept of partnership or relationship between the global South and North in development and the inclusion of more actors as development partners. The new discourse of partnership for the World Bank holds that Government, NGOs and community

form partnerships in the process of developing their development agenda. Therefore, there was a shift in development discourse toward “country ownership” from one “imposed from the outside to one owned by the country, developed with broad participation, and clearly linked to agreement on international development goals” (Robb, 2002, p. vii).

For OECD’s Development Assistance Committee, partnership is constructed in the language of joint responsibility of the developing country and its people in the development process. The basic principle is that “locally owned country development strategies...should emerge from an open and collaborative dialogue by local authorities with civil society and with external partners. The development project must operate in a ways that “encourage strong local commitment, participation, capacity development and ownership” (OECD, 1996b, p. 14). This concept of partnership has been used by numerous international development agencies such as the UK government’s White Paper on International Development (DFID, 1997) and World Bank’s Comprehensive Development Framework (World Bank, 1999). The dominant development partnership discourse has been permeated by the statement: “enabling the country to be in the driver’s seat required strong partnership among government, at all levels, including representative institutions, civil society, the private sector, donors, international agencies and other development actors”(World Bank, 1999, 2002). The partnership discourse put the recipient aid countries in the position of agent for their own development through the strong participation of all stakeholders, both internal and external actors.

The concepts of partnership and ownership were redefined by the Paris Convention on Aid Effectiveness in 2005 and reaffirmed in Accra Agenda for action in 2008 and Busan 2011 in order to address the deficiency of partnerships in development. The new concept of partnership consisted of themes of ownership, harmonisation, alignment, mutual accountability and managing for results (OECD, 2005). Although the new language of

partnership has been extensively used, partnerships still reflect the domination of the global North on the global south in international development through language used in the aid framework and the national development policy. For instance, the language used in the Paris convention on Aid Effectiveness expressed the unequal relationship between global North and South through putting the conditions for a country toward ownership in development. To achieve ownership, there was a need for developing countries to implement national development plans in line with the Poverty Reduction Strategies that were neoliberal reforms promoted by international development organisations (OECD, 2005, p. 16). Therefore, “ownership” requires developing partners to be responsible for their own development in compliance with international development frameworks. Critiques have been conducted by scholars on the domination of international agencies in development on the aid recipient countries (Crawford, 2003; Melber, 2002; Mercer, 2003). These studies claim that there is no transfer of power in national development to the aid recipient countries but the discourse of partnership is used only to mask the exercise of power by international agencies on the aid recipient countries.

The power differential between the state and international development organisations was also seen in Cambodia. McCormick emphasises this domination; “rather than embodying those principles of harmonisation, participation and national ownership, the policy arrangements and documentation in Cambodia are forums for reproducing power imbalances sustaining national elite political interests and dominant global agendas, through their compositions and functions” (McCormick, 2012, p. 40). This power differential was expressed in a declaration on harmonization and alignment signed between the Government of Cambodia and its development partners (RGoC, 2005), which demonstrated the governments’ willingness to create an effective development partnership based on mutual commitment, trust, respect, and confidence (RGoC, 2005, p. 1). In this partnership, the Royal Government and its partners agreed to nine key tenets, including

the principle that development assistance must be provided in compliance with the development priorities of the aid recipient countries in line with harmonized approaches in global and regional programs (RGoC, 2005).

The discourse of partnership is promoted in all policies and reforms of the Royal Government of Cambodia. The discourse of partnership is promoted by education policy and the MoEYS to serve two functions. First, the educational partnership discourse is constructed to ensure the development agenda of international agencies is followed by the government thus the aid is provided while there is no genuine partnership applied in the education policy making process. Secondly, the educational partnership discourse constructed relevant stakeholders in education as self-governing subjects in development.

Education policy is a discursive formation through which partnership was promoted by the state in order to consolidate its power, specifically to produce the power imbalances for maintaining the interest of national elites and international development organisations. As the discursive formation, education policy creates “a value system that serves as the resource for “truth claims” and legitimacy endogenous to the values inherent in an official discourse” (Mathur & Skelcher, 2003, p. 16). The educational partnership discourse was promoted in ESP 2001-2005 as below:

The Ministry's vision of an inclusive education system also includes broad-based participation at all levels of Government and civil society in taking responsibility for planning and implementation of education services. The goal is to gradually put in place systems of mutual accountability between Government and communities for ensuring well performing and friendly schools and institutions. (MoEYS, 2001, p. 7)

The Ministry is proposing to build upon the Principles and Practices for Partnership agreed by MoEYS, donors and NGOs in February 2001. The fundamental principles are that partners will engage in constructive and active strategic negotiation in a frank and transparent manner in order to implement a shared vision and agreed set of long term and medium term policy priorities and targets. In broad terms, the long term vision will be derived from internationally agreed Development Assistance Committee (DAC) targets and from the Education For All platform endorsed at Dakar in late 2000. The partnership guidelines are at Annex 1. The Ministry sees as a key first step that MoEYS, donor and NGOs should agree on a collaborative work plan and program for design and implementation of ESP policy and strategic framework. (MoEYS, 2001, p. 6)

The language used in this discourse is that partnership between MoEYS, donors and NGOs will be operated in a constructive, active and transparent manner based on a shared and agreed goal and on externally prescribed parameters, that is DAC framework and Education For all Framework in 2000. This discourse contains the power differential between the MoEYS and donors because the partnership between MoEYS and donors and NGOs must be line with international development frameworks. If the MoEYS formulates the policy priorities and targets that do not conform to the international norms, it will not be able to get aid from international organisation.

The arrangement of the partnership is set in the Principles and Practices for partnership regarding Government, MoEYS, Donor and NGO consultation mechanism in Annex 1 of the policy. The arrangement of the partnership in this education policy was constructed in favour of donors although the language of partnership was discursively claimed by the MoEYS and donors. The domination of donors on MoEYS and other members of the partnership are identified by the language used in the Principles and Practices for partnership in Annex 1 of education policy. According to this document, the object of the Consultation “will be to engage in a constructive way to reach common agreement on pro-poor education policy, strategy and program priorities and targets and will be that of strategic negotiation, agreement on financing modalities and comprehensive monitoring of sector performance based on consensus” (MoEYS, 2001, p. Annex 1). According to this statement, the MoEYS was not the one who had the final decision on education policy and strategies in accordance with the principle of ownership by the aid recipient countries. All education policy options must be agreed in consensus among the members of the partnership. In case the MoEYS individually conducted consultation with other actors, it must also circulate an aide memoire of discussions to other members of the partnership. As such, the MoEYS, the owner of the education policy reform, cannot decide on what it

viewed as its education development and reform priorities if these were not agreed by donors.

The Principles and Practices set that the consultation mechanism shall be transparent and inclusive, incorporating meaningful and legitimate representation from all key stakeholders. However, it set only three permanent members of the partnership including the MoEYS, donors and NGOs representations, and other stakeholders could only joint the consultation process on a case by case basis (Annex 1, point 6). The MoEYS would be represented by the Minister (Chair) and the Secretaries of State (Co-Vice Chairs), Undersecretaries of States and Directors General. All donors were members of the partnership. The NGOs would only be allocated a maximum of five standing representatives, selected by the NGO constituency among which two were permanent and three others were selected on the basis of the agenda for each meeting (Annex 1, p.11 & 12). It further states that the consultations within the partnership arrangement based on the joint agreement defines how to ensure civil society views are represented, and the NGO community is not the one who should define how its voice should be heard in the partnership. The partnership thus excluded others stakeholders such as community, private sector and parents. The donor was still the most powerful in the education partnership.

The power of partnerships in governance cannot only be viewed through a conceptualisation of power as domination but the rationalities, technologies and outcome of the partnership on constructing subject. According to Abrahamsen, partnerships are “part of a particular way of thinking about and acting upon the world that goes beyond mere ideology and rhetoric” (Abrahamsen, 2004, p. 1460). In neoliberal governing, partnership created technologies of liberal governance to produce modern and self-disciplined citizens or organisations as responsible agents in their own national development. In fact, for the Royal Government of Cambodia, partnership is a changing

pattern of governing in order to govern better through the constructing of self-governing subjects that are both internal and external actors of the state. Partnership discourse was promoted in education policy discourse to create these self-governing subjects toward the national development.

Partnership is a discursive formation of the state and the MoEYS through which the state can motivate different stakeholders to engage in collective activity oriented towards the national development. The term “partnership”, which is in Khmer language “*Pheapcheadaikou*” meaning “a pair of hands”, is used to define the new relation between the state, civil society, development partner and the people in the development of education. The term partnership is often used along with the term “ownership”, which is in Khmer language “*Pheapcheamarchas*” meaning “being the owners”. The term “partnership” and “ownership” have been prevalently used in education policies. These terms are used in a very broad way in education policy, which leads to different understandings and interpretations. The discourse of partnership centred on broad language aims to accommodate more actors in supporting educational development.

The education policy discourse of the Cambodian state between 2001 and 2013 holds that partnerships are good because they expand the arena of governmental decision making to involve others as societal actors. The idea of ‘partnership’ is one that has strong overtones of co-operative and consensual behaviour (Mathur & Skelcher, 2003). At a common sense level, everyone can believe that it incorporates the principle of equality and trust amongst the partners and shared and agreed purpose and vision of development such that all will share resources to reach this vision of development. Partnership promoted by the education policy discourse can accommodate institutions and individuals participating in the national development.

The education partnership discourse of the state is promoted or reinforced through a discourse coalition of other actors. A discourse coalition refers to a group of actors who share the same social construct (Hajer, 1995). In Cambodia, various government institutions, multinational development organisation, and NGOs promote partnership in education reform. Partnership between those actors has been arranged through the creation of two working groups, Education Sector Working Group (ESWG) that is composed of UN and bi-lateral aid agencies and a few international NGOs, and Joint Technical Working Group (JTWG) that is composed of the MoEYS and the ESWG and is chaired by the Minister of Education, Youth and Sport.

