

**Adult Skills Development:
Demanding a 'radical' new approach?**

Alice Jowett

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.)

The University of Leeds
School of Politics and International Studies

Supervisors

Dr. Caroline Dyer and Dr. Emma-Louise Anderson

May 2015

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without proper acknowledgement.

©2015 The University of Leeds and Alice Jowett

The right of Alice Jowett to be identified as Author of this work has been asserted by her in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

Abstract

The 2012 UNESCO Global Monitoring Report on Skills Development refocused attention on the central importance of skills for development. Now on the cusp of the new Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015, which are set to include skills development and lifelong learning goals, there has never been a more important time to investigate whether a 'radical' new approach is required. Investigating adult learning participation through fieldwork at a conversational English skills development programme in Cambodia, this thesis argues that the current largely individualistic and productivist approaches to skills development are inconsistent with the reality of learners' lives.

Multiple purposes for learning participation beyond the productivist orthodoxy are identified and household members are found to play a key and central role in both influencing learning participation, and as beneficiaries of learning outcomes. The influence of individuals' past experiences, and those of their household members, was also evident. In light of these findings, the thesis argues for a 'radical' new approach to adult skills development and lifelong learning based on the capability approach (Sen, 1999) and experiential learning (Kolb, 1984).

The thesis further contributes to the literature on household strategies for learning participation, moving beyond the typical one-way inter-generational conception of parents facilitating or inhibiting the learning participation of children. Household strategies are identified as being two-way and both inter- and intra- generational in nature, with a particular emphasis on older siblings supporting the learning of younger siblings. A new way of conceptualising how learning outcomes are shared within households is also offered, and the terms 'effective functionings' and 'proximate functionings' are coined, based and building on Basu and Foster (1998). Together these findings both identify the need for, and offer the means to achieve, a 'radical' new approach to adult skills development and lifelong learning.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost I want to thank each and every person who participated in this research. It was a genuine privilege and pleasure to speak with you and I hope you will in some form read, or benefit from, these findings.

Thank you to the whole CWF team for facilitating my field research, for making it so enjoyable, and for sharing and making changes based on the findings. Special thanks to Or Seanglay and to Huy Sambo, Mak Ny, Sok Chann Rasmey, Ouk Soriya, Than Kem and the rest of the CWF team for your help, advice and friendship.

I would also like to thank all the other people who helped make my time in Cambodia so enjoyable – Peou Channat, Seng Thida, Lay Sovichea, Willem Paling, Geordie Smith, the CWF volunteers and the multitude of others I have spent time with in Cambodia over the past decade. Thank you for your friendship over the years and for many years to come.

Thank you to my supervisors Dr Caroline Dyer and Dr Emma-Louise Anderson for all of your support and advice, and to Caroline for your initial encouragement, without which I doubt I'd be writing this now. Thanks also to all the students and staff at the University of Leeds that I've had the pleasure of spending time with.

To all of my friends and family thank you for always being there. Special thanks for all of your help, love and support Mum, Dad, Katie, Jem, Nick and, although you're perhaps too little to be aware of it, my wonderful nieces Chloe and Lauren. I love you all. Finally to the wisest, most generous person I know...

this one's for you Mum.

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|------------|
| Abstract | 3 |
| Acknowledgements..... | 4 |
| Table of Contents..... | 5 |
| List of Figures | 7 |
| Abbreviations and Acronyms | 8 |
| Glossary | 9 |
| Introduction and Rationale | 10 |
| Background | 10 |
| Aims and Objectives | 17 |
| <i>Primary Research Question</i> | 17 |
| <i>Secondary Research Questions</i> | 18 |
| Thesis Outline..... | 18 |
| Chapter 1. Conceptual Framework: Towards a 'Radical' New Approach to Lifelong Learning..... | 21 |
| 1.1. The Capability Approach for Lifelong Learning..... | 22 |
| 1.2. Capabilities and Experiential Learning: Complementary Approaches?..... | 32 |
| 1.3. Beyond Individualism: The centrality of Households and Agency | 42 |
| 1.3.1. <i>Beyond Individualism</i> | 42 |
| 1.3.2. <i>Individual and Household Agency</i> | 46 |
| 1.4. The Capacity to Aspire and Proximate Functionings..... | 55 |
| 1.4.1. <i>Individual and Household Capacities to Aspire</i> | 56 |
| 1.4.2. <i>Proximate and Effective Functionings</i> | 59 |
| 1.5. Conclusion | 65 |
| Chapter 2. Context: Phnom Penh, Cambodia | 66 |
| 2.1. Cambodian Social, Economic and Educational Indicators..... | 66 |
| 2.2. Cambodian Social Structure and Households | 72 |
| 2.3. Cambodian Background, History and Current Skills Provision | 78 |
| 2.3.1 <i>Educational History before the Khmer Rouge Regime</i> | 78 |
| 2.3.2 <i>The Khmer Rouge Regime, UNTAC and English Language</i> | 82 |
| 2.3.3. <i>Rebuilding the Cambodian Education System</i> | 88 |
| 2.3.4. <i>Current Demand and Provision of Education and Skills</i> | 93 |
| 2.3.5. <i>The 'Skills Mismatch' and English Language Skills</i> | 95 |
| 2.4. Conversational English Skills Development Program Case Study | 101 |
| 2.5. Conclusion | 106 |
| Chapter 3. Research Methodology | 109 |
| 3.1. Epistemological Stance | 109 |
| 3.2. Research Design..... | 110 |
| 3.3. Research Methods..... | 119 |
| 3.3.1. <i>Focus Groups and Semi-Structured Interviews</i> | 120 |
| 3.3.2. <i>Visual Methods: Family Trees and Daily Schedules</i> | 124 |
| 3.4. Ethical Considerations | 127 |
| 3.5. Limitations | 132 |
| 3.6. Analysis and Reflections on the Research Methodology..... | 135 |
| 3.7. Conclusion | 141 |

| | |
|--|------------|
| Chapter 4. Adult Skills Development: Beyond the Productivist Orthodoxy? | 143 |
| 4.1. Productivist Purposes for Participation | 145 |
| 4.1.1. <i>The Importance of English for Work in Cambodia</i> | 146 |
| 4.1.2. <i>Current Productivist Uses of English</i> | 149 |
| 4.1.3. <i>Future Productivist Purposes for Learning English</i> | 151 |
| 4.2. Purposes for Participation beyond the Productivist Orthodoxy | 154 |
| 4.2.1. <i>To Assist with Studies in Cambodia and Overseas</i> | 155 |
| 4.2.2. <i>To Access Information in English</i> | 158 |
| 4.2.3. <i>For Entertainment or Leisure Purposes</i> | 160 |
| 4.2.4. <i>For the Enjoyment of Learning and Escapism</i> | 163 |
| 4.2.5. <i>For Social Purposes</i> | 165 |
| 4.2.6. <i>To Communicate with and Help Foreigners in Cambodia</i> | 167 |
| 4.2.7. <i>To Visit, Live, or Communicate with Relatives and Friends Overseas</i> | 170 |
| 4.2.8. <i>For Reassurance, Status and Pride</i> | 173 |
| 4.3. Conclusion | 175 |
| Chapter 5. Household Agency and Individual Learning Participation: A Constructive Relationship? | 179 |
| 5.1. Agency Freedom for Access to CWF | 181 |
| 5.1.1. <i>Household Influence on Enrolment at CWF</i> | 182 |
| 5.1.2. <i>Permission and Financial Support</i> | 185 |
| 5.1.3. <i>Transportation</i> | 188 |
| 5.2. Inter-generational Household Strategies for Learning Participation | 192 |
| 5.2.1. <i>Cultural Aspects</i> | 192 |
| 5.2.2. <i>Household Roles</i> | 196 |
| 5.2.3. <i>Inter-generational Strategies Over Time</i> | 203 |
| 5.2.4. <i>Household Influence Over Higher Education and Future Careers</i> | 206 |
| 5.3. Intra-generational Sibling Strategies for Learning Participation | 210 |
| 5.3.1. <i>Negotiated Intra-generational Household Strategies</i> | 212 |
| 5.3.2. <i>Intra-Generational Support Strategies Across Generations</i> | 214 |
| 5.4. Conclusion | 218 |
| Chapter 6. The Influence of Learning Outcomes on Individual Participants and their Households | 221 |
| 6.1. Aspirations for a 'Good' or 'Better' Future for the Household | 223 |
| 6.2. Individual Effective Functionings | 230 |
| 6.3. Household Effective Functionings and Proximate Functionings | 237 |
| 6.3.1. <i>Proximate Functionings and Household Role Models</i> | 238 |
| 6.3.2. <i>Proximate and Effective Functionings for Lifelong Learning</i> | 244 |
| 6.4. Conclusion | 251 |
| Chapter 7. Synthesis, Discussion and Conclusion | 254 |
| 7.1. Developing the Field | 255 |
| 7.1.1. <i>Towards an Operational Approach to Lifelong Learning Participation</i> | 256 |
| 7.1.2. <i>Widening the Focus: Beyond the Productivist Orthodoxy</i> | 257 |
| 7.1.3. <i>The Centrality of Households: Beyond Individualism</i> | 259 |
| 7.2. Future Research Agenda | 264 |
| 7.3. Implications for Policy and Practice | 268 |
| References | 272 |

| | |
|---|------------|
| Annexes | 295 |
| Annex 1: CWF Building..... | 296 |
| Annex 2: CWF Brochure..... | 297 |
| Annex 3: Field Research Timeline | 298 |
| Annex 4: Synopsis of Respondents | 299 |
| Annex 5: Focus Group / Semi-Structured Interview Prompts..... | 303 |
| Annex 6: Individual Questions – Khmer and English..... | 304 |
| Annex 7a: Information Sheet – English | 305 |
| Annex 7b: Information Sheet – Khmer | 306 |
| Annex 8a: Participant Consent Form – English | 307 |
| Annex 8b: Participant Consent Form – Khmer | 308 |

List of Figures

| | |
|---|------------|
| Figure 1.1: A stylised non-dynamic representation of a person’s capability set and her social and personal context | 29 |
| (Robeyns, 2005, p.98)..... | 29 |
| Figure 1.2: Kolb’s Experiential Learning Cycle (1984) | 39 |
| Figure 1.3: Factors Affecting Access (Lewin, 2007, p.34) | 48 |
| Figure 2.1: Provincial Map of Cambodia (Bray, 1999, p.12) | 68 |
| Figure 2.2: Reasons for not attending school (UNDP, 2011, p.47) | 76 |
| Figure 2.3: Political Timeline of Cambodia (IIEP, 2011, p.21)..... | 79 |
| Figure 2.4: CWF Building | 102 |
| Figure 2.5: CWF Model (CWF, 2013) | 102 |
| Figure 3.1: Fieldwork Design | 112 |
| Figure 3.2: Hometowns of One-to-One Interview Participants..... | 116 |
| Figure 3.3: Annotated Family Tree (PC29, M22, 08.01.13) | 125 |
| Figure 3.4: Daily Schedule (PC3, F18, 14.01.13)..... | 127 |
| Figure 5.1: Dynamic Household (PC14, F27, 23.01.13) | 204 |
| Figure 5.2: Sibling Support Strategy (PC10, F24, 07.01.13) | 213 |
| Figure 5.3: Enduring Household Relationships (PC3, F18, 14.01.13) | 214 |

Abbreviations and Acronyms

| | |
|------------------|--|
| ASEAN | Association of South East Asian Nations |
| CA | Capability Approach |
| CPP | Cambodian People’s Party (Cambodian Political Party) |
| CWF | Conversations with Foreigners (English Language Centre) |
| EFA | Education For All |
| ESSP | Education Sector Support Programme – Cambodia |
| FUNCINPEC | Front Uni National pour un Cambodge Indépendant Neutre Pacifique Et Coopératif (Cambodian Political Party) |
| GMR | Global Monitoring Report (UNESCO) |
| KR | Khmer Rouge |
| LNGO | Local Non-Government Organisation |
| MDGs | Millennium Development Goals |
| MoEYS | Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports – Cambodia |
| MoLVT | Ministry of Labour and Vocational Training – Cambodia |
| NGO | Non-Government Organisation |
| NLS | New Literacy Studies |
| PRK | People’s Republic of Kampuchea |
| PRSP | Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper |
| SDGs | Sustainable Development Goals |
| TOEFL | Test of English as a Foreign Language |
| TVET | Technical and Vocational Education and Training |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Program |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization |
| UNEVOC | International Centre for Technical and Vocational Education and Training |
| UNTAC | United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia |
| UPE | Universal Primary Education |
| VET | Vocational Education and Training |

Glossary

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| Hun Sen | Prime Minister of Cambodia (1979 to current day) |
| Hometown | Province of Birth in Cambodia |
| Homeland | Province of Birth in Cambodia |
| Kampuchea | Cambodia in Khmer |
| Khmer | Language and People of Cambodia |
| Moto | Motorbike |
| Motodop | Motorbike Taxi |
| Tuk tuk | Motorbike-Rickshaw Taxi |
| Pol Pot | Leader of the Khmer Rouge |
| Pol Pot Regime | Used interchangeably with 'Khmer Rouge Regime' |

Introduction and Rationale

This thesis comes at a crucial time, on the cusp of the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) deadline and the implementation of the new Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in 2015, within which adult skills development and lifelong learning are set to play an important role. Situating this thesis in the current discourse on adult skills development, I begin by outlining the need for a ‘radical’ new approach to adult skills development and lifelong learning, drawing on the capability approach, and moving beyond the current productivist orthodoxy. I then discuss the need to find complementary theories to operationalise the capability approach for learning, and to expand upon the largely individualistic traditions of current learning theory, to include the influence of households on individual agency freedoms for learning participation. I then explain the reason for the paucity of research on Cambodia, to which this thesis will contribute. Having established the background to these debates, I present the overall aims of the research, the research questions, and an outline of the thesis.

Background

The 2012 UNESCO Global Monitoring Report (GMR) on Skills Development focused attention on the central importance of adult skills education and training for development. While the report represents an important move toward an inclusive lifelong view of development and education, a note outlining the report's key themes evidences its focus on “strategies that increase employment opportunities for marginalized groups” (UNESCO, 2012a). This focus is reminiscent of a long-recognised productivist orthodoxy, which focuses on the economic outcomes of Vocational Education and Training (VET) for productivity and economic growth, and skills for employability and work (Anderson,

2009). This productivist view has drawn a number of criticisms, not least that it leaves “little room for education beyond specific skills thought necessary for national economic (competitive) development” (Duke and Hinzen, 2010, p.465). McGrath (2012, p.625) provides a useful outline of the current focus of VET for development:

VET is located within a view of development that is narrowly economic and productivist. Yet, this is not a true reflection of what it means to be human. Indeed, since at least the time of the first Human Development Report in 1990 (UNDP, 1990), there has been a shift in development theory that has seen a far wider acceptance of arguments that seek to place humans rather than money at the heart of development.

In advance of the release of the 2012 Skills Development GMR, a call was made to construct “a more radical notion of learning for life” which goes beyond these productivist purposes to include wider human development goals (McGrath, 2012, p.630). This call was also made at the 2012 Shanghai Consensus ‘*Transforming TVET: Building skills for work and life*’ where recommendations included fostering ‘human-centred development’ and strengthening the role of TVET in ‘holistic and inclusive human development’ (UNESCO, 2012b). Although, as discussed later, a number of researchers have applied the capability approach to skills development programmes, this call is for a wider conceptual shift for TVET, which would have wide-reaching influence on both practice and policy. Moving beyond the productivist orthodoxy would, according to McGrath (2012, p.628), mean including vocational learning for: cultural, leisure, caring, community development, communicative and spiritual purposes. These categories are somewhat reminiscent of Belle (1982), who argued that participation in adult non-formal education is typically for job-related reasons, social and individual development, and health and safety.