These working groups have agreed on the principle of partnership in education. These working groups use the same language of partnership in education. The language of partnership was firstly used in education policy text in 2001-2005 to construct the relation between MoEYS and internal and external actors of the state and has been promoted by successive education strategic plans. Although it has been used in government policies and education policies, there hasn't been a clear definition of partnership in Cambodia. Without giving a clear definition of partnership, the government can easily frame this concept in its policies based on the goal they want to achieve. This has been seen in education policy discourse from 2001 to 2013. The ESP 2001-2005 emphasised that:

The Ministry will strengthen its partnership arrangements with other key ministries through joint working parties and monitoring groups (eg. for education financial planning and management, for impact monitoring, for personnel reforms). These intra-government discussions will also be used to define the role of Government and the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports in policy, planning and service delivery of various education services (MoEYS, 2001, p. 5)

The discourse of partnership promoted the collaboration and cooperation of the MoEYS with other key governmental ministries through the creation of joint working groups and monitoring groups for education financial planning and management, for impact monitoring and for personnel reforms. The MoEYS viewed internal actors, especially those key

ministries involving in financial planning and management, in impact monitoring and for personnel reforms, as having an important role in the formulation of education policies especially in the formulation of the education strategic plan. The partnership between MoEYS and other governmental institutions in the formulation of ESP was promoted by ESP as below:

The Ministry realizes that it cannot plan and implement the ESP policy and strategy priorities alone. The planning process is based on a clear understanding of the need for close collaboration and cooperation from various arms of Government. (MoEYS, 2001, p. 2)

The discourse of partnership is linked to the discourse of collaboration and cooperation between the MoEYS and other key government agency in the formulation of education policy to ensure that education policy was consistent particularly with the full Poverty Reduction Strategic Paper (PRSP) and the Second Socio-Economic Development Plan (SEDP), and with financial and public administration reforms and decentralisation and administration de-concentration (MoEYS, 2001, pp. 2-3).

The MoEYS saw that actors external to the state such as donors and NGOs play an important role in education reform. The education policy discourse seeks to encourage external actors such as donors and NGOs to be involved in the formulation of education policy. Partnership between the MoEYS and external actors of the state was also promoted in the 2001 statement that:

The Ministry is proposing to build upon the Principles and Practices for Partnership agreed by MoEYS, donors and NGOs in February 2001. The fundamental principles are that partners will engage in constructive and active strategic negotiation in a frank and transparent manner in order to implement a shared vision and agreed set of long term and medium term policy priorities and targets. (MoEYS, 2001, p. 6)

The MoEYS view was that the private sector played an important role in education reforms especially in the upper secondary, vocational training and higher education levels toward the creation of education/market needs of the countries. The discourse of partnership was promoted in the statement below:

The Government's overarching long term policy goal for upper secondary, TVET and higher education provision is based on putting in place a complementary public partnership arrangement. The role of MoEYS will be to formulate policies which enable both public and private institutions to respond to education/market needs, taking account of their respective comparative advantage. It will be the responsibilities of both public and private institutional partners to assure achievement of the stated policy targets and the responsibility of MoEYS to monitor progress. (MoEYS, 2001, p. 9)

Partnership between public and private institutions in post-basic education, especially for higher education and vocational training, was encouraged so that they produced students who are skill workers for the country. Policies and strategies must be formulated by the MoEYS to enable this partnership to be possible and to monitor its progress toward the achievement of the education policy targets. The priority strategy "is to provide operating budgets for these institutions, grant greater operational autonomy and take steps to strengthen efficiency, governance and management" (MoEYS, 2001, p. 14). Providing operating budgets and greater operational autonomy could empower them into becoming self-governing subjects and self-understanding subjects to participate in education reforms. This partnership was under the technique of the surveillance of the MoEYS.

Partnership was also promoted in the education policy 2006-2010. The discourse of partnership emphasised the shift from partnership to ownership to Cambodian government, its institutions and its citizens in the national development. ESP 2006-2010 states that:

Experiences from the implementation of education reform through Sector Wide Approach (SWAP) have provided good results in the process of consultation between the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC), donors, NGOs and other stakeholders in the ESP formulation. The shift from donorship to partnership and towards government ownership demonstrates good collaboration from all stakeholders. The Ministry has been successful in establishing partnerships in the context of harmonization of external assistance. (MoEYS, 2005, p. 1)

The Cambodian government views partnership as part of a progression toward ownership in its national development process. As a part of partnership, the MoEYS recognizes the importance of sector-wide consultation on education policy formulation including ESP through a Sector Wide Approach with donors, NGOs, other stakeholders. More actors

were involved in the formulation of the education policy process. The partnership between the MoEYS, donors and NGOs was arranged through the Joint Technical Working Group (JTWG) in Education, which consisted of MoEYS officials, inter-ministerial officials and staff as well as donors and NGOs represented in the Education Sector Working Group (MoEYS, 2005, p. 2).

Partnership with donors was still viewed as important by the MoEYS as claimed in the policy that the Ministry had been particularly successful in establishing partnerships with the multinational financial organisations in the context of harmonisation of external assistance (ESP, p.1). In the context of the national development, the Royal Government of Cambodia signed a declaration on harmonization and alignment between the Government of Cambodia and its development partners in 2004 in which it stated the Government will create an effective development partnership based on mutual commitment, trust, respect and confidence. The MoEYS reassured this partnership commitment in its education policy in order to construct donors as subject of the development through creating space for them in educational governance.

The MoEYS viewed other stakeholders beside donors as also important in its education reforms. It believed that inclusion of more actors would contribute to the achievement of education reforms. The inclusion of more actors in education reform, especially in non-formal education, was set in the education policy that “the MoEYS expand public/NGO/Community partnerships in non- formal education in border and remote areas as well as increase support for provision of local skills and vocational training and basic/required professional skills responsive to the needs of the social and labor market” (MoEYS, 2005, p. 12). The Royal Government of Cambodia and the MoEYS have recognized that NGOs, public and communities have played significant roles in the development of non-formal education that been targeted to poorer, remote, and

disadvantaged areas. The discourse of partnership aimed to encourage those new actors especially NGOs to work in non-formal education in poorer, remote and disadvantaged areas and to reach the national target of Education For All in 2015.

Partnership in education was reaffirmed in ESP 2009-2013. The discourse of partnership was promoted in the statement:

The Royal Government will continue to strengthen its partnership with the private sector and the national and international community to enhance and improve the quality of education services, putting increased emphasis on information and foreign language training at all levels of general education, technical and vocational training, and in higher education, consistent with international standards and the country's development needs.

MoEYS will expand public/NGO/ community partnerships in formal and non-formal education in border, remote and disadvantaged areas as well as increase support for the provision of local life skills and vocational training and basic/required professional skills responsive to the needs of the social and labor market. (MoEYS, 2009, p. 11)

According to this discourse, the MoEYS is committed to include all relevant stakeholders in the education policy making process. Partnership in education includes the private sector, the national and the international community. In terms of membership of partnerships, the language used in the discourse is political and broad, for instance "the national and international community". The policy does not define clearly who the national and international community are. The MoEYS used this broad language so that it accommodated the aspirations, the motivation and the encouragement of as many stakeholders as possible in the education development process. These stakeholders are shaped toward active subjects in the education development process based on the principle of equality between these subjects. What is significant is that the term "donor" is not seen in the Education Strategic Plan 2009-2013. This term is replaced by the term "international community" which can include all actors external to the state. Through the new discourse of partnership, the MoEYS wants to promote that it is partner not recipient in education development. It is an active creator of its education reforms rather than the

object of external assistance. This is expressed through the use of the term “development partners” throughout the education policy.

The discourse of partnership has promoted partnership with some actors in different fields of education. Partnership in education with all stakeholders is strengthened to enhance and improve the quality of education, information and foreign language training at all levels of general education, technical and vocational training and in higher education.

Partnership in this field is viewed as important in the current development context of Cambodia that is in need of a labour force that can compete in the global economy.

Partnership with public, NGOs and community is particularly promoted in formal and non-formal education in border, remote and disadvantaged areas. Partnership is a power that shapes conduct of NGOs, community and public toward governing subjects in formal and non-formal education in the area where the MoEYS and its institutions may not be able to provide sufficient educational services.

The educational partnership discourse was normalised in the Law on Education (RGoC, 2007b). According to article 29 of the Law on Education, “the state shall widely mobilise the participation of the relevant stakeholders such as public and private sector, national and international organisations, non-governmental organisations and communities in the process of development, draft, monitoring and assessing the implementation, the review and the amendment of national education, policies, plans and strategies” (RGoC, 2007b).

This article further stipulates “the state shall strongly encourage and support private institutions in the establishment of partnerships providing all kinds of educational services at all levels”. The Law provides the right to all stakeholders to participate in the education policy making process, and to monitor the policy implementation, policy review and amendment process. As promoted in the Law, the discourse of partnership becomes the

dominant discourse of the state that constructs self-governing subjects who will voluntarily participate in education reforms.

8.6. Developing knowledge and skill

Globalisation is constructed as an agent for educational change. It is used in education policy to justify and impose new values and understanding of education. Education produces knowledge in the development of a knowledge based economy. In this globalised world, knowledge is “the driver of productivity and economic growth” and knowledge economies are “based on the production, distribution and use of knowledge and information” (OECD, 1996a, p. 4 & 7). In its 1996 report, OECD suggests governments develop policies that promote the capacity to learn, to use tacit (know-how) knowledge to transform codified knowledge (p.13) and how to use and innovate with technology. Education policy has played a crucial role in the creation of knowledge to serve a knowledge economy society. Cambodian education policy stated that “the MoEYS vision is to establish and develop human resources of the very highest quality and ethics in order to develop a knowledge-based society within Cambodia” (MoEYS, 2005, 2009). The envisioned knowledge-based society is a society with fast and sustainable development in which people have tremendous knowledge in technology, deep understanding of culture and decent living standards with happiness, peace and dignity (RGoC, 2005, 2008a).