The capability approach provides a potential means through which this more holistic human-centred move might be achieved, and acts as a possible wider conceptual framework for skills development and VET. Although there has been work carried out applying the capability approach to skills programmes, further research is required. As McGrath (2012, p.627) argues, “There is yet to be significant work on VET and capabilities [...] there may be merit in using such an approach to consider what it is that VET occupations and learners actually do value.” Tikly (2014) recently supported this aim, recognising the importance of the capability approach for skills development in the UNESCO-UNEVOC publication, “*Revisiting global trends in TVET.*” The capability approach is recognised for its “potential to develop and extend existing approaches, while addressing some of their limitations” (Tikly, 2014, p.3). The limitations of other approaches include the overly productivist focus of human capital theory, and the “vagueness” of the human-centred sustainable development approach which, unlike the capability approach, is exposed to the “danger that policy can appear top-down and prescriptive rather than inclusive and context-sensitive” (ibid., p.17).

In making the call, McGrath (2012) and Tikly (2014) both echo and draw upon the work of Amartya Sen and the capability approach. Sen (1999, p.3; p.18) conceptualises development as “a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy”, central to which is “the expansion of the ‘capabilities’ of persons to lead the kind of lives they value—and have reason to value.” Economic development, according to the capability approach, is but one instrumental means through which development might be achieved. Sen (1999, p.291) argues that goals beyond the productivist orthodoxy “have to be understood as constructive parts of the *ends* of development in themselves” and that the process and opportunity aspects of freedom “require us to go well beyond the traditional view of development in terms of ‘the growth of output per head.’” The capability approach thus moves us beyond productivism, described by Fitzpatrick (2003, p.2) as “the ideological

fetishisation of productivity growth where the latter takes on the quality of an end rather than a means.” Education plays a crucial and central role in the capability approach and its importance is explicitly identified as both an instrumental means to an end and an intrinsic end in itself (Gasper, 2007a; 2007b; Nussbaum, 2000; 2008; Robeyns, 2006; Sen, 1999; Walker, 2008). Indeed, dating back to Aristotle numerous scholars have recognised the intrinsic value of education, with its instrumental value reaching well beyond the narrow boundaries of productivism (Bhatty, 1998; Boström, 2003; Dewey, 1938).

This research aims to bring the need to look beyond the productivist orthodoxy to the fore and to identify purposes for participation in adult skills development programmes that go beyond productivism to include wider human development goals. While McGrath’s (2012) proposal to focus on the demand-side of skills development and its wider purposes provides a good basis for developing a ‘radical’ new notion of lifelong learning, I argue that this in itself does not go far enough. Learning is inextricably linked to past experiences and, although Sen (1990; 1999) does discuss the importance of households, the capability approach has been challenged for its assumption that individuals act autonomously and for saying too little “on societal aspects, including social institutions and social norms, and their role in enhancing (or worsening) capabilities” (Stewart, 2005; 2013, p.156). Sen’s approach is focused on the individual, rather than groups:

Sen’s conceptualisation of development centres firmly on the individual, both casting the extent of individual capability as the only adequate measure of successful development and reasserting the primacy of the individual as the agent of developmental change (Allen, 2012, p.425).

When examining social institutions and norms it is necessary to pay particular attention to the household, which “has been considered the primary socialization agent tracing back to Cooley (1902)” (Hitlin, 2006, p.27). Household members influence both the purposes for

participation, and the process of participating, exerting significant influence on individual agency. Households are also particularly susceptible to the learning outcomes of their members, discussed in detail in Chapter 1. While the capability approach would indeed help move beyond the productivist orthodoxy, its uses for education in development are limited unless it moves beyond the individual to account for these wider factors related to group membership. This research builds and draws on an educational concept in keeping with the capability approach and Amaryta Sen, exploring experiential learning as an approach that might be usefully adopted as a complementary, comprehensive and 'operational' means of reinforcing the capability approach to education.

The household agency debate has, again, been historically located within a productivist human capital 'unitary family model', which assumes common preferences with an altruistic household head who makes decisions based on 'utility maximisation' (Agarwal, 1997; Becker, 1964). The failure to recognise both the role of the household and its heterogeneous nature must be addressed. As Nussbaum (2008, p.6) points out, households "may be the site of great inequalities of opportunity: so it is crucial to ask not just how the household is doing, but how each and every person is doing". This 'black box' of 'the household' is often overlooked in research (Feinstein et al., 2008; Nussbaum, 2000). Indeed, Brickell (2011b, p.1368) notes a "particular reluctance to enter into the personal politics and intimacies of the domestic." Developing a 'radical' new approach to lifelong learning affords us an opportunity to address these limitations, moving beyond individualistic and productivist perspectives of learning to include the notion that learning participation is both heterogeneous and deeply connected to concepts of household agency.

Empirical research in the global South is needed to achieve this. As McGrath (2012, p.623) points out, “Whilst there have continued to be both policy and academic developments in VET in OECD countries; in the South there has been a paucity of VET research and little in the way of theoretical exploration.” This paucity of research is particularly pronounced in Cambodia, which is the case study for my research. Fujii and Ear (2002, p.118) found a “dearth of available data due to Cambodia’s tragic recent past” and comparing research on Cambodia to neighbouring countries, Ayres (2000a, p.5) pointed out that aside from an “information explosion generated by the Khmer Rouge holocaust (1975-1979) [...] research and publications about Cambodia's recent past are decidedly thin.” This situation still remains, as highlighted in a report by the World Bank (2012a), which found that research capacity is at a very early stage of development due to inadequacies in qualified researchers, research budgets and infrastructure, with no ‘scientific and technical articles’ recorded for the country. Indeed Berkvens et al. (2012, p.243) argue that, “Resources about Cambodia are extremely limited. What is written is hardly academic and could best be described as personal reflections of foreigners with an interest in Cambodia.” The reason for the current paucity of research in Cambodia is clear:

Since many academics died during the civil war, and since educational institutions were abolished and destroyed, the educational infrastructure within the country is still in a recovery period. The capacity for research is still well below that in other countries in the region (Tuon et al., 2012, p.10).

The global paucity of VET research relative to other areas of educational research is perhaps unsurprising given current global educational policies and the dominance of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The narrow focus of MDG2 has been a particular contributor to this, with its notable absence of the third Education For All (EFA) goal to “Promote learning and life skills for young people and adults”. Although set at the earlier Jomtien World Conference on Education for All in 1990, the omission of this goal from the MDGs,

which aimed to focus attention on eight specific MDGs, moved attention away from lifelong learning. The second MDG to “achieve universal primary education (UPE)” has consequently become widely recognised as “the education goal”, resulting in a global focus on formal schooling provision for children, as opposed to the wider more inclusive education goals of the EFA (Duke and Hinzen, 2010; Palmer, 2006; UNESCO, 2012a). Achievements in UPE have not been reflected in other areas, including lifelong learning:

despite effective actions regarding increasing enrolment, the focus on UPE has not generated equivalent actions to link enhanced learning, address equity, deepen participation in decision-making, or expand an education vision beyond the primary level to include secondary, tertiary, and lifelong learning (Unterhalter, 2015, p.183).

There has, nonetheless, been a renewed interest in adult skills development over the past decade and there are indicators suggesting skills development could come to the fore after the MDG deadline in 2015 (McGrath, 2012; UNESCO, 2012c). Indeed in a recent draft of the Post-2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), Goal 4 is to, “Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote life-long learning opportunities for all”, although the sub-goals currently remain largely productivist in nature, focusing on ‘skills for work’ (UN, 2014). It is therefore timely to work towards a ‘radical’ new approach to lifelong learning and to ensure it is robust, multidimensional and that it investigates the apparent dual role of individual and household agency influencing demand and freedoms for learning participation.

Aims and Objectives

In this thesis I seek to establish whether the capability approach combined with experiential learning for adult skills development can answer the emerging call for a 'radical' new approach to lifelong learning. In doing so I examine the perception that adult skills programmes can result in the freedom for individuals to "lead the kind of lives they value—and have reason to value" (Sen, 1999, p.18), based on past experiences. Through the combined lens of the capability approach and experiential learning, and in keeping with the intentions outlined above, I investigate whether participants in an adult skills programme in Cambodia are enrolled for purposes beyond the productivist orthodoxy. I also investigate whether these purposes are individualistic (pertaining exclusively to individual agency) or collectivist and influenced by household agency factors. I do this by exploring the extent to which enrolment and continued participation in adult skills programmes are the result of both individual and household agency, or individual agency alone. Central to this is the need to investigate the relative influence past learning experiences of the individual, and their household members, might have had on their learning participation and agency. I also investigate the actual learning outcomes, or 'functionings' resulting from learning participation and the influence this has on individuals and their households. Through the case study of a non-formal, unaccredited adult conversational English skills development programme in Phnom Penh Cambodia, the following questions are addressed:

Primary Research Question

Can the capability approach combined with experiential learning for adult skills development answer the emerging call for a 'radical' new approach to lifelong learning?

Secondary Research Questions

1. Do respondents' reasons for participation in adult skills programmes indicate purposes beyond the productivist orthodoxy, and if so, which?
2. To what extent is enrolment and continued participation in adult skills programmes the result of individual and/or household agency?
3. In what ways are individuals and their households influenced by the outcomes of individual participation in adult skills programmes?

Thesis Outline

To address these questions and answer the emerging call for a 'radical' new approach to adult skills development and lifelong learning, I begin in Chapter 1 by establishing my theoretical framework and how Amartya Sen's capability approach (1999) might be usefully combined with experiential learning, particularly David Kolb's (1984) 'Experiential Learning Cycle', for adult skills development. I also draw on current literature on individual and household agency, focusing particularly on two concepts that are based on the capability approach and provide a framework for this literature. These are Appadurai's (2004) 'Capacity to Aspire' and Basu and Foster's (1998) 'Proximate Literacy' and 'Effective Literacy', which I adopt and adapt to relate to 'functionings', or actual learning outcomes.

Having established the framework upon which my research is based, I then explore the context of the non-formal, unaccredited conversational English skills development programme in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, which I used as a case study to address these questions. While it is important to understand the context of any research to better interpret the findings, Cambodia's recent history has had a dramatic impact on education and lifelong learning in the country. I explore this unique history in Chapter 2 alongside Cambodia's current social, economic and

educational situation, and their current skills development demand and provision, drawing on my empirical data as required. I then provide a background and overview of the case study itself, and explore how these factors influence my research findings and overall conclusions.

In Chapter 3 I explain my research methodology and my own social constructivist stance and qualitative approach. As well as outlining my research design and methods, I also discuss the process through which I analysed my findings and use this to reflect on both the methodology for this thesis, and my future research. This is further informed by the ethical considerations and limitations I identified throughout, all of which influenced my overall thesis conclusions and the future research agenda discussed in Chapter 7.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 are my empirical chapters based on my field research and they address each of my research sub-questions in turn. Broadly Chapter 4 explores participants' individual purposes for participation, whether they indicate purposes both for and beyond the productivist orthodoxy, and what these purposes are. These findings expand particularly on the work of McGrath (2012), as outlined in the introduction. In Chapter 5 I widen this focus to the household, focusing on both individual and household agency and how together they influence individual learning enrolment and continued participation. In understanding this relationship as inter-generational and two-way across generations, and intra-generational particularly between siblings, I explore the household strategies that have both an inhibiting and facilitating influence on different members' agency freedoms. Finally in Chapter 6 I focus on the 'functionings' or actual outcomes from learning participation. Linked to individual aspirations for a 'good' or 'better' future for the household, I draw on the concepts I adapt from Basu and Foster's (1998) proximate and effective literacy. I focus both on the 'proximate functionings', or how learning outcomes are shared amongst household members, and 'effective functionings', or the benefits arising from participation for the participant themselves, and

for other household members. I use these concepts to investigate whether, and how, individuals and their households are influenced by the outcomes of individual participation in adult skills programmes and lifelong learning activities.

In my final chapter, I provide a synthesis, discussion and conclusion of my research findings. I focus primarily on how my thesis has developed the field, by helping to move towards a more operational and 'radical' new approach to adult skills development and lifelong learning. These contributions are particularly focused on my argument for the need to move the current focus beyond the productivist orthodoxy and to recognise the centrality of households both on learning participation and as potential beneficiaries of the 'functionings', or actual learning outcomes arising from this learning. I then outline the future research agenda informed by reflections on my findings, and finally highlight my conclusions and their implications for policy and practice.

Chapter 1. Conceptual Framework: Towards a 'Radical' New Approach to Lifelong Learning

Having identified the capability approach as a possible means through which a 'radical' new approach to skills development and lifelong learning might be established (McGrath, 2012; Tikly, 2014; UNESCO, 2012b), I focus in this chapter on how this might be achieved. I begin by exploring further applications of the capability approach alongside its established 'human-centred' focus, which goes beyond the productivist orthodoxy. In doing so I investigate both its strengths and current weaknesses, or areas in which the approach could be developed further. As a result of this, I explore the possible benefits of complementing the capability approach with experiential learning. I first establish the links between the two approaches in Sen's own writing and their shared Aristotelian roots, before discussing the advantages of combining them. Following this I explore the need to look beyond the more individualistic nature of the approaches to recognise the important influence households can have on individual learning participation through the interplay between individual and household agency. I then introduce two further theories, which I draw on throughout the research and which are recognised by the authors to build upon the capability approach. These are Appadurai's (2004) 'Capacity to Aspire' and Basu and Foster's (1998) 'Proximate Literacy' and 'Effective Literacy', which I adopt and adapt to relate to actual learning outcomes, or 'functionings'.

1.1. The Capability Approach for Lifelong Learning

Lifelong learning includes three types of learning: formal, non-formal and informal. The definitions of these concepts provided by Coombs and Ahmed (1974) are widely used (Belle, 1982; Boström, 2003; Brennan 1997) and are adopted throughout this research. Coombs and Ahmed (1974) contend that learning occurs throughout the lifecycle and include a wide range of learning methods and sources. It is not the intention that these three learning types constitute discrete bordered categories, instead it is understood that cross over between them can and does occur. Boström (2003) draws on the work of Arthur Cropley (1976; 1980) and follows similar definitions to Ahmed and Coombs (1974), seeing lifelong learning as lifewide, referring to the entire lifespan from birth to death. In keeping with the capability approach (Sen, 1999) and experiential learning (Kolb, 1984), according to Boström (2003) how learning is put in to practice depends on individuals and their own personal characteristics. While this research focuses on a non-formal, unaccredited conversational English skills development programme in Cambodia, the educational histories of individual participants span the spectrum of lifelong learning. The Coombs and Ahmed (1974, p.8) definitions are:

[Formal learning]: highly institutionalised, chronologically graded and hierarchically structured 'education system', spanning lower primary school and the upper reaches of the university. [Non-formal learning]: any organized, systematic, educational activity carried on outside the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children. [Informal learning]: the lifelong process by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes and insights from daily experiences and exposure to the environment – at home, at work, at play; from the example and the attitudes of the family and friends; from travel, reading newspapers and books or by listening to the radio or viewing films or television.

Following the conceptualisation of TVET adopted by UNESCO (2012d) in their GMR report on skills development, UNEVOC (2014) provide clear definitions for TVET in a review of the “*TVET mission, legislation and national policy or strategy*” for Cambodia. Largely in keeping with the definitions outlined by Coombs and Ahmed (1974), ‘Formal TVET’ is defined as a continuation of the formal education system, runs for at least a year, and results in a formal qualification. ‘Non-formal TVET’ on the other hand can be short term and does not require a formal qualification upon completion. Language learning, which is the case study for this research, is considered non-formal TVET and makes up a quarter of all official TVET delivery in the country alongside computing, tourism, hospitality, business and art. Almost half is dedicated to agriculture, and the final quarter to technical trade, textiles-garments and hairdressing-beauty. There are a wide range of non-formal TVET providers, including the NGO at which I carried out my research.

As outlined in the introduction, the capability approach, as envisaged by Amartya Sen, has significant potential for development and lifelong learning, and particular calls have been made to adopt it as a wider conceptual framework for TVET (McGrath, 2012; Tikly, 2014; UNESCO, 2012b). It is a broad, normative human development approach concerned with wellbeing, equality, values, and individual agency (Unterhalter et al., 2007). The capability approach is recognised to be deeply interdisciplinary, multidimensional and comprehensive. It has been used in a wide range of fields including international development, political philosophy, welfare economics and social policy. Its multiple applications have included policy and proposal design for social change and the assessment and evaluation of individual social arrangements and wellbeing (Robeyns, 2006, p.78). In Sen’s (1999, p.3) seminal work on the capability approach, “*Development as Freedom*”, he conceives development as “a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy.” Central to this is “the expansion of the ‘capabilities’

of persons to lead the kind of lives they value—and have reason to value” (ibid., p.18). Sen goes on to explain that:

The concept of ‘functionings’, which has distinctly Aristotelian roots, reflects the various things that a person may value doing or being [...] A person’s “capability” refers to the alternative combinations of functionings that are feasible for her to achieve. Capability is thus a kind of freedom: the substantive freedom to achieve alternative functioning combinations [...] The “capability set” would consist of the alternative functioning vectors that she can choose from (Sen, 1999, p.75).

In terms of learning participation, and used throughout this thesis, capabilities can be referred to as the ‘opportunities’ to participate in learning activities to achieve valued functionings, or ‘actual learning outcomes’. As Unterhalter et al. (2007, p.16) put it, “The key idea of the capability approach is that social arrangements should aim to expand people’s capabilities - their freedom to promote or achieve ‘functionings’ which are important to them.” Functionings being “specific educational outcomes (or ‘achieved functionings’ relating to education)” (ibid., p.13). In summary, “The difference between a capability and functioning is like one between an opportunity to achieve and the actual achievement, between potential and outcome” (Walker, 2006, p.165). “Functionings are thus outcomes or achievements, whereas capabilities are the real opportunities to achieve valuable states of being and doing” (Robeyns, 2006, p.78). For TVET, “From a capabilities perspective, a key issue is the access that different individuals and groups have to good-quality TVET, and the opportunities they have for achieving desired outcomes” (Tikly, 2014, p.24). These ‘opportunities’ and ‘actual learning outcomes’ are the focus of this thesis, following the guidance by Sen (1999, p.291) that, “In pursuing the view of development as freedom, we have to examine [...] the extent to which people have the opportunity to achieve outcomes that they value and have reason to value.” As (Unterhalter et al., 2007, p.14) point out:

A focus on capabilities would require us to evaluate not just satisfaction with individual learning outcomes, but to question the range of real educational choices that have been available to people; whether they had the genuine capability to achieve a valued educational functioning.

The potential of the capability approach as it pertains to education and learning participation is significant. Education has been given a central and crucial role in the approach both intrinsically, as an end in itself, and instrumentally, as a means to an end, or requirement for the expansion of further capabilities. Learning is envisaged by the capability approach as having a pervasive and fundamental role in all aspects of development. Furthermore, there is considerable scope for adapting and developing the approach. As Walker (2006, p.164) points out, “following Sen, no claim is made for the capability approach as a complete theory of social justice in education.” Indeed, Sen (2004a, p.333) himself acknowledges that, “The capability approach can allow considerable difference in application” and appears to welcome additional theories as a way of expanding the approach. Sen has even indicated an ‘incompleteness’ of the approach, some of which is intentional, and some of which could be developed. When the Aristotelian philosopher Martha Nussbaum calls on Sen to support her argument to provide a ‘list of capabilities’, for example, Sen writes, “I accept that this would indeed be a systematic way of eliminating the incompleteness of the capability approach. I certainly have no great objection to anyone going on that route” but that it should be recognised that there is a “deliberate incompleteness of the capability approach” (Nussbaum and Sen, 1993, p.47). Sen (1999, p.24) further acknowledges that there have been difficulties associated with ‘operationalising’ the capability approach:

The extensive coverage of freedoms is sometimes seen as a problem in getting an ‘operational’ approach to development that is freedom-centred. I think this pessimism is ill-founded.

There has been a burgeoning interest in the capability approach for education in recent years as researchers work to overcome what had previously been described as ‘undertheorised’, ‘underspecified’ and ‘incomplete’, with multiple calls for complementary theories to enrich, enhance and progress the approach (Robeyns, 2003; 2006; Unterhalter, 2003b; Walker, 2006). This rapid growth and the important applications of this research have been identified by a number of scholars in several fields including education, sociology, gender and development studies (De Cesare, 2011; Hart, 2013; Jeffrey et al., 2008; Jeffrey, 2014; Unterhalter, 2013; 2014). Indeed, in a review of Hart (2013), while welcoming new developments in the field, Unterhalter (2014, p.136) explained that:

far from education being under-theorised in discussions of the capability approach, there are a multiplicity of theorisations being explored and the implications are starting to have some important consequences.

Recent works include special issues on the capability approach and education including the Cambridge Journal of Education (Hart, 2012) and the Journal of Human Development and Capabilities (Walker, 2012b). There have also been symposiums for books on the capability approach, which have included reflections from an educational perspective, for example Nussbaum (2011) (Clark, 2013; Fennel, 2013; Stewart, 2013; Unterhalter, 2013; Wolff & de-Shalit, 2013) and Hart (2013) (Unterhalter et al., 2014). The most notable book specific to this topic is a collection of papers on Amartya Sen’s Capability Approach and Social Justice In Education (Walker and Unterhalter, 2007). As the field gathers momentum, and with the Journal of Human Development and Capabilities and the Human Development and Capability Association (HDCA) focused specifically on the capability approach, this trend looks set to continue. Research has included scholars working to overcome difficulties previously associated with the approach, and scholars with different specialities finding new ways to apply the approach in their own fields. The issue of ‘operationalising’ the

capability approach, for example, has been explored by a number of scholars (Fukuda-Parr, 2003; Gasper, 2007a; Gough, 2004; Robeyns, 2006; Unterhalter 2003a; 2003b; Walker, 2006).

Nussbaum (2000) made a particular departure from Sen in developing the approach by arguing for the importance of providing a list of Central Human Capabilities to move towards a complete theory of social justice. This was a major departure point from Sen who argues that lists should be constructed through democratic process. Although not a focus of this thesis, this has become a fertile area of research in the field of the capability approach and education, and, following Nussbaum (2000), several scholars since have provided further lists. This includes Walker (2014, p.333) who, in Nussbaum's most recent book (Comim and Nussbaum, 2014), puts forward a list of educational capabilities based on Nussbaum's central list that "can be argued to be the principles for a theory of education and social justice." Walker (2006; 2007) had previously put forward provisional list based on South Africa, the latter list was published in the same book as Terzi's (2007) list of basic capabilities for educational functionings. In response to a review of 'capabilities lists' in the literature, Wright (2012, p.409) argues that "Ironically the diversity of these lists supports Sen's decision to leave the approach 'incomplete' and 'open to different accounts of valuation' (Qizilbash, 2008, p. 53)." Robeyns (2003) put forward a set of guiding principles for the development of capabilities lists, which was drawn on effectively by both Walker (2006; 2007) and Wilson-Strydom (2014) in her Capabilities List for Equitable Transitions to University, showing that this 'top-down and bottom-up' approach is operational and could usefully guide future work.

A further significant contribution of Robeyns (2003, p.98) is her presentation of "a stylised non-dynamic representation of a person's capability set and her social and personal context" (Figure 1.1). The visual representation provides a useful way of conceptualising what is involved, according to the capability approach, for a functioning to be

achieved. This diagram is particularly relevant for this thesis, as it takes in to account the importance of social context in relation to educational participation. One way my findings might contribute to this diagram is in viewing learning participation and actual learning outcomes as a two-way process, shaped by and building on past experiences, representing the importance of combining the capability approach with the central tenets of experiential learning. Under this conception, the arrows in the diagram would need to go both ways, to represent how achieved functionings have an impact on, and shape, each of the elements which lead to the original achievement of those functionings.

Robeyns (2003, p.99) also reinforces the need for research on both individuals and their households explaining that “knowing the goods a person owns or can use is not sufficient to know which functionings he/she can achieve; therefore we need to know much more about the person and the circumstances in which he/she is living”. Furthermore she points out that “our ideas of the good life are profoundly influenced by our family” and the importance of questioning the extent to which “people have genuinely access to all the capabilities in their capability set, and whether or not they are punished by members of their family or community for making certain choices of the kind of life they value” (ibid., p.102). She concludes that in order to “fully understand the importance of groups, the capability approach should engage more intensively in a dialogue with disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, history, and gender and cultural studies” (ibid., p.109).

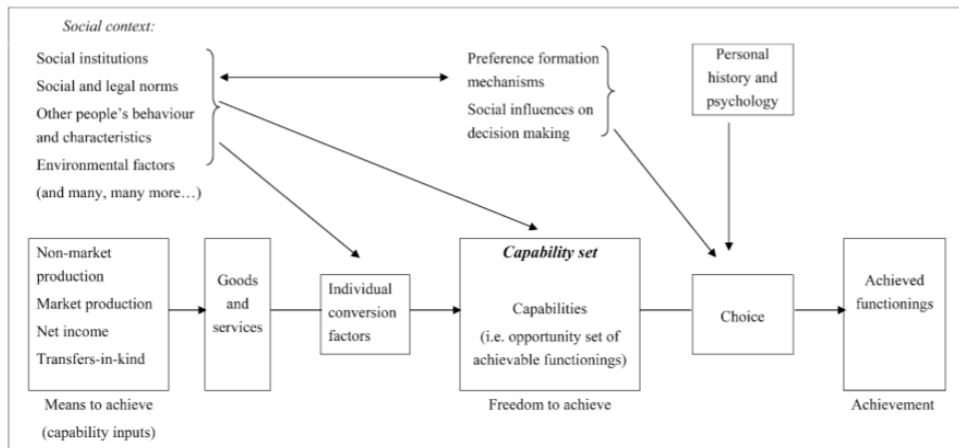


Figure 1.1: A stylised non-dynamic representation of a person's capability set and her social and personal context (Robeyns, 2005, p.98).

Further research has been conducted attempting to complement and strengthen the capability approach by combining it with the work of other theorists, which I also explore in this thesis. Hart (2013) provides a good example of this in her book focusing particularly on aspirations, educational institutions and policy in the UK, arguing that the work of Bourdieu would be usefully combined with the capability approach. While I have taken a broader approach in this thesis to address two-way and both inter- and intra- generational strategies, her work considerably reinforces the importance of households and the concept of accumulated capabilities through “inter-generational transfers of different forms of capital from adults to their offspring” that children have differing levels of access to (ibid., p.53). Jeffrey et al. (2004; 2005; 2008) also drew on Bourdieu when analysing the outcomes of educational participation for different castes in India. They found significant class-based limitations on their freedom to convert their educational outcomes into employment, particularly for Dalit young men. Their findings on the investments made by households and the wide range of outcomes that can also extend beyond the individual, albeit not reliably or uniformly, are also evident in my findings, particularly related to the influence of household members. Reflecting on this work, in a review of Hart (2013), Jeffrey (2014) argues that as

Sen and Bourdieu have competing ways of explaining social life, with Sen broadly arguing that education provides new opportunities, and Bourdieu that it reproduces social inequalities, it might be better to hold them apart for analysis, rather than combine them.

There have been fewer papers applying the capability approach to skills development and TVET, to which this thesis will particularly contribute. Indeed Powell (2012, p.645), in a paper applying the capability approach to South African Further Education and Training (FET) colleges, argued that “Despite the increasing application of the capabilities approach to schooling and higher education, the capabilities approach has until now not been applied to our understanding of VET.” Powell and McGrath (2014a; 2014b) developed this further to suggest the capability approach as a tool for VET evaluations and for understanding why students enrol, including purposes beyond the productivist orthodoxy also found in this thesis. Other papers applying the capability approach to TVET include research with students studying a childcare diploma in an English Further Education (FE) college (Wright, 2012). Her findings on the “impossibility of separating the student’s educational narratives from their stories about their families” (ibid., p.411) and concept of ‘integrated lives’ are particularly evident in my own research findings. López-Fogués (2012) also focuses on Further Education (FE), with a significant theoretical contribution combining the capability approach with the work of Iris Marion Young, and in particular her work on the ‘five faces of oppression.’ Research has also been conducted on valued life skills with young adolescents in Sri Lanka and Bhutan (Young, 2009) and on adult education programmes, literacy and skills, as well as games and play, in India (Nussbaum, 2000; 2003; 2011).

This research, and future work in this field, will continue to contribute to what Walker and Unterhalter (2007, p.251) refer to as, “the genuinely radical ideas for education in the capability approach.” This thesis contributes by arguing for an educational approach to

complement the capability approach that has not yet been a focus of the literature on this topic. Although Walker (2004; 2012a) and Glassman and Patton (2013) have discussed the similarities and applications of the work of Dewey, Freire and other educationalists associated with experiential learning, there has not yet been a focus on the broader approach, as opposed to individual theorists. I argue in particular for the importance of experiential learning as a way to develop our understanding of how individuals, as household members, come to participate in learning activities, and utilise their learning outcomes. Central to this is the importance of reflecting and building on past experiences, which are key tenets of experiential learning. Although beyond the scope of this thesis, there is also good reason to believe experiential learning can contribute to the capability approach in other areas, including pedagogical practices, as argued by Walker (2012a). In the following section I discuss the possibility of introducing experiential learning as a complementary and operational approach to further develop the capability approach in relation to adult skills development and lifelong learning.

In this section I established both the significant potential of the capability approach for lifelong learning and the possibility of developing the approach further with complementary approaches to help 'operationalise' it in relation to education and lifelong learning participation. Lifelong learning is understood to include formal, non-formal and informal learning throughout life. This thesis focuses particularly on the non-formal learning of skills in adulthood, but includes other forms of learning in learners educational histories, recognising the importance of past experiences. The capability approach provides the means to identify both the opportunities, or 'capabilities' required for learning participation, and the actual learning outcomes, or 'functionings', which arise as a result of participation.

1.2. Capabilities and Experiential Learning: Complementary Approaches?

Sen's writing on the capability approach and the combined Aristotelian roots of Sen (1999) with John Dewey (1938), Paolo Freire (1968), David Kolb (1984), and other experiential educational theorists, suggest that experiential learning would serve to complement, develop and enrich the capability approach as it pertains to adult skills development and lifelong learning. In this section I first establish the combined roots of the capability approach and experiential learning based on the work of Aristotle. I then establish the link between the capability approach, John Dewey and experiential learning in Sen's own writing.

Aristotle has long been established as a forefather of experiential learning, made clear in the opening of *The Metaphysics*, "By nature, all men long to know. [...] Indeed, it is thought that experience is more or less similar to knowledge and skill, and that men acquire knowledge and skill through experience" (Lawson-Tancred, 1998, p.4-6). The capability approach is also widely recognised as having been built on the work of Aristotle, "Sen's capabilities approach [...] builds on that of Aristotle in arguing that development is about providing conditions which facilitate people's ability to lead flourishing lives" (Stewart and Deneulin, 2002, p.61). The Aristotelian roots of the capability approach, according to Sen, were first established through dialogue with Aristotelian philosopher Martha Nussbaum (Crocker, 1992; Nelson, 2001; Nussbaum and Sen, 1993). Sen discusses how the Greek word 'dunamin', which Aristotle used to discuss 'human good,' can be translated as 'capability of existing or acting' and Nussbaum refers to Aristotle's references to 'capability' and 'human functioning' (Nussbaum, 1988; Nussbaum and Sen, 1993). Sen (Nussbaum and Sen, 1993, p.46) then adopted and continued to develop this connection, arguing for the primacy of this connection:

In earlier writings I have commented on the connection of the capability approach with some arguments used by Adam Smith and Karl Marx. However, the most powerful conceptual connections would appear to be with the Aristotelian view of the human good.