To reach this vision, MoEYS’s mission “is to lead, manage, and develop education, youth and sport sector in Cambodia in responding to the socio-economic and cultural development needs of its people and the reality of regionalisation and globalisation” (MoEYS, 2009, p. 1). From these statements, the narrative of educational policy discourse is the development of human resources of the very highest quality and ethics for the construction of a knowledge-based society in Cambodia.

To develop human resources of the very highest quality and ethics, the MoEYS envisages creating an education system that allows students to “meet international and regional standards and...be competitive in the job markets worldwide and act as engines for social and economic development in Cambodia” (MoEYS, 2005; 2009, p. 2). This discourse was promoted in the national curriculum policy in the statement below:

The aim of curriculum is to ensure that when students leave schools, they should develop a love of learning that will enable them to pursue employment, they should have employment related skills, an understanding of and positive attitude towards work and a capacity to manage and work effectively and harmoniously with others, appreciate the value and importance of science, technology, innovation and creativity. (MoEYS, 2004, pp. 1-2)

The MoEYS has a key role to shape students to be good citizens who have knowledge, skill, ethics and who are able to live harmoniously with others to contribute actively in the building Cambodia toward a knowledge based society. In the knowledge based economic society, individuals have freedom, choice and responsibility and the government adopts strategies and actions enabling the individuals to fulfil this freedom and responsibility through the market mechanism. Rose emphasises the shift of the state’s task from the actor who governs to “the enabling state which should make it possible for the citizens to make their own choices and it is in the regulated choices of each and every citizen that the state is inscribed” (Rose, 1999).

The production of skills and knowledge has been the narrative of education policy discourse from 2001 until 2013. However, this discourse has promoted different skills and knowledge crucial for the socio-economic development of Cambodia in the era of globalisation and regionalisation throughout 2001-2013. Between 2001 and 2005, education policy discourse promoted Information Technology in education:

A cross-cutting strategy for addressing both access and quality improvement will be increased but selective use of Information Technology (IT). Associated strategies will be increased to IT-based distance learning opportunities (e.g. distance Masters), selective introduction of computer awareness programs into upper secondary schools and post-secondary institutions and more frequent use of IT-based approaches for the

sharing of management and monitoring information... Improve higher education and Technical Vocational Education and Training. (MoEYS, 2001, p. 14)

IT, higher education and Technical Vocational Education were the main skills and knowledge to be promoted by education policy discourse. Skills and knowledge in this field were important elements in the construction of a knowledge based society in Cambodia.

Between 2006 and 2010, the education policy discourse promoted life skill, teaching of a foreign language, and a standardized student learning assessment system for students at grades 3, 6, 9 and 12 (MoEYS, 2004, 2005). Life skill was viewed as important for the creation of effective members of society and for improvement of the agricultural sector which was the priority area of the Royal Government of Cambodia. The teaching of foreign language was a priority for students to be able to compete globally and regionally. English and French were introduced from Grade 5 to Grade 12 (MoEYS, 2004, p. 4). The learning assessment was put in place in order to ensure follow up of students' learning performance in Grades 3, 6, 9 and 12 in compliance with requirements set out in EFA.

Between 2009 and 2013, the education policy discourses promoted information and foreign language training at all levels of general education, technical and vocational training and in higher education, consistent with international standards and the country's development needs (MoEYS, 2009, p. 11). The education policy discourse also promoted technical and vocational training and higher education in order to produce technicians, engineers, scientists, workers and citizens of the future who are people who can think critically and make decision-based evidence in order to address the market demand and Cambodian development (p.11).

Throughout the education policy documents from 2000-2013, there have been no clear definitions of knowledge and skill. The list of skills and knowledge has also been ambiguous. The policy discourse has not mentioned clearly what exactly constitutes

knowledge, skill and innovation in the knowledge economy. The lists of skills, knowledge and innovation are so very broad and can be referred to anything that can respond to the labour market. This can lead to different interpretations of what knowledge, skill and innovation are constituted. The vague categories of these skills and knowledge can reframe the notion of knowledge economy easily in order to accommodate different actors and different interests.

8.7. The promotion of national identity linked to the national development

The development discourse is aligned discursively by the Cambodian government and the MoEYS with the ideas of nationalism and national identity in education policy. While certain features of global development exist in the education policy, there is an important reference to culture and nationalism. The Cambodian government recognises the development discourse but reinterprets it and aligns it with the nationalist and cultural purpose to establish education policy for its own setting. The discourse of nationalism and cultural identity was emphasised in education policy. The Royal Government's vision in its Education Strategic Plan (ESP) was to "establish and develop human resources of the very highest quality and ethics in order to develop a knowledge-based society within Cambodia" (MoEYS, 2005, 2009). MoEYS's mission "is to lead, manage, and develop education, youth and sport sector in Cambodia in responding to the socio-economic and cultural development needs of its people and the reality of regionalisation and globalisation" (MoEYS, 2009, p. 1).

According to the statement, the MoEYS recognized the importance of globalisation and regionalisation and its role in providing Cambodian citizens with knowledge and skills and cultural spirit to serve the socio-economic and cultural development of Cambodia in the region and in a new global world. Knowledge, skills, ethics and cultural spirit are instilled into Cambodian people so that they can actively participate in the national development in

the era of globalisation and regionalisation. The MoEYS views ethics and cultural spirit as very important in the development of post-conflict Cambodia after decades of turmoil, social unrest and political instability. It is the reason why the MoEYS emphasises holistic development to Cambodian young people in all sectors. This holistic development of Cambodian young people is promoted in the discursive normative practices of the state. The government stated that the objective of the Law on Education is “to develop the human resources of the nation by providing a lifelong education for the learners to acquire knowledge, skills, capacities, dignity, good moral behavior and characteristics, in order to push the learners to know, love and protect the national identification, cultures and language” (RGoC, 2007a). To reach this vision of development of human resources, the MoEYS aims “to achieve the holistic development of Cambodia’s young people for all sectors” (MoEYS, 2009, p. 2). The holistic development specially aims to “engender a sense of national and civic pride, high moral and ethical standards and a strong belief in young people’s responsibility for the country and its citizens” (MoEYS, 2009, p. 2). The idea of promotion of a sense of national and civic pride permeates the Curriculum development policy below:

The national curriculum 2004-2009 aims to develop fully the talents and capacities of all students in order that they become able people, with parallel and balanced intellectual, spiritual, mental and physical growth and development. In particular, when students leave schools they should have an appreciation of and be able to protect and preserve their natural, social and cultural environment. (MoEYS, 2004, p. 1)

The MoEYS aspires to produce students who should be active citizens and be aware of social changes, understanding Cambodia’s system of government and the rule of law, and demonstrating a spirit of national pride and love of their nation, religion and king. (MoEYS, 2004, p. 2)

MoEYS has also indicated the outcomes for different levels of education. For the Basic Education Curriculum (Grades 1-9), MoEYS wants to ensure that “every student has acquired knowledge of the national identity” and “an understanding of morality and civic responsibilities” (MoEYS, 2004, p. 6). For the Upper Secondary curriculum, “students are

taught to have a deep knowledge of national identity and a more complex understanding of morality and civic responsibilities” (MoEYS, 2004, p. 8).

These statements make reference to the creation of moral and nationalist individuals who will be able to contribute to the national development. The need for an education and skill strategy to create autonomous, economically empowered individuals is presented in the national policy on curriculum development with little reference to education as a resource for cultural, moral, and spiritual development, national and civic pride, and love of nation, religion and king.

The spiritual and moral tone in Cambodian education policies is in line with the culture of the country as the Buddhist religion has historically been deeply embedded in the education sector. Historically, Buddhist monks have played important roles in providing teaching to children who could not attend public schools. Education policy draws on the established fact that Buddhism has played a significant role in Cambodian society from the time of the Khmer Empire until the present (Peang-Meth, 1991) although the practice of Buddhism was interdicted during the Pol Pot regime. The key concepts of Buddhism such as the concept of action (*karma*, or *kamma*), rebirth (*samsara*) and merit (*punna*) have been commonly used in Cambodian society (Peang-Meth, 1991). According to this concept, the state of present life is the result of one’s action in the previous life and through the meritorious activities in the present life; one can improve one’s quality of life in the next life. After the collapse of the socialist regime, Buddhism was declared the state religion by the Constitution in 1993. From then, Buddhism has had a key role in the economic, social and political life in Cambodia and significant influence on the understanding of the Khmer identity, state and nation.

The spiritual, cultural and moral development of students was widely promoted in the Law on Education (RGoC, 2007a) and the Child Friendly School policy (MoEYS, 2007). The

Law on Education in its article 23 stipulated “ moral and civic education, education on how to live together, education for peace, education for sustainable development, and education to respect cultures and traditional values, shall be the main components of the fundamental educational program”. The Child Friendly School policy highlights the social, cultural and moral development of Cambodian youth with a focus on the Buddhist doctrine, especially the four compassions of Buddhism such as: *metta* (empathy), *karuna* (loving kindness), *obeka* (equanimity); *muktetha* (feeling arising from seeing reduction in suffering of others) (MoEYS, 2007, p. 8).

The community spirit is also promoted by the education policy discourse. The MoEYS wants to create students who “have an understanding and appreciation of other people and other cultures, civilisations and histories that leads to the building of a public spirit characterized by equality and respect for others’ rights” (MoEYS, 2004, p. 2). The MoEYS views this creation of community spirit in the Cambodian student as important because community solidarity (*samaki*) among Cambodian people has been destroyed by turmoil, social unrest and civil war in previous regimes. The social structure and cohesion in Cambodia is characterised by distrust at all levels (Charlene Tan, 2008). There is a need to restore the community spirit in Cambodian students so that they can live in harmony with other people in their community and other communities in the era of globalisation and regionalisation.

The education policy discourse constructs nationalism in Cambodian students. The discourse of Khmer nationalism has been defined in reference to the glorious Khmer empire as the idea for building the Cambodian nation (P. Edwards, 2007). The discourse of nationalism is stipulated in the 1993 Constitution:

Having awakened and resolutely rallied and determined to unite for the consolidation of national unity, the preservation and defence of Cambodia's territory and precious sovereignty and the fine Angkor civilization, and the restoration of Cambodia into an “Island of Peace” based on multi-party liberal democratic responsibility for the nation's

future destiny of moving toward perpetual progress, development, prosperity, and glory (RGoC, 1993)

The focus on the building of the nation towards a culturally advanced nation is part of current policy discourse in Cambodia. The idea of what the future nation should look like is stated in the national development vision: “a society in which social fabric will be strengthened to ensure that the Cambodian people are well-educated, culturally advanced, engaged in dignified livelihood and living in harmony both within family and society” (RGoC, 2008a). In this development discourse, advanced culture must be instilled in Cambodian people in the process of national development. In this statement, the culture has to change or be improved in order to develop Cambodian society. It is a sign of change in the way of thinking, and the progress that the country wishes to make.

The education policy discourse instils the nationalism promoting the love of the king. The Cambodian king has been a symbol of the nation since the Angkor Empire and the last popular king was Sihanouk who died in 2012. The king in Cambodia has been loved by Cambodian people throughout the country, especially those in the country side. Cambodian people often recognise the king as a prestigious person who has brought peace and prosperity to Cambodia. The government, in order to inspire people, retains the monarchy as head of the state and Cambodia is a constitutional monarchy state (RGoC, 1993).

8.8. Governing population, education and national development

People are at the central of governing for development as claimed by Prime Minister Hun Sen: “there is no goal more sacred than improving the lives of our people and no other task more rewarding...Good, selfless work in the cause of upliftment of our people is its own reward and will surely earn merits for our lives” (Hun Sen, 2008, p. 41).The outcome of the improvement of the lives of the people is to create a nation with peace, stability, progress and prosperity (RGoC, 2004, 2008b)

In addition to the right to development, people also have the obligation to the national development. This was expressed in the speech of Primary Hun Sen on the launch of the Rectangular Strategy phase II.

I would like to call upon all our development partners, including bilateral and multilateral development, private sector, non-governmental organisations, as well as management and officials of the ministries and institutions, legislative and executive bodies, courts, armed forces, local authorities and people to provide full attention and strong support and actively assist the Royal Government of Cambodia to implement our policies and programs under “the Rectangular Strategy-Phase II”. (RGoC, 2008b, p. 41)

The government policy emphasizes the responsibility of Cambodian people, government institutions, private sector, civil societies and development partners in the national development. Education is viewed as an important tool through which Cambodian people are fostered into becoming responsible citizens and self-governing citizens who take charge of their own development, of the development of the communities, and of the broader society. Education is a means to equip and shape Cambodian people towards subjects that have knowledge, skill and values for building a prosperous and advanced country without poverty.

Education is viewed by the Royal Government as the key for building high quality human resources for building Cambodia toward prosperity and becoming an advanced country. To reach this vision, the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport is given a role in strengthening and developing human resources to a very high quality and with strong ethics, as emphasised by the Prime Minister Hun Sen:

The Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport has to lead others in strengthening and developing human resources with quality in line with the goals of education, which is to educate to become a “good child, good student, good friend and good citizen”, as well as in line with the four pillars of education that are “knowledge, know-how, good morality, and living with others harmoniously”. This work is a factor to ensure sustainable development and poverty reduction as well as building Cambodia’s society to be a society with fast development that people have tremendous knowledge in technology, deep understanding of culture and decent living standards with happiness, peace and dignity. (CPP, 2011)

The MoEYS has the role to shape students to be good citizens who have knowledge, skill, and ethics and who are able to live harmoniously with others to contribute actively in national development. This policy statement is theoretically linked to the construction of self-governing subjects in the liberal governmentality highlighted by Rose (1996) as below:

Liberal governmentality created disciplined subject or disciplined populations, free and civilized citizens. The 'free' and 'civilized' citizens were the subjects of the technologies, observations, and interventions of state bureaucracies and the practices and examinations of disciplinary institutions, such as those of the school, the clinic, and the military, which produced the subjective conditions, the forms of self-mastery, self-regulation and self-control, necessary to govern a nation. (p. 44)

Education constructs students toward good citizens who are self-reliant, self-developed, regulated and who care for others in the society and conform to Cambodian culture and values so that they actively participate in building Cambodia toward sustainable development and poverty reduction.

8.9. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have undertaken a close analysis of eight policy texts where the governments between 2000 and 2013 deployed a number of discourses in education policy linked to the development discourse and the discourse of nationalism. Each policy text demonstrates how education should play a role in securing the nation, the cultural identity and the economic growth and prosperity. Based on these policy texts, the strategies of the governments have been the constitution of subjects such as educational institutions, teachers, students, families toward a market oriented educational apparatus to serve the economic development in the global era. However, the constitution of economic subjects has been entangled in the formation of cultural and moral subjects to serve the national building.

The analysis also demonstrates that there have been shifts in the discursive linkage between development and education in Cambodia toward the creation of governing subjects to participate in the national development. The discursive linkage is constructed

on the ideas that the state can be simple as like other governing subjects in the society and can exercise power provided by citizens through democratic election for the common good in the best interest of citizens. The new policy discourse has generated agency, and the governmental structure and control mechanism on individual actions are not totalized. This changing of the discursive linkage between education and development may improve the conduct of the population toward self-development such as skill, knowledge, decent living and cultural advance and the economic development of Cambodia.

CHAPTER 9: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The major purpose of this study has been to address how education was used by governments in their policies toward the achievements of national development between 1979 and 2013. To do this, the thesis has investigated the rationalities or mentalities of different forms of government from the socialist period 1979 to the pluralist democratic Cambodia 2013 and the ways these rationalities constructed education linked to national development. This thesis used the concepts of discourse, genealogy, concepts of power, archaeology and the concept of governmentality to address the research question. The particular interests were firstly to investigate how forms of powers exerted by different forms of government between 1993 and 2013 and policy discourses intersected in the governing of subjects. In relation to the examination of discourses, the particular interest was to investigate how education policy discourse between 1979 and 2013 was constructed by various discourses of development through the operations of government while it sustained the discourse of nationalism. The analysis focused on the corpus of data which consisted of policy documents of education and development and reports of the government and multinational international organisations between 1979 and 2013.

In the discussion section, I discuss the continuities and ruptures of the education policy discourses constructed by the discourses of development in the bracket time period between 1979 and 2013. I discuss the shift in the discursive formation of the government through its policies to create regimes of truths about the linkage between education and development.

In the conclusion, I discuss my application of Foucault's discourse theory and methodology in analysing the constitution of education in Cambodian policies discourse. I then discuss the analysis of the construction of education discourse by the discourses of development through the operations of government. I further discuss the contribution of this research to

the field of education and development, outline the limitations and offer some suggestions for further research. I finish this thesis with some concluding remarks.

9.1. Discussion: Genealogical interpretation of education policy between 1979 and 2013

In this discussion I use a genealogical interpretation of education policy between 1979 and 2013 to present the summary of the results of Chapters 6, 7 and 8. Genealogical interpretation seeks to compare policy discourses between 1979 and 2013. The goal is to examine shifts in the exercise of political power between different bracketed time period between 1979 and 2013, or to examine the disjuncture or discontinuity of discourse. In this study, genealogical interpretation is used to examine the ruptures that can create the causes and consequences of education policy choices in connecting to national development during the bracketed time period. The discontinuity or the rupture of the discourse is important to investigate how the discourse changed during the bracket time and how it impacted the discursive formation in the next period. Foucault emphasises this point:

...discontinuity is one of those great accidents that create cracks not only in the geology of history but also the simple fact of the statement: it emerges in its historical irruption; what we try to examine is the incision that it makes, that irreducible—and very often tiny—emergence. (Foucault, 1972, p. 28)

The discontinuity of the discourse provides a better understanding of the discourse pattern of the state in producing the policy discourses in the study, that is the policy discourses connecting education to national development. According to Foucault, the discontinuity or disjuncture of discourse appears in discursive statements. The emergence of discontinuity in the discursive statement is very complex and hard to identify. It needs the analyst to pay attention when reading the discursive statement. Over time, the discursive statement reveals changes in belief systems, in power structures, and in the social structure and practices impacting education policy making. Based on the data used for the

archaeological analysis, genealogical analysis determined similarities and differences in education linked to development discourses from 1979 to 2013. Genealogical analysis interprets the alternative options in the formulation of education policy, governmental reasons for these options and governmental mechanisms leading to shifting in belief systems of education in Cambodia.

9.1.1. Discourse organisations

Between 1979 and 1991 the KPRP, the state party, had dominant power in the education policy process. KPRP had a monopolistic power over the state. It controlled all state apparatus including those that had jurisdiction on education policy formulation, for example the Ministry of Education. The power of the state party over the education policy formulation was exercised through the Ministry of Education, which is an executive arm of the state party.

Between 1991 and 2013, education policy was influenced by the global development discourse. This resulted in the involvement of a range of actors such as international development and civil society organizations in education policy formulation. Since 2000, the education policy process has followed the Sector Wide Approach (SWAP) to development in which the government and national and international actors develop education policies.

9.1.2. Discursive concepts

Between 1979 and 1990, education was a discursive formation of national construction and defence. The logical concepts used in the discursive formation were socialist concepts of development, the concepts of labor and production, discursive narratives about the brutality or the genocide of the Pol Pot regime and previous regimes, and concepts of patriotism. Between 1990 and 1993, there was a shift in the discursive linkage between education policy and development. The concept of Education for All emerged in education

policy discourse and coexisted with socialist concepts in national curriculum. The concept of Education for All was linked to the concepts of partnership and community participation.