Sen does not identify himself as an 'educationalist', a term he uses for experiential educational theorist John Dewey (Sen, 1997). Sen is primarily an economist and philosopher. Where both Sen and Dewey draw on the writings of Aristotle, it is Dewey who focused much of his scholarship on education and learning. Sen's own focus on economics, as opposed to education, perhaps helps explain why, referring to Sen's earlier work, "what we understand by education is also underspecified and undertheorized in the capability approach, either being stated as a clear capability good or being broadly equated with literacy, knowledge or information" (Walker, 2006, p.163). These difficulties were also recognised by Unterhalter (2003b) who pointed to how in the capability approach "education linked with substantive freedom can unproblematically be equated with schooling." Given the importance of considering inequality, difference and social formations in the capability approach, she went on to argue that Sen's "consideration of education, which fails to take account of contestations and complicities predicated on unequal social relations within schools, is surprising" (ibid., p.8). Drawing on the work of Dewey and experiential theorists, who came from a similar background but focused specifically on education and learning, could therefore be a useful way to complement and enhance the approach for education and lifelong learning.

Since some of Sen's earliest work he has shown a preference for experiential learning, if not explicitly stated as such. One largely economic paper entitled "*Education, Vintage, and Learning by Doing*" (Sen, 1966) saw Sen supplementing literature on the economics of education - which he saw as focusing largely on 'formal education' and 'on the job training' - with his own economic model of 'learning by

doing'. The paper itself is quite uncharacteristic of Sen's later work, taking a largely productivist stance by focusing almost exclusively on education for productivity. This is the productivist focus he later argued should be expanded to include wider human development goals. The economic model he offered also suggests a homogeneity that Sen moved away from in his later work, focusing more on the heterogeneous individual. The paper shows evidence of an early propensity of Sen to be quite 'underspecified', 'undertheorised' and to 'un-problematically equate' education with schooling, as pointed out by Unterhalter (2003b) and Walker (2006). In the economic equation established by Sen (1966, p.5), he apparently un-problematically equates 'better' educational achievements with attendance, "the quality of education improves with the passage of time", and in the notes section directly equates an increase in the number of school days with an increase in the quality of education. This itself would have benefitted from insights offered by experiential theorists such as Dewey (1938, p.33) on the quality of education and the importance of discriminating "between experiences that are worth while educationally and those that are not", rather than seeing all education as a given 'good'. It could also have been developed in light of contemporary experiential learning theorist David Kolb, who recognised the importance of looking beyond 'time' as a measure of quality, as explained by Adetunji (2004, p.8):

The significance of Kolb's theory for educators is profound because, among other things, he leads educators away from the traditional concerns of credit hours and calendar time toward competence, working knowledge, and information truly pertinent to jobs, families, and communities.

Dewey himself is mentioned in a number of Sen's writings, perhaps most notably "*The Dewey Lectures*" (Sen, 1985) and in the opening lines of his paper "*Inequality, Unemployment and contemporary Europe*" (Sen, 1997). In the paper Sen discusses experiential learning almost as a given and argues that "Just as people 'learn by doing,' they also 'unlearn' by 'not doing' – by being out of work and out of practice" (Sen, 1997,

p.161). Sen (1997) also outlines other views he shares with Dewey and which are central to the capability approach regarding the role of value and choice. In response to their views on the central role of value, Axtel (2009, p.6) labelled Dewey a 'classical axiologist' and Sen a 'contemporary axiologically-inclined thinker' and argues that "It was in part through Amartya Sen's attempt to enrich the evaluative capacity of welfare and developmental economics by means of the 'capabilities approach,' and a rapprochement of economics and ethics more generally, that the discipline has impressively recovered its vitality in recent decades." Indeed, Nelson (2001, p.150) refers to the capability approach as the "most adequate attempt to date to overcome the typical economist's distaste for dealing with issues of value." The influence of Dewey on Sen, however, is best outlined by Sen (1997, p.155) himself:

John Dewey, the philosopher and educationist, has argued that serious decisional problems involve a kind of 'struggle within oneself.' 'The struggle,' Dewey explained, 'is not between a good which is clear to him and something else which attracts him but which he knows to be wrong.' Rather, 'it is between values each of which is an undoubted good in its place but which now get in each other's way' (Dewey and Tufts, 1932, p. 175).

Although focusing on individual theorists, rather than the larger concept of experiential learning that they are known for, both Glassman and Patton (2013) and Walker (2004; 2012a) have previously made the connection between Sen, Dewey and Freire. Focusing on their combined democratic values and access to information, Glassman and Patton (2013, p.1353) argued that, "Sen, Dewey, and Freire together help to offer a new way of understanding education in the twenty-first century". This connection has also been made by Walker (2004, p.5) while discussing the contribution of education to democratic freedoms and society, "Freedom, for Sen, (and one might argue following in a tradition, even if not made explicit in Sen, of educators such as John Dewey and Paolo Freire) is concerned as much with processes of decision making as the opportunities to achieve valued outcomes. In

other words, we make development and freedom by doing development and freedom." In later writing Walker (2012a, p.389-390) makes this connection in relation to pedagogical practices:

This pedagogy might learn from educators such as Dewey (1916/2009) and Freire (1972), whose ideas are strongly aligned with the expansion of capabilities and democratic processes of dialogue and reasoning. [...] Nussbaum (2006b) for her part has drawn on Dewey and Rabindranath Tagore, but also substantially on Aristotle, the Stoics and others (Nussbaum, 1997), while Sen (1999) acknowledges his own debt to Dewey [...] we can see how Sen, Nussbaum, Dewey and Freire offer guidance for pedagogies which might be shaped by the need to develop these ethical capabilities through education.

Developing these connections further, it is clear that the link between Sen, Dewey and Freire recognised by Glassman and Patton (2013) and Walker (2004; 2012a) is the overarching approach of experiential learning - learning by doing, experience-based learning or education through experience (Fleming, 2011; Illeris 2007). Indeed, as Saltmarsh (1996) established, Freire's educational philosophy has been grounded in Dewey's since Freire wrote his thesis on him. Dewey has also heavily influenced a number of other experiential educational theorists including Donald Schön, who also wrote a thesis on Dewey, and contemporary experiential learning theorist David Kolb. Where Freire (1968) went on to discuss the importance of not being 'mechanistic' by seeing learners as 'empty vessel to be filled' as in the 'banking system' of education, Schön (1983) would refer to the importance of drawing on the 'soup of knowledge in our heads'. These concepts are central to experiential learning in which, as Andreson et al. (2000, p.225) explain, the learner's prior and current experiences or life-events:

Occupies a central place in all considerations of teaching and learning [...] learners analyse their experience by reflecting, evaluating and reconstructing it (sometimes individually, sometimes collectively, sometimes both) in order to draw

meaning from it in the light of prior experience. This review of their experience may lead to further action.

Experiential learning has a wide range of applications, going beyond learning in schools to encompass “formal learning, informal learning, non-formal learning, lifelong learning, incidental learning and workplace learning (Andreson et al., 2000, p.225). In a paper recognising the wide applications of experiential learning and seeking a clear definition for it, Illeris (2007, p.86) concluded that:

To be labelled experiential, learning processes and outcomes must be part of processes of continuity and interaction, they must, at least to some extent, be learner controlled and involve the learner’s self, and there must be some correspondence of the learning environment to real environment. Furthermore, the learning should be characterized by freedom from distraction and have some degree of self-direction, it should be student centred, and it should make possible some kind of liberation or emancipation of the learner. Finally, such learning can be applied and involved in a very broad range of educational connections.

While this research focuses on learning participation, rather than the act of learning and pedagogy in and of itself, valuable lessons can be gained from experiential learning theorist David Kolb and the way he attempted to ‘operationalise’ experiential learning by introducing a visual learning cycle. Kolb’s Experiential Learning Cycle (1984) provided an ostensibly simplified diagram through which theorists, academics and practitioners have been given a form of ‘access’ to the concept of experiential learning. The cycle has since been adopted and adapted to fit further concepts and to help visually present and operationalise these approaches. Perhaps the best known was by Honey and Mumford (1986) who adapted the learning cycle by renaming the stages to reflect individual learning styles, while drawing on the central principles of the learning cycle.

Kolb's learning cycle (1984) draws on the work of a number of experiential learning theorists including Freire, but particularly Dewey, "experiential learning is above all a philosophy of education based on what Dewey (1938) called a 'theory of experience'" (Kolb and Kolb, 2005, p.193). The learning cycle emphasises the central role of experience for learning and conceives learning as continuous, cyclical and in essence, lifelong. Experiential learning, then, is seen as "a process whereby concepts are derived from and continuously modified by experience" (Kolb, 1984, p.27) or as Mullins (1999, p.363) put it, "there is no end to learning but only another turn of the cycle". This in itself is key to Dewey (1938, p.35) whose work outlines how each new experience or 'turn of the cycle' would build upon the past and shape the future, "every experience both takes up something from those which have gone before and modifies in some way the quality of those which come after." The pursuit of a specific functioning, for example, is likely to change over time as individuals re-evaluate the functioning and make different choices. As Kolb (1984, p.24) outlines, each turn of the cycle can lead to different outcomes and "Ideas are not fixed and immutable elements of thought but are formed and re-formed through experience". Kolb (1981, p.234) created the visual cycle to represent a "learning processes that is consistent with the structure of human cognition and the stages of human growth and development". As shown in Figure 1.1, the cycle has been conflated over time and ostensibly simplified to 'Do', 'Review', 'Conclude' and 'Plan'. Vince (1998, p.306) provides a clear explanation of what the cycle represents:

The four stages of the cycle imply, first, a direct experience in which either or both thoughts and feelings are generated; second, a process of reflecting on thoughts or feelings; third, a drawing of rational conclusions or emotional insights about experience; and fourth, the implementation, testing, and initiation of action from the experience.

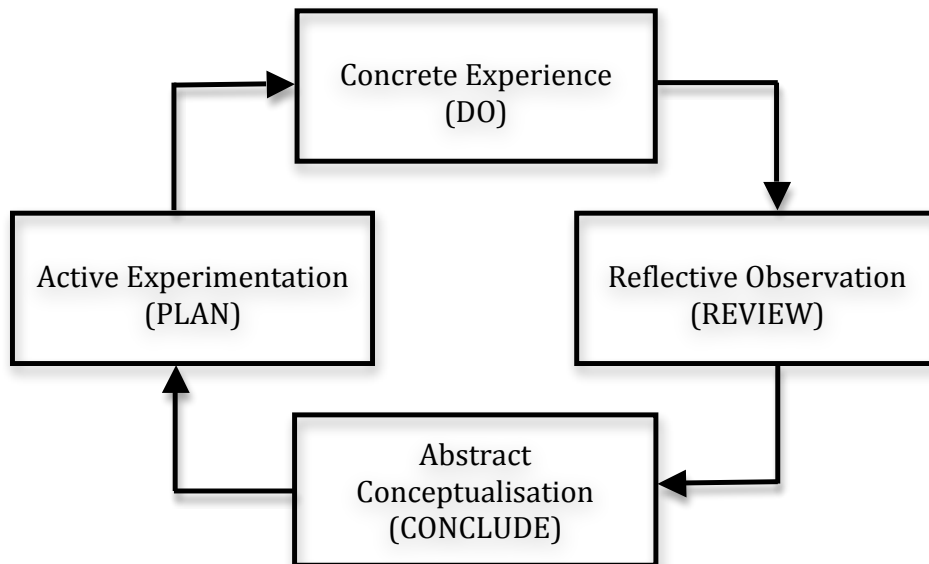


Figure 1.2: Kolb's Experiential Learning Cycle (1984)

In order to learn, according to Kolb's learning cycle, the learner must have the freedom to pass through each stage of the cycle. This concept of 'freedoms' and 'unfreedoms' is reminiscent of John Dewey's concepts of 'educative' and 'mis-educative' experience cited by Fleming (2011, p.36), "all genuine education comes through experience' (1963, p.3), but only some experiences are educational, and 'any experience is mis-educative that has the effect of arresting or distorting growth of further experience' (1963, p.25)." This concept is also central to the freedoms required to achieve in the capability approach. The term 'unfreedom' is used for anything that prevents or inhibits an individual. As Walker (2006, p.180), points out, "The lens of capability directs our attention to any sources of unfreedom that might constrain genuine choices and how diverse individuals are affected." Sen (1999, p.17) explains that in the capability approach:

The view of freedom that is being taken here involves both the *processes* that allow freedom of actions and decisions, and the actual *opportunities* that people have, given their personal and social circumstances. Unfreedom can arise either through inadequate processes [...] or through inadequate opportunities that some people have for achieving what they minimally would like to achieve.

Concepts of freedoms, processes, opportunities and individual agency raise questions about the genuine choices available to individuals, as well as their actual ability to achieve their educational aspirations, learning outcomes, or 'valued educational functionings' (Unterhalter et al., 2007, p.14). Sen (1999) argues that an individual who does not value or choose a specific path would not pursue it. Part of the concept of freedom for Sen is the freedom not to choose a path, assuming the opportunities to do so are available. Not having the opportunity would be considered 'capability deprivation', where an individual's values and choices cannot be pursued due to diminished agency or a lack of opportunities. There is a distinct separation between:

Freedom and opportunities on the one hand and the actual achieved functionings on the other [...] The capability theorists would therefore say - provided the opportunities for education and health are available, the way in which individuals make use of their education and health belong in the sphere of individual responsibility" (Alexander, 2008, p.107-8).

Although the visual representation of a learning cycle presented by Kolb (1984) does offer greater clarity on the central concepts of experiential learning, advancing its adoption across disciplines (Prosser and Loxley, 2008), its separation into discrete stages has drawn some criticism. Holman et al. (1997, p.142), for example, argue that "There may be no reason other than symbolically to differentiate between reflection and the process of experiencing. Both can be considered as part of the same argumentative process which constructs meaning." The risk of conflating the stages, however, rather than highlighting the individual significance of each, is to risk the overall understanding of the process and its application. While learning does not always obviously follow discrete stages, and some might be passed through less noticeably than others, each stage does play its own role in the learning process and should be given due consideration and individual interrogation. As Vince (1998, p.306) points out in relation to Kolb's

cycle, it allows both the learner and observer to “perceive a whole process of learning and to identify those parts of the process in which – for whatever reason – individuals are dependent on or stuck in particular parts of experiential awareness.” Alexander et al. (1994, p.284-5) also argue that “goal, expectancy, and value are separate (and separable) considerations: goals deemed unattainable regardless of one's best efforts [...] or relatively low in one's preference hierarchy [...] may command little effort.” A visual cycle also opens up debate and discussion around the learning process providing a means through which the overall cycle and individual stages can be questioned, challenged and investigated to develop a clearer understanding. These discussions provide valuable insights in and of themselves, allowing adjustments, improvements and adaptations to be made.

In this section I established the advantages of combining the capability approach with experiential learning to provide a more robust and ‘radical’ new approach to lifelong learning. Given the combined Aristotelian roots and preference in Sen’s own writing for experiential learning, particularly through the work of John Dewey, I argue that experiential learning can both effectively complement and enrich the approach. Understanding learning to be a continuous process, based and building on past experiences, is in keeping with the processual nature of the capability approach and also draws attention to the influence that past experiences of capability freedoms and ‘unfreedoms’ can have on future learning participation.