Between 1993 and 2013, the concept used in education policy discourse was shaped by market based governance concepts such as: the concept of good governance, the concept of decentralisation, the concept of partnership, the concept of creation of skill and knowledge in order to develop economically, increase the wealth and the improve the living standard of the people in Cambodia. These concepts created a common sense that education policy constructed by these development concepts could effectively address the country's struggles with national development, for instance good governance in education can contribute to the economic development. Moreover, the concepts were constructed in ambiguous, neutral and coherent ways so that they could be interpreted according to the circumstances to inspire, persuade, and motivate people to embrace neoliberal governing. The new concepts have reinforced the intuition of populations that these concepts are beneficial to the national development because they have been discursively the core of the policies and practices of international development organisations, civil society organisations, government policy makers, officers and intellectuals. It is called a discourse coalition by which different development actors produce a set of story lines around these new development concepts. Through the discourse coalition, the government can discursively link the education policy to these development concepts.

9.1.3. Policy discourse results 1979-2013

There has been a continuity of political agendas in deploying education in the national development process from 1979 until 2013. However, education policy in Cambodia has been seen as merely a political instrument for serving the exercise of power of the state rather than a tool for the achievements of national development. Despite the attempts to elaborate the rational policy agenda on the linkage between education and development

that has been found in the state discourses, the state discourses blur education policy rationales or disregard them in favour of their political strategies and goals of domination and patronage practices rather than the achievements of national development.

9.1.4. Technologies of education in constructing subjects for the national development

Education has been a technology of the governments between 1979 and 2013 used to govern populations. As seen in the study, there have been two different types of human subjects and institutional subjects (i.e. students, educational staff and educational institutions) constructed by education policy between 1979 and 2013. Between 1979 and 1993, the socialist regimes used education as a technology to produce the socialist subjects inculcated with a number of socialist attributes for the achievement of the development agenda of the regime that focused on the national construction and defence toward socialism. The socialist subjects were constructed by the discourse that linked construction and defence to labour/education and the discourse of patriotism. The socialist subjects were encouraged in multi skills, a socialist mindset and attitudes and subjected to totalised power and restriction of liberty and freedom in the national construction and defence and to serve the geopolitical strategy of Vietnam and Soviet blocs on Cambodia in the Cold War period. However, the processes of socialist subjectification through the discursive linkage between education and national construction and defence are ideological activities. These processes are not based on the conceptual logics underpinned the mentalities and the technology of government in the national construction and defence process.

Since 1993, the conceptual logics of liberal governmentality have gradually deployed the technology of education to construct economic subjects. The constitution of subjects is strongly linked to the economic development. To reach this, a number of normalisation techniques through education policy, such as the discourse of good governance,

decentralisation, partnership, developing skill and knowledge, has been used to shape conduct of subjects toward productive subjects contributing to the economic growth. The discourse of globalisation and the discourse of neoliberal development are constructed to justify these normalisation techniques through the deployment of education. However, I have argued that the normalisation technologies of the government are not affected by the discourse of neoliberal development that links education to development. Rather, the normalisation technologies are complex techniques in which the formation of subjects is connected to the nation, the sovereignty of Cambodia towards the international development organisations and the promotion of national identity and is coexistent with the dominant social and political views of Cambodia.

I have also argued that although the neoliberal ideals are encountered with patronage system, the government has genuinely absorbed, transformed this patronage system and practice into the process of neoliberalisation. Through this process of neoliberalisation, people are convinced that the political practice of the government are rational while the Cambodian state can reinforce its patronage system. Therefore, through to regime of truth of neoliberalism that they have heard and encountered in their everyday life, people converts themselves into market based conduct.

9.2. Conclusion

In this conclusion, I discuss my application of Foucault's discourse theory and methodology in analysing the constitution of education in Cambodian policy discourse. I then discuss the analysis of the construction of education policy by the discourse of development. I further discuss the contribution of this research to the field of education, outline limitations and offer some suggestions for further research. I finish this thesis with some concluding remarks.

9.2.1. Applying Foucault to the politics of Education in Cambodia

The theoretical and methodological frameworks employed in this study provide Cambodian researchers and policy makers with a new approach to analyze how public policy was constructed to achieve the national development. Firstly, Foucault's contribution to the reading of government and public policy is the use of his understanding of discourse to describe and analyse the complexities of state policy, because education policy connecting to development in Cambodia resulted from complex ideas, the melange of international and national practices and a range of actors engaged in the education policy making process.

Secondly, Foucault's mode of data collection and analytical analysis (the archaeology of knowledge, or Foucault's rules of discursive formation such as the formation of objects, the formation of enunciative modality, the formation of concept, the formation of strategies) and conjunction of power, knowledge and truth provide a better understanding of policy language and function and therefore identify the reality and truth behind the policy formation. Policy language was often simple but was repeatedly transformed and reformulated in the education policy making process. With this regards, discourse analysis is "a tool for understanding of policy formulation, which goes beyond the linguistically reflected power exchanges between persons and groups to an analysis of the structures within which they are deployed" (Shapiro, 1981, p. 162). It uncovers the political power, the sources of political power of the government authorities, the political interference of political elites and powerful political factions in education and development and non-discursive practices on policy ideas and practices in the policy making process.

Thirdly, Foucault's concept of governmentality provides the theoretical framework for examining the education policy discourse of the state that permeated education and the ways the field of education policy is governed by its own discursive practices about who

can speak and becomes the subject of its own conduct (i.e. the discourse of nationalism) in confronting the dominant development discourse. Education policy is a free subject that can construct the possibilities and constraints within the field. Fourthly, Foucault's genealogical analysis provides the theoretical framework for examining the rupture and continuity of the education policy discourse in different times, places and national development contexts.

9.2.2. Education policy discourse: the nexus between development discourse and nationalism discourse toward national development

Cambodian discourses frame a national strategy for achieving the desired national development combining modernity and tradition through education policy discourse. To prove this, I have presented the discussion in eight chapters. In Chapter 2 on Education and discourse, I explained that education is constructed in discourse and power relations. Education considered as discourse means education is not a neutral activity and is historically, socially, culturally and politically constructed. My particular interest is to discuss Cambodian culture and how it conceptualises education in Cambodia.

In Chapter 3 on Globalisation, development and education, I discussed the linkage between globalisation, development and education. I highlighted some key changes in the concepts of development and globalisation in their historical context and the impact on national development and education policy discourse. The concepts of development have gradually changed from the economic-centred view toward a people-centred approach focusing on the improvement of the well-being of populations especially since the 1990s. Although the people have significantly become the goal of the development, economic growth is still the important condition for reaching this goal. The current discourse of development is constructed by the discourse of economic transformation, the discourse of social modernisation and the discourse of information and technology. The discourse of

development constructed education as a tool for developing the human capacities toward increasing the productivity, economic growth and social transformation (UNDP, 1990, p. 27). In this thesis, globalisation was considered as a hybridisation process. Globalisation recognised that national systems or practices or policies have resulted from a mixture of national features and global features, i.e they are a global *mélange*.

Education in Cambodia aiming to achieve the national development has resulted from the discourse of nationalism and the global discourse of development. This discourse of nationalism and the global discourse of development were constructed in Cambodian education policy between 1979 and 2013. In Chapter 4, I explained how Cambodian education policy has been a discursive formation of the state that gives effect to the government rationalities toward national development between 1979 and 2013.

Using the research design I developed in Chapter 5, I created three narratives of the linkage between education policy and national development between 1979 and 2013 in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. In Chapter 6, I demonstrated that education policy was constructed by the discourse of national reconstruction and defence toward socialism. From 1979 to 1991, the discourse of education policy was constructed by the discourse of socialist development and created new socialist men for the national reconstruction and rehabilitation. The concept of development of socialist countries was constructed on the mutual advantages for all parties involved, specifically the solidarity with socialist countries, developing countries and other people regardless of their political stances. The metaphor “yoke” has been used in the narrative of discourse of socialist development. Through this metaphor, the socialist block constructed the developing world as being exploited and controlled by the Western world, which was often referred to fascist or imperialist. The discourse of patriotism promoted by education policy was used by the People’s Republic of Kampuchea’s (PRK) leader to portrait the PRK as a pure nationalist

regime and a real fighter against the French colonisation for national independence, and against US imperialism and the Pol Pot regime in order to promote the legitimacy of the KPRP. The discourse of patriotism called for citizens to recognise the national unique character, value, mission and destiny and to construct themselves as qualified and pure socialist men.

In Chapter 7 & Chapter 8, I showed how education policy was constructed toward the national development in the new agenda of neoliberalism. The discourse of educational reform was constructed by the discourse of neoliberal development and the globalisation discourse based on the market-based social form of governance. In order to increase the economic development of the state, the mode of governing was to construct educated citizens as morally worthy economic subjects. During this period, the formulation of education policy toward the social and economic development drew from globalising policy influences such as OECD, the World Bank and UNESCO. The state used these global policies to legitimise its education policy agenda at the national level. The influence of the international norms on the national policy brings out the struggles of power relation between external actors and the state. Although the state was concerned about the consolidation of power, it recognised the urgent need for educational reform based on international norms in the national development. In other words, the Cambodian government tried to play two characters: at the global level, it promoted itself as a receptive agent of international development norms and at the national level, it consolidated its control and power on education. Such a strategy is built on the present neoliberal regime accompanied with Cambodian culture and values and political elements of past and present.

Thesis result: From this study, I argue that the current Cambodian government deployed discursive resources in education policy to prove to the international community that it

respects or complies with the international development norms as it depends on international aids for its survival, and also to present a vision of how an independent Cambodia should be developed to meet the local aspirations. In other words, education has been conceptualised and deployed by the government so that transnational modes of governing reflecting modernity intersect with sovereign practices and the concept of nationalism toward the national development. As a transnational mode of government, education policy produces educable citizens able to compete in an international market characterised by a rapid change and competition through the promotion of strong accountability and efficient measures in educational sphere.