1.3. Beyond Individualism: The centrality of Households and Agency

One area on which both the capability approach and experiential learning have been questioned is their largely individualistic focus. In this section I address this criticism and explore the need to move beyond this to include the central role of social groups, and in particular households. In doing so I highlight and explore the importance of both individual and household agency and the influence their interplay can have on the learning participation of individual household members. Understanding the potential influence of household agency on individual agency freedoms and learning participation is necessary when interpreting the findings on this topic discussed in Chapter 5. It also provides a foundation for Chapter 6, which focuses on the way in which 'functionings', or actual learning outcomes, might be shared with, and for, the benefit of other household members.

1.3.1. Beyond Individualism

A strength and criticism of both Sen's capability approach (1999) and Kolb's Experiential Learning Cycle (1984) is their focus on the individual. The capability approach follows "a principle of each person's capability should guide us" (Nussbaum, 2000, p.246) and following Dewey, "Kolb (1978) recognizes the importance of the uniqueness of an individual in the learning process. He suggests that the learning process is not identical for all human beings" (Adetunji, 2004, p.5).

Individualism is thereby seen as a positive attribute of both approaches, encouraging us to view each person as an individual and not in a homogeneous way. This individualistic focus has, however, also garnered criticisms. As Clark (2006, p.111) highlights, "The CA has been criticised from several different angles. In many cases key strengths are re-construed as potential weaknesses by critics." One overarching criticism of what are seen as largely individualistic 'Western'

perspectives of learning is that they do not 'fit' in other contexts. As Brickell (2011a, p.441) points out, when doing research in Asia, it is essential to understand the "Asian values" which "respect societal interests over narrow, individual self-interest, and order and harmony over personal freedom", leading to "sustained attachment to family and conventional patterns of authority and loyalty." Furthermore in countries where Buddhism is the main religion, approaches to learning need to take in to account "two key tenets of the Buddhist doctrine: first, that human beings are imperfect and need guidance and protection; and second, that individuals alone are essentially helpless" (Ayres, 2000a, p.11). The requirement to look beyond 'Western' perspectives is key for this research, which uses an adult skills development programme in Cambodia as the case study:

The majority of professional development and adult learning theories approach learning from a western perspective. However, Cambodian society, as many other societies, is organized according to a non-western model. Adopting western theories implies that there is no difference in premises between western countries and Cambodia, while, in reality, many differences exist (Berkvens et al., 2012, p.241).

Further related debate has surrounded the centrality in both the capability approach and experiential learning of individual 'practical reason' and 'autonomy'. Vince (1998, p.305-6), in reference to Kolb's learning cycle (1984), explains that, "At the heart of the approach is the idea that the individual can manage his or her own learning through reflecting on experience and thereby be in control of self-development." The failure to consider social power relations, he goes on to say, makes it largely apolitical, "assuming that people are able to speak about their experience in their own voice" (Vince, 1998, p.306). A similar argument is put forward by Gasper (2007b, p.339) who states that the capability approach "attracts because it uses a picture of persons as agents who have their own goals (including not only for themselves), make their own choices, and are not mere receptacles for resource-inputs and

satisfaction; who, in Aristotelian language, live through the exercise of practical reason.” Stewart (2005, p.189) challenges the unquestioning nature of the assumption of an ‘autonomous individual’ who “knows what he/she wants, whose choices [...] should not be questioned because the individual is the ultimate judge of what is best for him/her to choose”, arguing that society “shapes every individual, influencing preferences and consequent choices” and that “no-one has complete autonomy”. Stewart (2005, p.185) further points to the importance of ‘group capabilities’ with the argument that “groups play a much more dominant role in human life and well-being than appears in much of the analysis of capabilities” and that:

All individuals live in groups, from cradle to grave - in families, communities, villages, neighbourhoods, regions, countries. Individuals also have multiple affiliations. [...] These affiliations may be more or less strong, [...] defined; and may be more or less enduring - some may be very temporary [...] while others (such as families, ethnicities, race) may even be lifelong, although the importance of the connections may vary over a person’s life. [...] In addition, because everyone is a member of (multiple) groups throughout their lives, they are immensely important in influencing people’s choices - whether for valuable or undesirable capabilities. The most influential groups in this respect tend to be the more informal ones - families, communities, and so on. Groups also influence which capabilities people choose to turn into functionings - including whether they choose only valuable capabilities or also non-valuable ones (ibid., p.199).

Stewart (2013, p.156) later argues, in a review of Nussbaum’s 2011 book *Creating Capabilities*, that “Both Sen and Nussbaum centre the approach on the individual. [...] Both say too little, in my opinion, on societal aspects, including social institutions and social norms, and their role in enhancing (or worsening) capabilities.” In promoting a largely autonomous view of the individual with a focus on their own values,

choices and agency, without regular and explicit reference to the influence of others on an individual's learning, both the capability approach and experiential learning are open to this individualistic criticism. To address this, it is essential to recognise both the role of the individual and heterogeneous nature of groups such as the household, and at the same time the potentially significant influence individual group membership can have. These groupings can be functional and dysfunctional and can have specific benefits and constrictions on the wellbeing of individual members, which stretch beyond the achievement of specific functionings.

While by no means static and constant, groupings can be invaluable when seeking an understanding of the most immediate, and possibly most significant, influences on individual learning participation. While perhaps understated and not as evident in his wider writing as his focus on the individual, as Stewart (2005; 2013) argues, Sen (1999) has demonstrated his awareness of this:

The freedom of agency that we individually have is inescapably qualified and constrained by the social, political and economic opportunities available to us. There is a deep complementarity between individual agency and social arrangements. It is important to give simultaneous recognition to the centrality of individual freedom *and* to the force of social influences on the extent and reach of individual freedom (Sen, 1999, p.xi-xii).

Studies highlighting the unique impact of households on the learning participation and outcomes of individual household members have been taking place for over a century. Hitlin (2006, p.27) found that, at least in the USA, "The family has been considered the primary socialization agent tracing back to Cooley (1902)" and the household is "the context whereby individuals develop aspirations for their future across the transition to adulthood". Reminiscent of 'adaptive preference' (Nussbaum 2000; Sen, 1985; Unterhalter, 2012), where it is sometimes difficult to discern the preferences of an individual from the

social norms and expectations of those around them, Sen (1990, p.125-7) also draws attention to the influence of individual identities, and the influence household membership can have:

Everyone has many identities. Being a man or a woman is one of them. Being a member of a family is another. [...] One's individuality coexists with a variety of such identities. Our understanding of our interests, wellbeing, obligations, objectives, and legitimate behaviour is influenced by the various - and sometimes conflicting - effects of these diverse identities.

Seeing learners as individuals, as opposed to one homogenous group, is an important contribution of both the capability approach and experiential learning. However it is also important to recognise that individuals are not entirely autonomous and can be deeply influenced by others, particularly their households.

1.3.2. Individual and Household Agency

Agency in its most basic sense is “a sense of control, coupled with action”, which an individual can utilise to act for themselves or for others (Hartas, 2008, p.150). All individuals have agency albeit to differing degrees, which can be enhanced or restricted by the agency of those around them, a phenomenon particularly evident in households. Kabeer (1999, p.438) adopts a wide definition of agency as “the ability to define one's goals and act upon them” and argues that agency:

Encompasses the meaning, motivation and purpose which individuals bring to their activity, their sense of agency, or ‘the power within’. While agency tends to be operationalized as ‘decision-making’ in the social science literature, it can take a number of other forms. It can take the form of bargaining and negotiation, deception and manipulation, subversion and resistance as well as more intangible, cognitive processes of reflection and analysis. It can be exercised by individuals as well as by collectivities.

The diversity of 'households' means they are best defined by their members, being made up of individuals, partners, parents, children, and going beyond the 'nuclear family' to include other family and non-family members. They might be multi-generational including grandparents and grandchildren and may be extended to include uncles, aunts and cousins. 'Household agency' is the combined agency of household members or "sense of control, coupled with action" (Hartas, 2008, p.150) of the household as a whole. Within this grouping, individuals might utilise their agency to act for themselves and for others. As Kerckhoff (1986, p.93) argues, "All social relationships are reciprocal, and the individual's effect on the 'other', whether peer or family member, is as great as the 'other's' effect on the individual." Most studies on households and learning focus on children's formal schooling, often identifying the household as the crucial deciding factor for participation. Keng (2004, p.552) found that in rural Cambodia "inequalities in educational participation are a direct consequence of household decisions as to which child is to be sent to school". Roby et al. (2008, p.342) also concluded that "the family plays the most direct role in decisions regarding education" and Feinstein et al. (2008, p.45) that "few would argue against the view that parents, families and the relationships therein are among the most important and direct influences on children and their development." This is particularly significant in countries like Cambodia where schooling is not compulsory and attendance is not enforced (No and Hirakawa, 2012). These countries rely heavily on households for encouraging learning participation compared to countries where "social policy and law enforcement overrule household authority and ensure that, say, primary school attendance is compulsory" (Iversen, 2003, p.106).

Focusing on children, Lewin (2007, p.34) reinforces the importance of considering both "Individual characteristics and agency" and "Household characteristics and agency" to understand the influence of households on the purposes, demand and access required for learning. These two clusters form the demand-side of a conceptual map shown in

Figure 1.2, which illustrates five clusters affecting “meaningful and equitable access” to learning. The “Individual Characteristics and agency” cluster focuses on the demand and participation of learners based on their “dispositions, capabilities and agency”, which in turn affect motivation, application to learning and learning outcomes. The “Household Characteristics and agency” cluster focuses on “the agency family members bring to participation”, which includes household decision-making and family strategies affecting attendance, and the demand and support for learning. Although these clusters might be better presented as overlapping, given their apparently conjoined role, what this conceptual map does reinforce is their combined, integral influence on individual household members. While research to date on this subject, including that of Lewin (2007), has predominantly referred to children’s access to formal education, the influence of households on adult participation in lifelong learning is currently under explored, and is an issue I investigate in this research.

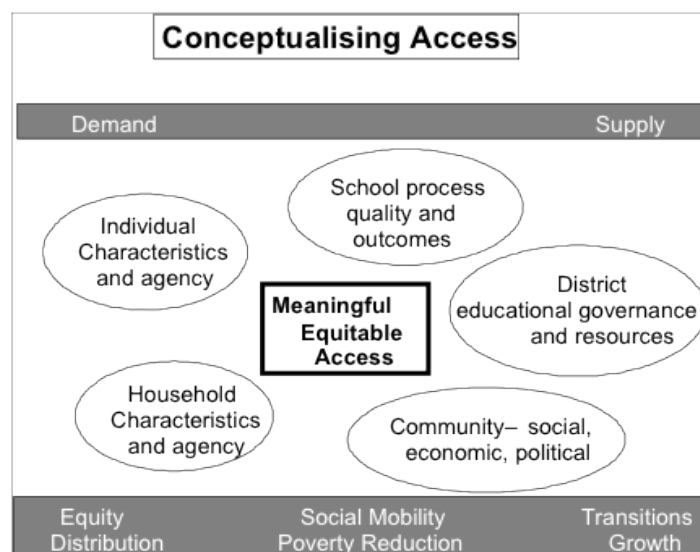


Figure 1.3: Factors Affecting Access (Lewin, 2007, p.34)

The potential influence of household agency on lifelong learning for adults is highlighted in an example given by Iversen (2003, p.106) of two women attending literacy classes. With all other factors held equal, the woman with less household agency and whose influence is “more

circumscribed, will spend less time in the literacy class than her friend, even though the two women attach similar values to literacy.” Skilton-Sylvester (2002) further point out that continued participation is not just about the motivation to attend but may be the result of external factors, which are sometimes beyond their control and which change over time. Agency in this respect can be the site of ‘freedoms’ and ‘unfreedoms’ for individual household members. Kabeer (1999, p.438) further relates agency to power and explains that:

In the positive sense of the ‘power to’, it refers to people's capacity to define their own life-choices and to pursue their own goals, even in the face of opposition from others. Agency can also be exercised in the more negative sense of ‘power over’, in other words, the capacity of an actor or category of actors to over-ride the agency of others, for instance, through the use of violence, coercion and threat. However, power can also operate in the absence of any explicit agency. The norms and rules governing social behaviour tend to ensure that certain outcomes are reproduced without any apparent exercise of agency.

Where the capability approach has been used for the study of households, the agency exercised by different household members, and the agency of the household as a whole, are influential. Households can have particular facilitating effects that grant members the freedom to participate in learning activities, and inhibiting effects leading to ‘unfreedoms’ and non-attendance. Households are not homogenous and there are likely to be significant disparities between members. As Brickell (2011b, p.1353) points out, “The persistence of intra-household inequality is widely regarded as a ‘stubborn stain’ on development achievements and aspirations.” Nussbaum (2008, p.6) stresses that she and Sen believe:

Each and every individual person is an end, and that it is ethically wrong to present development in terms of the well-being of collectivities. We stress that even a community such as the family, in which intense love and loyalty putatively obtain,

may be the site of great inequalities of opportunity: so it is crucial to ask not just how the household is doing, but how each and every person is doing.

Nussbaum (2000, p.245-6) further explains that “It is not enough to ask whether the family promotes a diffuse and general kind of affection and solidarity. We must ask in detail what it does for the capabilities of each of its members.” The household is important as the “locus of a person’s development, association, expression, education, and so forth. But we insist that it has no force qua organic unit [...] in the case of the family: we focus on each person as bearer of a variety of associative rights and liberties and as a potential enjoyer of affiliative capabilities” (Nussbaum, 2000, p.251). There is a propensity in the literature to overlook the dynamics of the household and see it as a private domain, or a ‘black box’ (Feinstein et al., 2008; Nussbaum, 2000). Where Sen has written on the household he conceptualises it as a unique environment, often pervaded by a balance of ‘cooperation-conflict’ where:

The members of the household face two different types of problems simultaneously, one involving *cooperation* (adding to total availabilities) and the other *conflict* (dividing the total availabilities among the members of the household). Social arrangements regarding who does what, who gets to consume what, and who takes what decisions can be seen as responses to this combined problem of cooperation and conflict. The sexual division of labor is one part of such a social arrangement (Sen, 1990, p.129).

The gendered responsibility for housework is one way in which the sexual division of labour can influence social arrangements within households, and particularly the relative status and agency of household members. Work often carried out by women inside the home is typically allocated a lower status than work often carried out by men outside the home (Agarwal, 1997; Sen, 1990). The intra-household distribution of education, food and healthcare according to Sen (1990,

p.140), “are of obvious importance in determining each person's actual command over necessities, and this is often a source of inequality”. Intra-household distribution also incorporates notions of ‘accepted legitimacy’ within families, where social norms and culture dictate certain accepted or adapted preferences. Each of these factors can influence distribution and are significant when viewed in terms of relative agencies within households. Agarwal (1997, p.3) draws attention to the significance of households in this distribution:

Households/families [...] are recognizably constituted of multiple actors, with varying (often conflicting) preferences and interests, and differential abilities to pursue and realize those interests. They are arenas of (albeit not the sole determinants of) consumption, production and investment, within which both labor and resource allocation decisions are made. And evidence from many regions reveals persistent gender inequalities in the distribution of household resources and tasks.

Much of the literature on formal schooling for children in developing countries identify gendered household roles as a significant factor. The dominant global theme is that girls are less likely to enrol or attend and are more likely to drop out of school than boys due to the norm-driven household roles of women and girls in domestic chores and childcare, which are deeply inhibitive to learning participation compared to the more income-centric role of males (Beutel and Axinn, 2002; Burra, 2001; Iversen, 2003; Keng, 2004; Mukhopadhyay et al., 1994). The traditional female role of ‘wife’ and ‘mother’ is also associated with high drop out rates, often attributed to early marriage and childbearing (Beutel and Axinn, 2002; Burra, 2001; Roby et al., 2008). Furthermore older siblings, particularly girls, have been identified as being the least likely to enrol, and most likely to drop out, due to childcare responsibilities (Huisman and Smits, 2009; Lloyd and Gage-Brandon, 1994; No and Hirakawa, 2012; Roby et al., 2008).

Within Sen's (1990) concept of 'cooperation-conflict' and household 'togetherness' is that of human agency and altruistic behaviour, "a crucial element of human well-being is human 'agency' [...] Agency is related to the quality of life, but it also includes others' goals and a commitment to actions that do not benefit the agent himself" (Crespo, 2008, p.2). Papanek (1985) further refers to 'household togetherness' as a 'collective' arrangement, whereby collective as opposed to individual interests determine patterns of resource allocation. However, "Collective, as used here, does not mean a consensus of equals, for that is almost never the case. Indeed, in strongly hierarchical family households, the interests of the most powerful family members shape the actions of the collectivity" (ibid., p.341). Conflict is most likely to arise where one member's values and choices are not in keeping with another's leading to a 'clash of agencies'. A further important part of 'cooperation-conflict' within households is that "the actions and decisions of one individual might limit the options available to others" (Iversen, 2003, p.107). This is particularly the case where changes to the balance of power influence group dependence constraints and "the intra-household distribution of goods and services; that is, the means to achieve in the capability approach" (ibid.). Given the 'cooperative' nature of households "the greater entitlement of one person often becomes the increased responsibility for care given by another" (Papanek, 1990, p.173). Change in the learning outcomes or acquired functionings of one household member, is therefore likely to have an impact on others.

The concept of 'cooperation-conflict' both moves beyond and contradicts the largely economic human capital 'unitary family model' put forward by Becker (1964) that assumes common household preferences with an altruistic household head who makes the decisions on behalf of the household based on 'utility maximisation' (Agarwal, 1997; Ermisch and Francesconi, 2001). Following Sen and taking a wider human development approach is likely to be more in keeping with the reality and multiple complexities of learners' lives:

While in the past a pervasive myth of family solidarity and unity tainted the approach of academics, development practitioners and policy-makers, intra-household relations are now represented as a continuous process of negotiations, contracts, renegotiations and exchanges between household members (Brickell, 2011b, p.1355).

Significant attention has been given to household structural factors including family size, birth order and parenting structures, however the influence is highly context-specific and no conclusive universal indicators have emerged from these studies (Buchmann, 2000). The majority of this literature relies on economic equations and large datasets. Although this research is on a smaller scale and I take a qualitative approach, indicators arising from these large-scale studies provide some useful insights. Broadly following the economic orthodoxy, one structural factor is family size (Anh et al., 1998). A larger family has been identified as having both positive and negative influences on learning participation. Negative effects arise through two economic theories, which both argue that the more children there are, the lower the children's intellectual and educational outcomes. The 'Resource Dilution Hypothesis' argues that parent's resources become 'diluted' with more children, and the 'Confluence Model' that larger numbers of children result in an inferior intellectual environment (Jaeger, 2009). Both in this research and elsewhere, however, positive effects from larger families have been identified where, for example, older siblings are able to support younger siblings through school (Keng, 2004). Larger households have also been found to reduce the burden of household responsibilities, allowing more time for education (Huisman and Smits, 2009). Extended family members have also played a role, for example by acting as substitutes for child labour (Chernichovsky, 1985; Huisman and Smits, 2009). These conflicting results again point to the importance of this in-depth research to better understand learners' perspectives and how the interplay between individual and household agency might facilitate or inhibit learning.

Research focusing on children within households has resulted in some important findings about how learning is passed between generations. This 'inter-generational transmission' is often conceptualised as moving down the generations from parent to child, but a 'two-way transmission' between generations has also been identified. The concept of inter-generational transmission takes in to account that "the transmission from parent to child regarding educational attainment is part of a complex cycle in which parents' values and beliefs may be accentuated or attenuated by peers, schools, and community organizations" (Hausser-Cram, 2009, p.358). Goodnow and Collins (1990, p.130) refer to this household transmission as the concept that ideas and life-styles are "absorbed from others, rather than being entirely constructions from personal experience." Looking outside parent-child interactions and beyond a focus on particular household members is necessary to better understand "the way family members combine, interact, and form some kind of unit" (Goodnow and Collins, 1990, p.16). This more holistic view of 'transmission' between all household members has been largely neglected in research to date. Incorporating the role of siblings has been identified as a particular gap in a literature review on education and family background carried out by Bjorklund and Salvanes (2010, p.62):

No reform study has yet examined the impact of the broader set of factors shared by siblings. Instead, these studies have focused entirely on the intergenerational relationships. Thus, there is room for much future research along these lines. Such research would also assist the profession to improve upon the theoretical models that dominate the field today.

The interplay between individual and household agency can have a significant impact on learning participation. Influence extends both from parents to children, as outlined in the majority of the literature on the subject, and both across and within generations, which I explore further throughout this research.

In this section I established the need to look beyond more individualistic ‘Western’ theories of learning, particularly when attempting to understand learning participation from the perspective of participants in Asian contexts. I also drew attention to the potentially significant and central role of households in the learning process, influencing both enrolment and continued participation.

Conceptualising this influence as an interplay between individual and household agency is useful, as it draws attention to the unique environment of both ‘cooperation-conflict’ and intra-household status and power. Recognising that this goes beyond the typically cited influence of parents on children also encourages an exploration of all household members and their potential influence on others, both two-way across, and within, generations.

1.4. The Capacity to Aspire and Proximate Functionings

Two key theories that assist in understanding learning participation from the perspective of individuals and their households are Appadurai’s (2004) ‘Capacity to Aspire’ and Basu and Foster’s (1998) ‘Proximate’ and ‘Effective’ literacy. The first conceives purposes for learning participation through an understanding of the future, and values and choices based on past experiences. Furthermore it can be understood as both an individual and household capacity, with each playing a role in shaping and influencing learning participation. This theory is particularly useful for interpreting the individual purposes for participation explored in Chapter 4, and the household purposes related to acquired functionings, or actual learning outcomes, discussed in Chapter 6. I also adopt, adapt and develop the concepts of ‘proximate literacy’, how literacy is shared within households, and ‘effective literacy’, the benefits arising from literacy for the individual and their household, and relate the concepts to acquired learning outcomes, or functionings. Having outlined the concepts here, I then explore them further as the focus of Chapter 6.

1.4.1. Individual and Household Capacities to Aspire

In order to value and make choices about a specific functioning, an individual would first need to come into contact with that functioning. The decision to pursue it, or their purposes for participation, furthermore depends on their 'capacity to aspire' (Appadurai, 2004) to expand their capability set. Some functionings will be outside the knowledge or experience of the individual or beyond their, or their household or social group's, aspirations. Appadurai (2004) defines this capacity as including future plans, hopes, goals and targets alongside recognising the culturally oriented habit, custom, heritage and tradition of individuals. Encouraging individuals to develop the 'capacity to aspire', he argues, provides the means to contest, and ultimately alter or improve, their position. There is significant crossover between the capacity to aspire and the capability approach, which Appadurai (2004, p.63) supports, arguing that, "Sen's work is a major invitation to anthropology to widen its conceptions of how human beings engage their own futures." Without aspiration, individuals are unlikely to pursue their valued and chosen functionings and "lead the kind of lives they value—and have reason to value" (Sen, 1999, p.18). The capacity to aspire is arguably required to make changes to one's capability set:

Change requires not only some new opportunity but also some reason to utilise it. Preferences among different ways of living must change and the change in preferences is due to a change in aspirations, a change in what people want to be. Aspiration relates to how people want to be in the future, for which reason people use their existing capabilities differently from a situation where they do not have this aspiration (Nathan, 2005, p.36).

The capacity to aspire typically requires long-term goals, particularly when it is likely to take time to acquire a functioning, or for the purpose for participation to be achieved or fulfilled. Bray and Bunly (2005, p.86), for example, found that household members, particularly in poor households, might be "so occupied with the short-term demands of subsistence that the notion of long-term benefits is over the horizon."

Huisman and Smits (2009, p.179) also found that in developing countries children's educational decisions are usually made by parents who are "expected to weigh off the future benefits of sending their children to school against the immediate costs. Those benefits can be for the children, but also for the parents themselves." The decision to participate in adult skills programmes, however, is likely to be based on shorter-term goals:

One significant characteristic of adult participation in non-formal education is an emphasis on the direct utility of participation. This is in contrast to much of the children and youth participation, which is often intended to reap the most important benefits, at least as perceived by adults, at a later time. Hence, much of the children and youth participation is anticipatory, whereas much of the adult participation appears likely to be more pragmatic and related to current needs and wants (Belle, 1982, p.168).

The agency and capacity for household members to aspire on behalf of others is also significant. Current literature, including the capability approach, focuses particularly on parental capacities on behalf of children. While the capability approach argues that individuals are responsible for their own learning, "exceptions are often made for people who lack mature judgement (especially infants/children) or whose choices are clearly constrained" (Stewart, 2005, p.189). Sen has explained that with children it is their future freedoms and capabilities that must be taken into consideration, meaning their learning participation would depend on the agency of others (Saito, 2003, p.25). Nussbaum (2000, p.90) further argues that "exercising a function in childhood is frequently necessary to produce a mature adult capability" and it is therefore legitimate for parents and the state to "require primary and secondary education" and "insist on the health, emotional well-being, bodily integrity, and dignity of children in a way that does not take their choices into account." Adults' choices might be restricted if they "do not have full mental and moral powers" (ibid.) Where a real

choice exists, for example where learning participation is not by mandate from the state, individuals are subject to their caregivers' own knowledge, experience, and capacity to aspire. Referring to child labour, however, Satz (2003, p.299) points out that, "the decision maker may lack relevant information regarding the consequences of his or her choice." Furthermore as Roby et al. (2008, p.346) explain:

Caregivers must act upon what they perceive to be the realities of their day-to-day life with their limited resources and knowledge. For caregivers who have not had access to education, it is difficult to see the tangible benefits of educating their girls when daily survival is the more immediate priority. Further, in the context of their culture, formal education may not be viewed as the only source of wisdom and useful knowledge.

The 'capacity to aspire' as a household, might result in households operating with collective interests in mind. As Papanek (1985, p.319) argues, "family decisions about children's schooling depend not only on available resources but also on what it is hoped education will do for the children (as individuals) and for the collective interests of the household". Mukhopadhyay et al. (1994, p.10) further argue that it is "the degree to which educational decisions are embedded in collective family goals" which is central to understanding the role of the family in educational decisions. Education is often "perceived as a major vehicle for ensuring the long-term welfare and economic security of the *collective* family unit and as a means by which family members can fulfil their obligations both *as* elders and *to* elders" (ibid.). Teachman and Paasch (1998, p.713) highlight the need for a more thorough understanding of household aspirations:

Given the link of educational aspirations to education obtained, our results indicate the importance of understanding what goes on in families in order to better grasp who gets ahead and who does not [...] a sizeable proportion of variation in educational aspirations that can be tied to the common family environment remains unexplained.

Current literature focuses particularly on economic ‘returns on investment’ in keeping with the productivist orthodoxy explored in the introduction. These concepts broadly follow Becker’s (1964) Human Capital Theory, which argues that the reason for investment and participation in education is instrumental and based on the expectation of future economic returns through work. Expanding on this is the notion of ‘intra-household resource allocation’, which argues that “Educational matters are also family matters because they require, even at the primary level, a substantial investment of family resources” (Mukhopadhyay et al., 1994, p.9). Referring to Cambodia, the World Bank (2012b, p.14) perceives the value of education and skills development to be based on predicted earnings:

Household perceptions of immediate financial loss from keeping a child in school may be compounded by underestimating the value of education. Information about financial returns to secondary education and TVET is not easily available. This may prevent households from fully appreciating the value of education for future earnings, a problem common in developing countries.

Both individual and household capacities to aspire have significant implications for individual learning participation. Understanding this capacity relies on identifying participants’ own concept of the ‘future’, their aspirations in view of a range of influences, and their means to achieve these aspirations. Each is likely to be tightly bound in context, norms and tradition and to rely heavily on the knowledge individuals have of both specific functionings and available learning opportunities.

1.4.2. Proximate and Effective Functionings

To investigate the idea of individuals sharing their functionings, or actual learning outcomes, with other household members, I put forward the concepts of ‘proximate functionings’ and ‘effective functionings.’ The concepts build on, and are adapted from, ‘proximate illiteracy’ and

'effective literacy' introduced by Basu and Foster (1998), drawing on the work of Sen (1985) and the capability approach. Proximate illiteracy is where an 'illiterate' individual who shares a household with at least one 'literate' household member would be referred to as a 'proximate illiterate' to account for their potential to draw on the literacy skills of others "accessing information and accomplishing tasks that require literacy skills" (Basu and Foster, 1998, p. 1734). An individual in a household with no literate members on the other hand would be referred to as an 'isolated illiterate', to account for their isolation from literacy skills. In the case of proximate functionings, therefore, using the example of English language skills, an individual who does not have English language skills but has a household member who does, would have English as a 'proximate functioning.' Someone who does not have English language skills and lives in a household without any English-speaking members, however, would be 'isolated' from that functioning.

The term 'effective literacy' (Basu and Foster, 1998) is used for both the "direct benefit of literacy that accrues to the literate person" and "the value of external benefits that proximate illiterates gain from literate household members" (Maddox, 2007, p.533). Basu and Foster (1998) describe effective literacy, or the benefits arising from literacy, as 'public goods' or 'positive externalities'. Adapting this to functionings, I use the term 'effective functionings' for the actual learning outcomes from participation in learning activities that benefit the participant and their household members. Effective literacy has been found to benefit household members through higher earnings and access to information (Basu et al., 2002; Gibson, 2001). The benefits from effective functionings, however, would differ depending on the functionings in question. Furthermore these functionings, as found in the New Literacy Studies (NLS) literature (Street, 1995) should be recognised "not as a set of skills conducive to individual social advancement, but as a set of socially embedded practices that may vary within and across

communities where the wider implications and benefits [...] may be highly contextual” (Iversen and Palmer-Jones, 2008, p.798).

As well as finding and recognising a range of ways in which literacy is shared within households, there are limitations to the concept of ‘proximate literacy’, many of which Basu and Foster (1998) highlight themselves. One is that individuals with certain functionings may not always act altruistically. Another is that the degree to which these functionings are shared depends on which household member acquired them, and the associated intra-household strategies for sharing them. Membership of a household with a literate member can also result in negative outcomes. Basu and Foster (1998) use the example of a literate husband using his literacy, and his wife’s relative illiteracy, to extort a higher dowry from her. It is also important to consider the balance of ‘cooperation-conflict’ and inequalities within households, as discussed in the previous section (Nussbaum, 2008; Sen, 1990), which could result in different ‘effective functionings’ for different household members. There have been numerous calls for further research on the concept of proximate literacy including by Basu and Foster (1998, p.1747), who concluded that it would require “extensive information on relationships between people - information that is usually not available in conventional datasets.” Referring to ‘positive externalities’ as ‘intra-household externalities’ and focusing on resource pooling, Gibson (2001) also argues for the need to better understand household dynamics to investigate who, if anyone, benefits from a literate member. In keeping with proximate literacy, Basu et al. (2002, p.652) also support the concept of resource pooling:

One proposition generally agreed upon is that there is some pooling of resources and earnings in most households. There are the household public goods [...] which benefit from anybody’s rise in income. Then there are the shared tasks, such as one person belonging to the household or hired by the household going to the market to shop for everybody.