However, Cambodian education policy discourse has not abandoned the country's context, culture and tradition. Cambodian education policy discourse combined this discourse of nationalism with global development discourse in distinctive ways. This discourse has been constructed by the tradition, culture and historical context with the modernity perspectives in a way that avoids the tensions between global development discourse and national discourses. In other words, Cambodian education policy discourse has served a global-order knowledge economy to position itself in the global sphere with the social and cultural expression of nationalism in order to inspire the local populations to accept its mode of governing. The ultimate aim of the governments is to construct more productive subjects both individuals and educational institutions to contribute to the national development.

9.2.3. Contribution of the research to the field of education

This study has sought to build on previous research interested in the linkage between education and development in Cambodia. There are three contributions it makes to knowledge in the field of education.

Firstly, the study has noted the continuity of the rationalities of the government in using education policy for national development from the socialist years to the neoliberal years. The study supports the view that education is not a neutral activity and is subject to political discourse for securing the consolidation of power of the state. However, the study has also noted that the constitution of more productive subjects, in this case educational institutions and educational staff, has been deeply connected to the national development.

Secondly, between 1979 and 2013 there has been a shift in the usage of language of development from crude power of the state to softer power in education policy discourse in Cambodia. There has been an emergence of the discourse supporting the ideas that the state is as simple as other governing subjects in the society and may only exercise power provided by citizens through democratic elections for the common good in the best interest of citizens. The new policy discourse has generated agency, and the structural impairments to human conduct with less totalitarian. The new policy discourse may be an improvement of the conduct of the population toward self-development and the national development.

Thirdly, applying the concept of development as discourse to education policy can provide a better understanding of various political agendas of various development actors and of the needs of the beneficiaries of the development. Rather than viewing education policy formulation as a technical field, which is what has been applied in education policy research in Cambodia and in the policy making process, we can understand well the scene that exists behind the formulation of education policy, the ideas and the dominant powerful actors involved in the education policy making.

9.2.4. Limitation of the research and of the application of this framework in Cambodia

The limitation of Foucault's discourse analysis

In conducting Foucault's discourse analysis, I have positioned myself as researcher and policy and legislation formulation and dissemination officer of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport in Cambodia in discourse so I have produced discursive statements from the policy texts. With these positions, I am aware that I am the subject of the discourses of the policy which are spoken through me. I used Foucault's power/knowledge and the regime of truth to create my own discursive statements which can be another new way of thinking about the discursive relationship between education policy and the national development. I understand this discursive statement can be conceptually and practically limited in regards to the production of the truth in the policy texts.

Lack of systematic documentation

Any future research in this area is dependent on the existence, the archive and availability of access to records. However, during my data collection in Cambodia, I found that historical records had not been kept and most records were destroyed after being kept for a while, making the conduct of the research hard.

Cambodia and Foucault's discourse approach

It might be hard to introduce the concept of governmentality in Cambodia. Firstly, due to a lack of knowledge about post structuralist concepts in Cambodia, local researchers in Cambodia would usually apply traditional policy analysis whose results can be worldwide applied and can be recommended to policy makers rather than apply ambiguous post structuralist concepts. Secondly, there is a lack of political terminologies of Foucault's approach in Khmer language such as governmentality, discourse, archaeological analysis or genealogical analysis etc. The fact that the expressions do not exist in Cambodia has

led to an overall lack of awareness of the technical terms and the non-applicability of the discourse approach.

9.2.5. Further research

The completion of this study has come at a time when the new global post-2015 development agenda is being formed after the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) came to an end in 2015. In contrast to previous global development frameworks, the new development framework views development as a shared concern between the global North and South and promotes the voice of ordinary people in development. Further research should examine how the new concept of development is constructed in Cambodian education policy, how such constructions are echoed in global development discourse, and how the global development discourses are rearranged through education policy in local contexts.

The current research did not examine the people's perspectives as producers and subjects of development. An empirical research should be undertaken to critically investigate the effect of the education policy discourse linked to the development discourse on teachers and students. The classroom should be seen as a site where the education policy discourse and development discourse operate in order to investigate the lived experiences of teachers and students. The methodologies used for this research would involve both ethnography and genealogy.

The current study focused on the macro level of education policy and development policy in Cambodia using Foucault's discourse analysis. Further research should focus on the micro level analysis of educational strategies and practices and development at classroom level that will be introduced into the national policy arena. In other words, further research should investigate how the concept of development is constructed in classroom and text

books so that the reaction of students and teachers to the development programs is well understood for better education planning and policy.

9.2.6. Concluding remarks

I chose Foucault's discourse approach that integrates archaeological analysis, genealogical analysis and governmentality as a theoretical and methodological approach in my research because I am interested in the analysis of policy language and the linguistic strategies of institutions and organisations impacting education linked to national development policy in Cambodia, and the institutional process and mechanism by which the power is exercised. My hope is that this thesis can introduce Foucault's discourse approach for the study of public policy into Cambodia where the power relations between persons and groups are complex and public policy was formulated to serve the interest of politicians and elites to the detriment of the interests of Cambodian people. Foucault's discourse approach can assist with the understanding of other major factors contributing to policy formulation by deconstructing how education policy is produced, by whom, for what purpose, for example for achievement of the national development, and under what historical and social contexts. The findings can hold the government and other influential development actors accountable for ensuring the development to citizens.

Between 1979 and 2013, the national development ,more specifically the attempts to ensure the population's welfare and the improvement of their conditions through education policy, has gradually come onto the agenda of Cambodian governments. The education policies of the government toward the conduct of the conduct of individuals and groups have been established in the name of development. During the period of the study, there have been significant changes in the language of education policy, and the attitudes and practices of educational institutions and educational staff toward the achievements of the national development. However, these changes have still coexisted with the sovereign

power of the state, culture and political culture and practices of Cambodia. Therefore, the outcome of development is limited and it would be better if the education policy agenda had been set differently.

Cambodia must prepare its education system and construct its human capability for the post-2015 development agenda toward modernity while maintaining its national character. The post-2015 development agenda promotes genuine participation of civil society, private sector and academia, none of whom were actively involved in development in the MDGs. It also considers development discourse as a shared responsibility between the global south and north. The sustainable development goals addressing the issues of climate change and biodiversity are also integrated into the post-2015 development agenda. I hope this thesis can provide policy makers with an idea of the linkages between education and development at particular times and in different contexts in the formulation of future education policy in the best interests of the people and the nation. I also hope this thesis can shed light the policy makers on how to construct the living environment in order to reconstruct human in Cambodia for development, growth and prosperity.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Set of data examined in the study

Texts below are examined to understand the overall strategy of the government in the deployment of education for national development.

No.	Category	Issued Date	Title	Authority issue
1979-1989				
1	Decree Law	26-Jan-80	Establishment of Ministry of Education	People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea
2	Declaration	2 December 1978	Declaration of the Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation	Kampuchea United Front for National Salvation
3	Speech	1-Jun-80	Education and teaching of adults	Heng Samrin, Chief of People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea
5	Circular No. 279/80	22-Sep-80	The direction of education for schooling year 1980-1981	People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea
6	1st Action Plan	1980	Elimination of illiteracy (is equally to movement against famine and enemy) 3 Years (1980-1981-1982)	People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea
7	Book	1980	Core curriculum	Ministry of Education/Curriculum and Book Development Centre
8	Constitution	1981		

9	Report	26-May-81	Resolutions of IV Party Congress	Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party and their members
10	Circular	5-May-84	Roles, responsibilities and management of Provincial/Krong Office of Education, District of Education	Ministry of Education
11	Report	13-16 Oct 1985	Resolutions of V Party Congress	Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party and their members
12	Report	10-16 July 1986	Resolution of KPRP central committee on Policy on Intellectuals	KPRP Central committee
13	Circular	5 May 1984	Functioning and Organization of Lower level of Ministry of Education	People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea
14	Book	1986	Core curriculum	Ministry of Education
15	Sub Decree	20-Nov-86	General Education System	People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea
16	Action Plan	26-Aug-89	Direction and Tasks for schooling year 1989-1990	Ministry of Education
1989-1993				
17	Report	Sep-91	Cambodian National Conference on Education for all	Ministry of Education
18	Exam subject	1990-1991	Exam on Political Education–Marxist-Leninist orientation of the State	Ministry of Education

19	Paris Peace Accord	Oct-91	Rehabilitation and Reconstruction of Cambodia	United Nations
20	Sub Decree	20/01/1992	Creation and Management of Higher Education Institution and Professional Education	Council of Minister (Head: Hun Sen)
21	Sub Decree	15/6/1992	Authorization to open Private School of General Education	Council of Minister (Deputy Head: Norodom Chakrapong)
22	Report	Aug-93	Educational Congress (Sum up the education performance 1992-1993 and direction for academic year 1993-1994)	Ministry of Education
1993-2013				
23	National Program	1994	National Programme to Rehabilitate and Develop Cambodia (NPRD)	Ministry of Planning
24	Development Action Plan	1996	First socioeconomic development plan 1996-2000 (SEDP I)	Ministry of Planning
25	Development Action plan	2001	Second socioeconomic development plan 2001-2005 (SEDP II)	Ministry of Planning
26	Development Action plan	2006	National Strategic Development Plan 2006-2010 (NSDP)	Ministry of Planning