Indicators that 'proximate functionings' could be a useful way of understanding English language learning in Cambodian households can be drawn from research carried out by Skilton-Sylvester (2002, p.16) with Cambodian adults in an ESL classroom in America. In one case an ESL teacher explained that one female student was the only member of her household to learn English because it was seen as her 'job' in the household, "my sense is that in that family, they've decided that she would be the language learner... that will be her job." Another learner also reported that she and her husband "decided she would be the adult English language learner in the family". The teacher went on to speculate that her husband stopped attending because they had decided they only needed one household member who could speak English. In this case the concept of 'proximate functionings', where household members draw on the English learning outcomes of other household members, would be founded. I investigate this concept further in Chapter 6 by focusing on the functionings, or actual learning outcomes, from an English skills programme in Cambodia. I explore whether household members do share their functionings, and if so what the benefits, or 'effective functionings' are for the individual, and the household members that draw on them.

I also investigate which household members share their learning, building on the suggestion that learning outcomes for adult female household members are likely to generate greater benefits for households than other household members (Basu and Foster, 1998; Gibson, 2001; Maddox, 2007). There has been a particular focus to date on the influence a mother's learning participation can have on her children, with benefits including improvements in the home environment, such as the provision of learning material, and increased responsiveness to children leading to improvements in children's language skills, amongst other outcomes (Magnuson et al., 2009). Changes in the education of a parent or caregiver later in life could have a potentially significant impact on the education of their children

(Hauser-Cram, 2009). Through attending non-formal education programmes, for example:

Parents (especially mothers) who have the opportunity to gain the knowledge and confidence of their own learning come to see learning as a more valuable activity, and seek to involve their children, increasing demand and chances of parent-school collaboration. More people that are able to read, calculate and access information creates a generally more 'school-friendly' enabling environment (Bernard, 2002, p.79).

Changes in learning behaviours are likely to be modelled intentionally or unintentionally by participants who are, or become, role models to other household members. As well as the explicit role parents can play in the educational aspirations of their children, Cohen (1987) discusses the important 'modelling' and 'defining' influences parents have on their children's educational aspirations and attainments. Jacobsen (1971) found that parental encouragement can mediate for social differences and can influence children's educational aspirations. As 'models' are said to serve as a 'basis for emulation,' educated parents are more likely to 'model educational values' than un-educated parents, who would have to rely on 'defining' their expectations to establish appropriate behaviours. Crozier and Davies (2006) also discuss the importance of 'high status role models' who might be siblings or cousins who pave the way for younger children, leading by example, or persuading parents and affecting change within households. Older siblings in their study were seen to define their influence by advising siblings to aspire to be like them, or to learn from their mistakes. Following this reasoning, the modelling and defining behaviours of the household or social group in which an individual lives, and their own learning participation and past experiences, are likely to have a significant influence on an individual's capacity to aspire. These findings are likely to have significant policy implications and also contribute to the literature on the importance of households in any 'radical' new approach to lifelong learning. Finding that 'effective

functionings' do benefit households would encourage practitioners and policy makers to include or target households with learning strategies. The risk when examining the dynamic nature of households is that households can and do change, depending on whose 'effective functionings' are being examined. Policy based on these findings would also need to account for a number of difficulties with measuring these 'effective functionings'. As Maddox (2007) summarises in a review of papers expanding on the concept of effective literacy, alongside inequalities within households, the degree of 'sharing' is likely to depend on the social and cultural context. There have also been calls to focus on the proportion of literate members for the size of the benefit or 'externality' (Subramanian, 2004), the importance of promoting 'egalitarian distribution' within households (Valenti, 2002), and the proportion of literate to illiterate household members. While this research does not focus on literacy or 'measures' for policy, the findings should both expand and contribute to that field of study.

The concept of proximate and effective functionings provides a useful way of conceptualising the benefits from learning participation for the individual, and the way in which they can be shared for the benefit of other household members. As a new adaptation of a concept originally based on literacy, I explore this concept further as the framework and focus of Chapter 6.

Individual and household capacity to aspire and the individual and household benefits from acquired functionings, or actual learning outcomes, are both central for understanding the potentially significant influence of households on individual learning participation. Situating participation in an understanding of the future and shaped by past experiences, also demonstrates the complementary nature of the capability approach and experiential learning. Addressing the central role of households in both approaches also furthers the argument from Section 1.3 to expand these theories, which are usually perceived as being individualistic, to include the agency of other household

members. As two theories through which a range of literature on household influence on learning participation can be usefully understood, they both inform and are developed through this research.

1.5. Conclusion

In this chapter I have established that the capability approach (Sen, 1999) combined with experiential learning (Kolb, 1984) provides a useful lens through which individual learning participation can be investigated. Furthermore, both of these approaches lend themselves to being expanded further to include the influence of households as the most immediate and potentially significant social influence in learners' lives. In doing so, the combined approach moves away from an overly individualistic or 'Western' framing and allows for application in multiple contexts. Together these approaches move current thinking on lifelong learning forward and towards a framework for a truly 'radical' new approach to adult skills development.

The 'capacity to aspire' (Appadurai, 2004) and 'proximate' and 'effective' literacy (Basu and Foster, 1998) provide two useful frameworks based on and in keeping with the capability approach, through which both individuals and the influence of households can be conceptualised. By requiring a view of learning that looks both to the future, as in the capability approach, and understands the important influence of past experiences, as in experiential learning, the capacity to aspire is also a useful framework for this new combined approach. My adoption, adaptation and development of proximate and effective literacy to relate more widely to functionings, or actual learning outcomes, is another potentially significant contribution to current literature. The centrality of both individuals and households in these concepts also supports my argument that wider social groups should be included, moving away from overly individualistic perspectives. In the following chapter I outline the context within which I carried out my research, and the adult skills development case study itself.

Chapter 2. Context: Phnom Penh, Cambodia

This chapter situates the case study for this research, a non-formal unaccredited conversational English skills development programme, in the context of Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Cambodia's history has resulted in a unique relationship with formal and non-formal learning. Many of the responses given by participants require knowledge of Cambodia's unique history to be fully understood, particularly when referring to individual and household educational histories, and their respective relationships with learning. I begin this chapter with an overview of key Cambodian social, economic and educational indicators. I then discuss the social context in Cambodia with a focus on Cambodian households, to better understand the influence of households on individual learning participation. Following this, I address the background and history of Cambodia with a focus on education, the Khmer Rouge, and the way in which the system has been rebuilt leading to the current education and skills provision in Cambodia today. Finally I focus on the skills development programme 'Conversations with Foreigners' (CWF), which is the case study for this research.

2.1. Cambodian Social, Economic and Educational Indicators

Cambodia is a member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and shares its borders with Thailand, Laos and Vietnam, as shown in Figure 2.1. In 2013 Cambodia had a population of almost 15 million and an annual population growth rate of 1.2% (UNESCO, 2014). The household size in 2012 was 4.7, the fertility rate 2.4 and the male to female sex ratio 94.7 (Greene et al., 2012; UNESCO, 2014). Half of the around 20% urban population live in the capital Phnom Penh (ADB, 2013; IIEP, 2011; Tuon et al., 2012). The 2008 census revealed that only 30% of Phnom Penh's residents were born there and 47% have arrived since 2003. The population is 90% ethnically Khmer, 5% Vietnamese and 1% Chinese with other ethnic groups including Laotian, hill tribes,

Khmer Muslim and Cham Muslim. The main religion practiced by 90% of the population is Theravada Buddhism. Other religions include Islam, Christianity and Animism. The official language of Cambodia is Khmer, spoken by over 95% of the population (UNESCO, 2010b, p.12). Since 1991 the main currencies have been the US dollar (\$) and Cambodian Riel (r) at a largely consistent exchange rate of 4000r per US \$1.

Cambodia is one of the poorest and least developed countries in Asia with 23% living below the income poverty line of US\$1.25 per day, as of 2011 (UNESCO, 2014). Inequality between rich and poor, urban and rural, and Cambodians of different ethnicities and language backgrounds are considerable, increasing the number of most vulnerable people (UNESCO, 2010b; 2010c; 2012d; UNICEF, 2009; World Bank, 2012a). In 2013 Cambodia was ranked 138 of 186 countries according to the Human Development Index (UNDP, 2013). It also has “pronounced gender disparities”, with a gender parity index of below 0.80 (Ahmed, 2009, p.29; UNESCO, 2010a; Watson et al., 2013). Although drilling is yet to start, oil has been found off the coast of Cambodia and is expected to bring revenues of around \$1.7 billion a year by 2021, three times Cambodia’s current aid receipts, and raising concerns of a ‘resource curse’ (Hughes, 2008, p.72; UNESCO, 2012d).

In the latest report from UNESCO (2015, p.260), when taking both public and household expenditure in to account, Cambodia is shown to have the lowest expenditure as a percentage of GDP on education worldwide at 3% of GDP from 2005-2012. Public and household expenditure were almost equal, which UNESCO (2015) found to be typical in low-income countries, as opposed to high-income countries where households typically accounted for around a quarter of expenditure. There have been numerous minimum wage disputes in Cambodia in recent years and, according to the ILO (2014, p.2-3), Cambodia is among the countries “with the highest incidence of working poverty world-wide” with wage workers earning an average of US\$121 in 2012 and around half working more than 48 hours per week.

Furthermore there are low levels of social provision for health in Cambodia and according to WHO (2014, p.1), “a lot still needs to be done” to regulate the around 70% of health services provided by the private sector. There are further concerns about the “persisting high levels of out of pocket payments which account for more than 60% of the total health expenditures, and poor quality of care, particularly in rural and remote facilities” (ibid.).

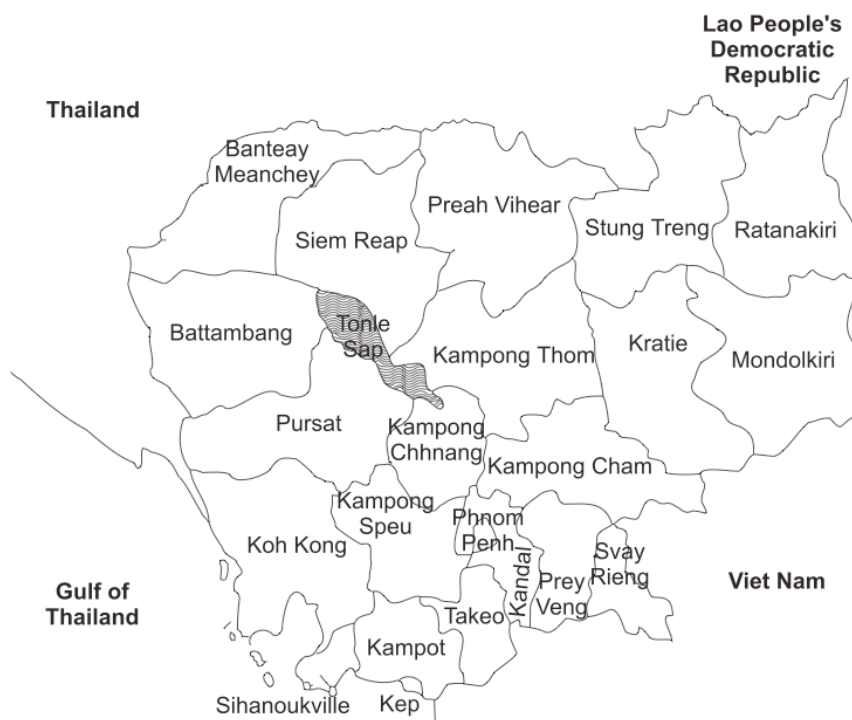


Figure 2.1: Provincial Map of Cambodia (Bray, 1999, p.12)

Education is seen to influence poverty significantly in Cambodia where “91% of young people with no education work below the poverty line, compared with less than 67% of those with secondary education and 15% of those with tertiary education” (UNESCO, 2012d, p.18). In 2012 while Cambodia was the last of the top ten achievers for progress towards the MDGs (Melamed, 2012), it has had mixed results in terms of progress. Primary gender parity and UPE are on track for 95% by 2015, but primary school completion and gender parity in tertiary enrolments are less certain (Keane et al., 2010; UNESCO, 2010a; 2011; Watson et al., 2013). In 2002 the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper

(PRSP) of the Cambodian government was highlighted by Sen (2002, p.12) as “a good example [of] positive action for girls’ education.” Although there was insufficient data for secondary enrolments, pre-primary enrolment of less than 30%, and adult literacy of less than 80%, mean these goals are considered ‘very far’ from being achieved (UNESCO, 2014). While UNESCO (2012d, p.93) reported Cambodia as amongst the “eight countries that have made the greatest strides in women’s literacy in the past decade”, the total literacy rate of 74%, 83% male and 66% female is the second lowest literacy rate of all ASEAN countries. Overall Cambodia is regarded as having made significant progress in the MDGs, and notably indicated local adaptation by adding a ninth MDG (Sumner and Tiwari, 2009; UNESCO, 2010b).

The formal education system in Cambodia has operated on a 6+3+3 structure since 1996, beginning with primary school, then junior secondary and senior secondary (Bray, 1999; Purcell et al., 2010; UNESCO, 2010b). According to UNESCO (2015, p.210), Cambodia is “gradually moving towards mother-tongue-based bilingual education.” English has officially been offered at secondary level since the new Cambodian National Curriculum was introduced in 2004 (MoEYS, 2004b). Where it is taught, however, the standard of teaching is such that many students rely on private classes to develop their language skills (Prescott, 2009; UNESCO, 2011b). Respondents in this study, who attended school before the new curriculum was introduced, reported both low availability and quality of English language learning in schools, with the majority learning privately. English was particularly hard to learn in rural areas, where private provision was limited compared to Phnom Penh. As UNESCO (2015) point out, there are still significant gaps between urban and rural education in Cambodia, in both provision and attainment. Respondents often reported first learning English upon arrival in Phnom Penh, with many learning alongside their studies at university, which were partly taught in English. I discuss the experiences of these respondents further in Section 4.2.1.

Cambodia was the one East Asian country in 2011 with a pupil to teacher ratio of above 40:1 and over two thirds of teachers have a second job due to low salaries, bringing the quality of education into question (UNESCO, 2014). There are few pre-school centres, although pilots showing their success in reducing early primary repetition rates have been conducted by the government (Nonoyama-Tarumi and Bredenberg, 2009). School life expectancy in Cambodia is 10.5 years, 11.2 for boys and 9.9 for girls, with 5.8 mean years of schooling. However of the 96% net primary school enrolment rate, retention rates are very low and in 2009 more boys (48%) dropped out of school than girls (42.7%) (Kim, 2011a; Lall and Sakellariou, 2010; UNESCO, 2012d). Low educational indicators for Cambodia, particularly compared to other ASEAN countries, are largely attributed to Cambodia's recent history, discussed in Section 2.3. As Morris (2007, p.56) points out, "One of the legacies of the tumultuous past is the erosion of human capital, which has resulted in relatively low levels of literacy, education and training compared with other countries in the region."

Economically, Cambodia has had a GDP growth rate of over 7% for the past 14 years and between 1998-2007 Cambodia was ranked 6th in the world in terms of growth (ADB, 2013; Chalamwong et al., 2012; Guimbert, 2010; Keane et al., 2010; WHO, 2011). During the 2007 financial crisis, however, Cambodia is said to have "suffered the sharpest contraction in GDP per capita growth in the East Asia and Pacific Region" (Gehrke, 2012, p.38). Garment factories and tourism are the main sources of FDI and reliance on these sectors, with garments accounting for 85% of total exports, is said to be a major cause of its financial fragility, although construction and agriculture have played a role (Chalamwong et al., 2012; Gehrke, 2012, p.38; Hor et al., 2010; Martinez-Fernandez and Powell, 2009; WHO, 2011; World Bank, 2012a). Tourism continues to grow rapidly with almost 24% more tourists arriving in 2012 than 2011 (MOT, 2012). Cambodia has faced at times extreme fluctuations in inflation from 1-7% between 2002 and 2007, to 25% in 2008, dropping to 4% in 2010 (Hang, 2011).