			2006-2010)	
27	Development Action plan	2009	National Strategic Development Plan 2009-2013 (NSDP 2009-2013)	Ministry of Planning
28	Report	Sep-94	Educational Congress (Sum up the education performance 1993-1994 and direction for academic year 1994-1995)	Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport (MoEYS)
29	Report	1994	Rebuilding quality Education and Training in Cambodia approved by National Education seminar dated 24-26 January 1994	MoEYS/Development Partner Expert
30	Report	June-August 1994	Education Sector Review (4 volumes)- Executive Summary Report (Volume 1), Education Sector Strategy Report (Volumes 2A and 2B) and Investment Framework and Program (Volume 3)	Asian Development Bank (ADB)
31	Report	Jun-95	Development Cooperation Report	Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC)
32	Book	1996	Core Curriculum	MoEYS
33	Report	Sep-98	Educational Congress (Sum up the education performance 1997-1998 and direction for academic year 1998-1999)	MoEYS

34	Strategic Analysis Report	Feb-01	Education Reform in Cambodia	Consultancy Team, ADB Technical Assistant 3463-CAM
35	ESP (educational Strategic Plan)	May-01	ESP 2001-2005	MoEYS/Development Partners
36	ESSP	Sep-01	Education Sector Support Program 2001-2005	MoEYS/Consultation with relevant stakeholders: Development Partner, Government Institution, NGO
37	ESP (educational Strategic Plan)	Sep-04	ESP 2004-2008	MoEYS
38	ESP (educational Strategic Plan)	2005	ESP 2006-2010	MoEYS
39	Policy	2005	Curriculum for 2005-2009	MoEYS
40	Compilation of documents	2009	Historical Paper of Education Sector Working Group	Education Sector Working Group Secretariat
41	ESP (educational Strategic Plan)	2009	ESP 2009-2013	MoEYS
42	Law	Dec-07	Education	Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC)
43	ESP (educational Strategic Plan)	2013	ESP 2014-2018	MoEYS

Appendix B: The political regimes, development contexts, and policy changes in education in Cambodia from 1979 to 2013

Periods	Cambodian state and national development contexts	Major Education policies and development
<p>1979-1989</p> <p>National rehabilitation, protection (because Cambodia was not stable yet) and reconstruction phase</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rehabilitation and reconstruction of the nation - Creation of The People’s Republic of Kampuchea in 1979 and the Constitution in 1981 - Socialist country–Marxist-Leninist ideology - Population-government-political economy - Collectivization of agriculture, adoption of Vietnamese model of economic development, central planning economy - Centralised system of administration and finance - Economic Development plan in 1986 - Sovereignty–concern over the control over territory–prerequisite for government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reconstruction of education system toward the national reconstruction and building - Restoration and rehabilitation of the education system to generate basic literacy and numeracy skills amongst primary school children - Increase of the quantity of education in primary school - Increase the quality of education through strengthening the capacity of teachers - Ensure the right to education for all children who have reached school age - Introduction of free secondary education - KPRP Policy for education: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education must serve the proletariat class • Education was combined with manual labor • Education emphasized

		<p>political and ideological education</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Party control of education • Education theory based on Marxism and Leninism • Education based on the combining of theory and practice <p>- Policy on Intellectuals of the Party:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognizing the positive role of intellectuals in the country and abroad in national building and attracting intellectuals into the party • Improving their living and working conditions • Providing training at complementary schools for workers, farmers and in the workplace for cadre and personnel, sending the competent cadre, workers, personnel to study at higher education and higher school (p.12 policy on Intellectuals) • Upgrading the quality of training to intellectuals on science, Marxist-Leninist political ideology, foreign language, revolutionary morality at the higher school and at higher education <p>- Action plan for the eradication of adult illiteracy, ensure literacy among adults</p>
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		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Restoration and development of vocational training system and higher education: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Higher Education: Soviet model of higher education and reorganisation of higher education institutions, centralize higher education, sending of students to Soviet block for university and advanced studies. • The increase of the expansion of higher education and secondary specialised school must balance between skill and competency in order to respond to the rehabilitation and improvement of the economy of the country (Resolution V) • The main objective of higher and technical education is to provide good political training and good technical training. Political training for all the staff should promote an ideology concerned with the objectives of socialism. - Education must combine Marxist-Leninist theory with manual labor; linking teaching to practice, education to production, school to society - The political and ideological function of education began to gain dominance over acquisition
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		<p>of expertise for economic production.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Decree Law on the Establishment of the Cabinet of the Minister of Education: “the Ministry of Education was an organization to protect and build the People’s Republic of Cambodia into a socialist country.” - Decree Law dated 20 November 1986: article 1: “School for general education should stand under the management of the state and should practice the general objectives of training students to become good workers with the pure spirit of loving the nation allied with the solidarity of international socialism, with proper conduct and revolutionary solidarity, with basic knowledge, with competency of labor, with bounteous health in order to fulfil tasks well in the future in an occupation towards serving the needs of defending and building the motherland”. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Objective of education system: is to form new and good hard-working citizens with a kitbag of culture, of technical awareness, of a capacity for work, of good health and of a
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		<p>revolutionary morality ready to serve the Kampuchean revolution. Our schools must be organized as cultural centres open to all, and as a system of defence against the propaganda of the enemies.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Article 6: “the curriculum is based on political consciousness, revolutionary morality, and basic knowledge for competency in modern labor skills, production, agriculture, craft and industry appropriate for the real situation of the Kampuchean revolution”. • Components of Education: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Intellectual education ✓ Moral education ✓ Labor education ✓ Physical education ✓ Aesthetic education - Khmerization, ruralization and cultural identity - Promote the culture and eliminate the reactionary culture
<p>1989-1993 (transition period from rehabilitation and</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Name of the country: State of Cambodia - Neither communist nor democratic - New constitution 1989 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Free economy system • Provide the ownership 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Education system was structured to improve economic productivity but the socialist system of education still applied - Education tended to establish a capitalistic mind set as Cambodia prepared to enter the

<p>reconstruction to development)</p>	<p>on the land</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Transitional period under UNTAC mission based on the Paris Accord Agreement - Influx of multinational organisations especially UNESCO (Education for all), UNICEF 	<p>world market system</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Education system 4+3+3 - Not many changes–Education system was the same as the previous regime–Political education was applied until 1991 - Pay attention to quality gradually: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formal teacher training program - Promote the opening of private education institutions– General knowledge school and higher education - Participation of Education for All conference in 1991 - Education policy was formulated to implement the Education for All resolutions in Education for All conference in 1991
<p>1993-2013 National Development in the age of Neoliberalism</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Democracy, Pluralism - Development phase toward a knowledge economy society, globalisation - Free market system - Development of knowledge society - Poverty reduction - National Framework since 1994: social and economic development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Basic Education Investment Plan 1995-2000: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Quality Improvement consisted of 2 programs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Instructional Materials Development ✓ Teacher Development • Equitable Access consisted of 3 Programs: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Model School Effectiveness ✓ Building Rehabilitation and Expansion ✓ Literacy and Complementary Schooling

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planning and Management consisted of 4 programs: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Operational Planning Capacity ✓ Management Developments ✓ Investment Management and Coordination ✓ Policy Studies and Training - 2001-2005: Expanding Access <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 2001: Primary Education • 2004: Early Childhood Education - 2006-2010: Expanding Access and improving Internal Efficiency, 2006: Lower Secondary Education - 2009-2013: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improving Equitable Access • Improving Quality and Internal Efficiency of Education services • Institutional and Capacity Development for decentralization - New trends in education: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marketization of education • Investment in education • Structural adjustment • Partnership in education • Good Governance • Decentralisation • Decentralisation to line ministry
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		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Devolution to local council • Student Assessment and accountability • Teacher Policies and Accountability <p>- Education Law 2007: “The objective of education is to develop the human resources of the nation by providing a lifelong education for the learners to acquire knowledge, skills, capacities, dignity, good moral behaviour and characteristics, in order to push identification, cultures and language”.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education system 6+3+3
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Appendix C: Texts used for close analysis of intersection of education, national reconstruction and defence and the construction of socialist subjects (Chapter 6)

Selected texts assist in the analysis of linkage between socialism, socialist subjects, population and education.

- 1- Declaration of the Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation dated 2 December 1978
- 2- Circular No. 279/80 dated 22 September 1980 on Direction and Educational Tasks for academic year 1980-1981 of the Council of Revolutionary Kampuchean people
- 3- Instruction on First educational level of general education extracted from *Educational Magazine*, issue 1 dated December, 1980 pp.19-22
- 4- Instruction on Education and Teaching of Adults of the Council of Revolutionary Kampuchean People (no date) extracted from *Educational Magazine*, issue 1, dated December 1980, pp.25-26
- 5- Three year Action Plan against the illiteracy in the People's Republic of Kampuchea 1980-1981-1982 of the Council of Revolutionary Kampuchean people dated June 1980
- 6- Sub Decree on General Education System dated 20 November 1986 of the Council of Revolutionary Kampuchean people
- 7- Action Plan on Direction and Educational tasks for academic year 1989-1990 of the Ministry of Education dated 26 August 1989
- 8- Report on Educational congress–Sum up the education performance 1992-1993 and direction for academic year 1993-1994 of the Ministry of Education, Dated August 1993

Appendix D: Selected texts used for close analysis of intersection of education, national reconstruction and rehabilitation and national identity and of the construction of governing subjects (Chapter 7)

Texts below are used to analyse the intersection of education, national reconstruction and rehabilitation and national identity and how these three elements were brought together by the Cambodian government to construct governing subjects. The focus shifts to the politics of the Royal Government of Cambodia that is a liberal and pluralist regime.

- 1- First socioeconomic development plan 1996-2000 (SEDP I), 1996, of the Ministry of Planning
- 2- Report on Rebuilding Quality Education and Training in Cambodia approved by National Education seminar, 1994, of the MoEYS
- 3- Report on Education Sector Review, August 1994, ABD
- 4- Policy on National Curriculum 1996-2000

Appendix E: Selected texts used for close analysis of intersection of education, national development and national identity and governing of subjects (Chapter 8)

Texts below are used to analyse the intersection of education, national development and national identity and how these three elements are brought together by the Royal Government of Cambodia to construct governing subjects.

- 1- Second socioeconomic development plan 2001-2005 (SEDP II)
- 2- National Strategic Development Plan 2006-2010 (NSDP 2006-2010)
- 3- National Strategic Development Plan 2009-2013 (NSP 2009-2013)
- 4- Educational Strategic Plan (ESP), 2001-2005
- 5- ESP, 2006-2010
- 6- ESP, 2009-2013
- 7- Law on Education, December 2007
- 8- Policy on National Curriculum for 2005-2009

Appendix F: Interview transcripts with secretary of state of the MoEYS

Interviewer: Educational policy was formulated according to the political regime from 1979-1989, 1989-1993 and 1993-2013. What do you consider to be some of the events which have influenced education policy development in Cambodia 1979-2013?

Interviewee: Firstly from 1979-1981 was a period of rehabilitating

From 1979-1981 was a period of restructuring and rehabilitating of both infrastructure and human resources. I call that period is rehabilitating because between 1979 and 1985 it was killing field period everything was all destroyed we had not anything like people material, infrastructure and especially human resource; human capital. 75% 85% of teachers were killed. The Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport was mainly responsible for human development, human capital. From 1975-1979, there was no education. Based on the economic aspect, we could call 100% poverty or we started from the zero.

That why our policy was to make education surviving without caring about the development or quality. The restructuring and rehabilitation I refer was collecting school-aged children and putting them in school despite the poor condition of the school and even conducting classes in the open air, in pagoda, under people's house or under the trees.

Regarding to the teacher recruitment, we appealed to all those teachers and literate people who survived to teach the illiterates. We employed the person who wanted to teach. We did not give them salary. We used various slogans such as "the person who knows less teaches the person who knows nothing", "the person who know more teaches the person who know less", "going to teach and going to school is nation-loving" and so on.

Our system was 10 years, 4 years for primary school, 6 years for secondary school. So when we formulated our policy, we did not learn from other policy practices from region and the world. Our curriculum based on that before 1975 and primary schools Our policy has not long term vision. 24 September 1979 is new academic year.

From 1981-1986 was a period of strengthening. Our political situation was not stable. Our slogan was protection and Construction. We got the support from UNICEF. In 1986, our system was 11 years. We changed the curriculum. We sent students abroad.

From 1986-1996 was period of pay attention to quality (started gradually to promote quality of education) but limited quality. We still paid more attention to quantity. We had formal teacher training, we had new teacher training program which was not short duration training like before. In 1996, our system was 12 years. 6 years (primary) and 3 year of lower secondary and 3 year upper secondary.

From 1996-present was development of education toward Asean Integration and global integration. In 2007, we had the Law on education. Our current system is similar to our country but we still faced some issues:

- Curriculum not relevant
- Quality issue: balance of quality and equity: how to promote education for all. Quality/access for all. We focus on:
 - o General education
 - o Skill
 - o Value

We must compare to the region. We can benchmark educational framework from the countries in Association of South East Asia Nation. Then, we must prepare:

First, Teacher Qualification. In Asian countries, they have at least Bachelor degree requirement for their teacher. But for us, we still have some teacher for rural area who. We plan that in 2020 all teacher must have bachelor degree. We study from Japan including NCTD & PCTD. NCTD refers to National Centre for Teacher Development. For 2015, we align to have 12 plus 2. Kindergarten and primary teacher should have at least 12 plus 2 and bachelor in 2020. From 2020, high school teacher should have master degree.

Second, Infrastructure. We focus on ICT. Teaching and Learning process. We have a team to learn from Singapore. In fact, we can learn from Singapore, Malaysia. But we focus on Singapore. D&D, we will learn from Japan.

Third, Curriculum. It should be relevant and respond to labor market. We need to focus on skilful education. We will move from agriculture to industrial country. So what should we need? We need modern machinery for agriculture. We need intellectual people. We should learn from Japan, Korea and Singapore. They focus on Education. Therefore, the 5th mandatory of the government focus on Education. The minster also has 8 points of reform including quality, curriculum and book. We need high quality to become teacher.

We want A & B grade to be teacher. They can apply to become teacher directly. We also increase the scholarship amount up 40,000 Riel per month.

Forth, Quality Assurance. We work with Sweden. We focus on Internal and External Inspection. We will conduct national assessment test. In 2014, teacher will have increment salary every two year. For those who go to rural area will get an increment every one year. We will have teacher house for them in that area.

We also have reform for the ministry. We have evaluation for any promotion. We have Performance Appraisal. For being able to be school directors to general direction of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport, they will need to get trained. We will have well preparation plan for successors of the leadership posts. Regarding the reform on Finance, we will focus on Result Based Assessment. We need to educate our people about the value on education which can improve society, reduce poverty and violence. Then, we have Examination reform. The exam should be based on law, justice, transparency and acceptability. Students will study hard to be able to pass the exams. We need quality of teacher. Leadership must be improved. All school directors and district director will be trained. Later on, we will have soft skill for youth. Then, we focus on Sport. Last, we will have Think Tank.

A: Some researchers said that education was used for political reason such in Sihanouk regime or in the year 1979. What do you think?

B: I do not refuse but not accept neither. I also study about this. Like French word said “Tel p`ere tel fils” or Cambodia word “Leaf never fall far from the tree”. It is normal even though multi-party system. One party win, they will prepare to for this principle or policy.

Therefore, when society changes, policy must be adapted to this change. Education is a social sector. But in education, we have four pillars. Learning to know, learning to do, learning to be and learning to live together. In other countries, it seems to have these four pillars. In UNESCO convention, it also mention on non-discrimination which is the same. We have free education from kindergarten to high school.

A: Who are the primary actors involved in the formation of education policy in Cambodia from 1979-2013?

B: From 1979 – 1984, we have from Central level. From 1984 – 1986, we have external UNDP, UNESCO and UNICEF. In fact, from 1993, we have both sides but still more

weight from Central level. After the election 1993, we become multi-party. One party bring their concept from outside because they are from outside. We have from Western including France, England, Australia, New Zealand, US and Japan.

A: Are there any conflict among state agencies on the educational policy development? How do you deal with that conflict?

B: It is not an easy job. Leader must study and learn from others via conferences abroad. Then, we need to see what is the global trend where they are going. Therefore, we must know the objective. Example, Child Education. Based on UNESCO, where they are going now including ASEAN. That was why we enter into ASEAN. At macro level, where they are going? Any conference, they define 1990 -2000. Then, 2000- 2015. Cambodia must see where they are going. We must see and accelerate our speed. Now, they have the agenda beyond 2015 in South Korea. They will have educational vision for 2030 including early childhood and higher education. Then, Quality of teacher. Third, Live long learning. Then, development for youth. Hence, we must see on global trend, region and national.

In the development of policy, we need to check with other policy or other party whether they mentioned in their policy from one department to another department. Therefore, we need coordination. We should have knowledge to be able to control and coordinate the work. Second, communication skill. We need to coordinate and conclude for each meeting. Third, Learning and participation. Learning by Doing. We need global view. Some people do not take risk or take responsible. They just work in overall. For me, I will take risk and responsibility. My experience, knowledge, maturity and transparency which play an important role for me.

A: Some say there is no participation from public i.e. parents in policy development. What do you think? Do you think they should or not? How to integrate them?

B: There are two points of view. Low participation from them and their knowledge is low. Example, talking about textbook mathematic grade 1 if some parents do not know about it how can they give comment or feedback on it? We have 12% in City who cannot read. However, we still need participation from development partner, society, local authority and relevant ministries. So far, we used to get their involvement such as ministry of Social Affairs, Health and Interior. Therefore our policy responds to the need.

Sometime, it depends on staff understanding. Sometime, they do not read all and try to give feedback in detail.

A: Last question, Excellency do you have any comments or suggestions on the development of educational policy in Cambodia for the future?

B: First, I think staff of legislation department must build their capacity and knowledge. Other staff also need too. Based on my observation TOR and job description are not clear. Example, Child Education department, we can ask their JD is clear enough. Second, Leader of the ministry should improve their capacity too. Third, we need to improve relationship with partners and other ministries. We need to share experience and suggestion to each other. We can learn from other institutes or countries. If our military is well trained, well equipped and enough information, we will be confident for the battle. It is like war.

A: Thank you very much for your time for the interview.

Appendix G: Brief overview of political, legal and economic systems in Cambodia between 1863 and 2013

Years	Legal system	Political system	Political Power	Economic system
1863-1953	French-based civil code and judiciary	- Under French Colonisation - Colonial power	Held by the French colonisation	Colonial economy
1953-1970 (The first Kingdom of Cambodia)	French-based civil code and judiciary	- Constitutional Monarchy	Held by Prince Norodom Sihanouk as prime minister	Market and then nationalisation of economy
1970-1975 (The Khmer Republic)	French-based civil code and judiciary	Republic	Held by Lon Nol backed by United States	Market, war economy
1975-1979 (Democratic Kampuchea)	-Legal system destroyed - Maoist legal system	Extreme Maoist agro-communism	Khmer Rouge	Agrarian, centrally planned
1979-1989 (The people's Republic of)	Vietnamese communist model	Communist party, central committee, and local	Cambodian People's Party backed by Vietnamese	Soviet model - Central planning

Kampuchea)		committees	government	
1989-1993 (The State of Cambodia)	Greater economic rights were offered to citizens	Communist party, central committee, and local committees	Cambodian People's Party backed by Vietnam	-Soviet Model Central planning - Transition to free economy system
1993- 2008 (The Kingdom of Cambodia)	- Civil Law system - Common law in certain sector	Constitutional Monarchy Liberal and Pluralist	Coalition government between FUNCINPEC party and the Cambodian People's Party	Market economy
2008-2013 (The Kingdom of Cambodia)	- Civil Law system - Common law in some sector	Constitutional monarchy Liberal and pluralist	Cambodian People's Party ruled the government	Market economy

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