Cambodia has one of the highest percentages in ASEAN of people employed in the primary industries of agriculture, fishery and forestry, and has the lowest percentage of employment in both the industrial and service sectors. 85% of Cambodians are employed in the informal economy, which is also the main employment avenue for women (Martinez-Fernandez and Powell, 2009; Watson et al., 2013). Cambodia is currently in the “low-tech, labor-intensive stage of manufacturing”, catering for a labour force with lower level skills (World Bank, 2012a, p.9). The availability of large numbers of low-skilled workers in Cambodia is said to offer a significant cost advantage for labour intensive industries such as garment manufacturing (Dobbs, 2012; Guimbert, 2010). As an “*Investment Guide to Cambodia*” published by the UN argued, “Why Cambodia? The short answer is large markets, low wages, a liberal economy and one of the world’s great assets for tourism” in Angkor Wat (ICC, 2003, p.1). Skills development is considered key for Cambodia to develop, broaden its economy, increase productivity, and become less fragile to economic fluctuations (Burnett and Jayaram, 2012; Chalamwong et al., 2012; Cheng, 2010; Clayton 2006; IIEP, 2011; King, 2012; Martinez-Fernandez and Powell, 2009; Morris, 2007; Pact, 2008; UNDP, 2011; World Bank, 2012a; 2012b). On an individual level, King (2012) argued that in Cambodia financial returns to TVET could be higher than financial returns to secondary education, due a strong link between TVET and the labour market.

In summary, as one of the least economically developed countries in ASEAN, and with a history resulting in low educational indicators, Cambodia relies heavily on low-skilled employment, with skills development considered key for development. Around 80% of Cambodia’s population is rural, with burgeoning numbers of rural to urban migrants and half of the urban population living in Phnom Penh.

2.2. Cambodian Social Structure and Households

As Cambodian households are the focus of this research, it is important to develop an understanding of them and the way in which they are traditionally structured, while recognising they are by no means uniform across society. Cambodian households are typically structured hierarchically, and during this research they were found to both follow and deviate from this structure, depending on the topic under investigation. As Ovesen et al. (1996, p.34; 55) explain, “All relations are hierarchically ordered along the elder-younger dimension, *bong/pqoun*, and the kinship terminology is extensively applied to all relations in society, as a way to conceptualize and order social relations.” They further explain that:

An 'elder' (*bong*) is a person who has authority through his/her higher social status. Such status is not exclusively a function of chronological age, but is determined as the sum total of a number of dimensions including - apart from chronological age - gender, wealth, knowledge, reputation of the family, political position, employment, the character of the individual, and religious piety.

The hierarchical structure has been found to carry with it a sense of authority, where, as Martin (1994, p.11) found, traditionally, “In the Khmer milieu, the *bong*, or “elder,” is automatically right. “Elder” means not only older persons but those younger who have knowledge, power, wealth, or influence with ‘people in high places.’” This “Khmer moral training” has resulted in a situation where “to protest against a parent’s decision, to criticize one’s boss or spiritual master, to rebel against a husband is inadmissible” (ibid.) There are signs, however, that these traditions are changing. This is in part due to younger generations becoming the most educated household members, and consequently gaining higher status employment and wealth. As Northey and MacKinnon (2010, p.46) found, “Many of the current university students in Lao PDR and Cambodia are the first in their families to

obtain post-secondary education.” The change is also due to the changing role of women in Cambodian society, who are “beginning to enter formal employment at a faster rate than men, mainly as a result of garment manufacturing and growing involvement in paid agricultural labor” (Brickell, 2011a, p.440). This has led to a government who have “championed women’s equality with men, mainly on the grounds that women represent the ‘nation’s invaluable assets’ driving economic development” (ibid). This change pervades society:

As women form an ever-more-visible part of the evolving structures of public life in twenty-first-century Cambodia, the continued importance placed on hierarchy as a key pillar of Khmer society is proving especially difficult to uphold. Mobility and, perhaps to a greater extent, education are two emerging catalysts fracturing such established patterns of social life (Brickell, 2011a, p.458).

While these traditions may not be as applicable in contemporary Cambodia, or in non-traditional or ‘modern’ households, they provide useful insights into the underlying dynamics and what is meant when an individual or household deviates from these traditions. The finding by Martin (1994), for example, that it is inadmissible to “rebel against a husband” is already challenged by Ovesen et al. (1996, p.59; 82), who found that wives and mothers play a significant role in Cambodian households, “Married women have a strong position with regard to decision making and household economy as the keeper of family wealth in most families” and that “this decision-making power is normally accepted by the husband.” Brickell (2011b, p.1361) bears out that although traditions and household roles are changing in Cambodia, “women are acknowledged to be traditionally in charge of household affairs.” A Cambodian survey reported by Hor et al. (2010) found that 68% of married women reported sole control their own cash earnings, 31% made joint spending decisions with their husbands and only 1% reported that their husband mainly controls their earnings. Only 3% of husbands on the other hand reported sole control of their cash

earnings, 70% that spending decisions are made jointly with their wives and 27% that their wife mainly controls their earnings. As Ovesen et al. (1996, p.62) explains:

Almost all rural Khmer households are female-headed, in the sense that most decisions pertaining to household affairs are ultimately made by the wife in the family, who is in general responsible for running the household and for its economy. While many decisions are made jointly by the husband and wife, the latter usually has the last word.

From a gendered perspective, although “the sexual division of labour is not very strict in rural Cambodia”, gender does play a role: “in terms of division of labour it may be generalized in saying that women tend to manage activities most closely related to the domestic sphere in and around the house, while men manage more external relations” (Ovesen et al., 1996, p.63). Indeed, Brickell (2011b, p.1357) points out that while women’s economic activity in Cambodia is diversifying, this is not the case within the household and “national level data illustrates how women spend more than twice as much time as men on housework”. While it may be “obscured by other socio-political factors”, however, (Ovesen et al., 1996, p.53) point out that in Cambodia there is:

A tendency towards matrifocality among the rural population, a tendency which stems from the influential socio-economic position of the adult woman (wife/mother) in the household - which bestows upon her the duty to provide for her family - and from the pre-eminence of uxrilocal residence, i.e. the preference that a newly married couple should live with or nearby the bride's parents. These traits have by some anthropologists been taken as indications of matrilineality.

Following this, as Ovesen et al. (1996, p.55-8) explain, “parents of the bride are entitled to economic compensation by the groom's side as an appreciation of their efforts to bring up the girl” decided by family position, wealth, reputation and birth order, the oldest being entitled to

a better price. While “gender relations in Cambodia are complex and intriguing, often contradictory and ambiguous. Women and men in Cambodia are considered as basically equal in their human capacities” and daughters play a particularly prominent role:

Daughters and sons are not only equally recognized in the kinship system, they also have equal rights to shares in the property and inheritance. [...] Due to the traditional matrifocality in the rural society, younger daughters usually inherited the better part of the rice fields, as a compensation for caring for parents in their old age (ibid.).

The social construction of gender in Cambodia is tied to tradition, custom and Buddhist principles and is said to be “disseminated by mothers and embedded through socialization and education” (Brickell, 2011a, p.437). Furthermore:

The ideals establishing women’s place and status in Cambodian society are instilled in didactic verses and proverbs. As one of several codes [...] the *Chbap Srei* (Code for women) forms a set of the normative Cambodian poems, which combine popular custom with Buddhist principles to offer practical advice concerning appropriate and inappropriate behavior [...] while there is overarching agreement that the spirit of the *Chbap Srei* and the norms and ideals that it evokes remain, the legitimacy they are accorded now seems to vary widely” (ibid., p.438).

A gendered link to certain types of employment has also been found in Cambodia, which influences individual learning participation. Bray (1999) found that boys tended to earn more as child labourers and therefore had a higher ‘opportunity cost’ of attending school as opposed to working. Girls’ reasons for leaving school were more than twice as likely to be to perform domestic duties such as household work and bringing up siblings. In a 1998 National Household Survey in Cambodia, where almost 30% of boys and girls dropped out of school for financial reasons, more than 20% of girls did so to do “work in the household”

(Bredenberg, 2003, p.17). Morris (2007, p.39) further found that 3% of males and 19% of females dropped out to “help with housekeeping or the care of children, older persons or people with disabilities.” There are questions, however, as to the reliability of some of this higher-level survey data. Taking the ‘cost of schooling’ as a reason for not attending as an example, a 2009 National Institute of Statistics survey shown in Table 1, published by UNDP (2011, p.47), found that no one gave cost as a reason for not attending school. 2006 World Bank figures reported by UNESCO (2010c, p.166), however, found that in Cambodia, “cost is among the most commonly cited reasons for children being out of school, even though there are no official charges.” Finding that UNDP (2011) and UNESCO (2010c) are operating from different and conflicting information has significant implications for policy, practice and future research, and points to a need to move away from a reliance on surveys to include in-depth qualitative research to better understand respondents’ own perspectives.

| Reason | Men | Women | Total |
|--|-----|-------|-------|
| Don't want to | 21 | 26 | 23 |
| Did not do well in school | 6 | 8 | 7 |
| No suitable school available/school is too far | 9 | 7 | 8 |
| No teacher/supplies | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| High cost of schooling/no money | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Must contribute to household income | 16 | 15 | 15 |
| Must help with household chores | 18 | 13 | 16 |
| Due to disability | 6 | 3 | 5 |
| Other | 25 | 27 | 26 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Figure 2.2: Reasons for not attending school (UNDP, 2011, p.47)

A further indicator of gender inequality in society is gender-preference for children. While male gender-preferences for children have been seen in some traditional patrifocal societies, this is not the case in Cambodia. According to a Cambodian study by Fuse (2008), 53% of Cambodian respondents indicated a preference for gender balance and where a gender preference was given it was almost twice as likely, at 27% as opposed to 15%, to be a preference for a daughter. Miller and Rodgers (2009, p.158) also found “no evidence of son preference in indicators of children’s nutritional status.” The preference for boys in

patrifocal societies has often been linked to the expectation that daughters upon marriage join their husband's household (Mukhopadhyay et al., 1994). In Cambodia, in keeping with its matrifocal bias, the reverse is true and all else being equal it is the husband who traditionally joins the wife's household. Furthermore it is traditionally the role of the youngest daughter to take care of her parents in old age (Martin, 1994; Ovesen et al., 1996). In the same way a male bias is often seen in patrifocal societies, this might explain why gender parity or a slight preference for a daughter is shown in Cambodia. It is important to note that these roles are not fixed and are dependent on individual circumstances. Traditions are also seen to be changing and to be moving away from traditional practices in urban areas at a faster pace than rural areas. Some traditional practices have even become synonymous with 'rural' practices, a trend identified by Brickell (2011a, p.48):

Processes of change are not being experienced evenly. An accelerated pace of change - and possibly of acceptance - is perceived more by female participants in urban rather than in rural areas. Here, for younger and middle-aged women there is a more pragmatic sense in which traditional gender ideals cannot fully be adhered to.

While traditionally hierarchically ordered along the older to younger dimension, unless circumstances such as wealth and power dictate otherwise, it is clear that Cambodian society is changing. Part of this is due to the increasing role of women in society, who are moving beyond the internal matrifocal nature of households, to fuller participation in society. While rural populations are reported to have held on to these traditions more than urban populations, the considerable movement from rural to urban areas somewhat changes this dynamic. In some cases, as found in this research, where younger generations move to Phnom Penh, they are still constrained to some degree by their more traditional parents who remain in rural areas, for example by fulfilling their expectation that the youngest daughter will return to take care of

them in old age. Understanding these social factors is essential in interpreting the findings from this research, as they are referred to frequently by participants either as unquestioned and invisible, or as visible and actively questioned, social norms.

2.3. Cambodian Background, History and Current Skills Provision

Cambodia's history has had a significant impact on education in the country, leading to the current situation in which skills, particularly English language skills, are highly valued and in high demand. I begin this section by exploring the educational history of Cambodia before the Khmer Rouge and how political changes over time changed both educational provision, and the way in which education was valued and communicated within the country. Following this I focus on the Khmer Rouge regime and the genocide that targeted particularly educated Cambodians, and the education system. I then explore the immediate aftermath where the United Nations Transitional Authority of Cambodia (UNTAC) arrived, bringing English language to Cambodia, and the eventual rebuilding of the Cambodian education system. Finally I discuss the current demand and provision of education and skills in Cambodia, before focusing specifically on the 'skills mismatch' and the current demand for English language skills development programmes.

2.3.1 Educational History before the Khmer Rouge Regime

Cambodia has undergone dramatic changes over the past 100 years, as shown in the Figure 2.3 Political Timeline of Cambodia. Each era brought significant changes to the country politically, socially and economically, with often vastly different practices and rhetoric pervading Khmer society. The Khmer Rouge period alone has been described as "four years of the most radical and possibly the most intensely brutal revolutionary experiment in modern history" (Ovesen

et al., 1996, p.49). Education has played a key role as both a vehicle and victim of political change. Throughout Cambodia’s history “Cambodia's leaders, with the notable exception of the notorious Pol Pot, have considered the education system an essential institution through which to create good citizens and realize their perspective on Cambodia's future” (Ayres, 2000a, p.3). Their strategies and outcomes, however, have differed dramatically, influencing the ways Cambodians across generations continue to define and interact with learning.

| Year | Ruling government (head of state) | Type of government |
|--------------|--|-----------------------------|
| 1863–1953 | French colonial rule (various) | Colonialism |
| 1953–1970 | Sangkum (Prince Sihanouk) | Buddhist socialism/monarchy |
| 1970–1975 | Neo-Khmerism (Lon Nol) | Republicanism |
| 1975–1979 | Democratic Kampuchea (Pol Pot) | Cambodian communism |
| 1979–1991 | People's Republic of Kampuchea/State of Cambodia (Heng Samrin/Hun Sen) | Vietnamese communism |
| 1991–1993 | Cambodia under the United Nations Transitional Authority | Transitional authority |
| 1993–1997 | Coalition (Prince Ranariddh/Hun Sen) | **Hybrid' democracy |
| 1997–present | Cambodian People's Party (Hun Sen) | **Hybrid' democracy |

* (Un, 2005: 203).

Figure 2.3: Political Timeline of Cambodia (IIEP, 2011, p.21)

According to IIEP (2011, p.20) the view of education in Cambodia has shifted from a “traditional, social, and cultural perspective” to the contemporary perception of education, “to provide the knowledge and skills that will increase human capital for Cambodia’s economic development.” The contemporary view of education, at least at policy level, is considered to be ‘technocratic’, focusing on instrumental outcomes of human capital, economic development and growth (Dy, 2004; Tan, 2008). This view is in keeping with the overarching productivist orthodoxy of skills development outlined in Chapter 1, which I address in this research. These views are, however, unlikely to be uniform throughout society. As this research found, the perspective of each individual is indelibly steeped in past experiences, not only of the era in which the individual currently lives, but the era in which their parents, grandparents and other household members were brought up.

Pre-colonial Cambodia had a system of predominantly male pagoda-based education where children were taught to read sacred texts such as the Satras, instructed in the precepts of Buddhism, informed about oral and literary traditions, and taught vocational skills relevant to rural living (Ayres, 2000a; Gravelle 2010; Rany et al., 2012). French colonial rule from 1863, however, attempted to transform the traditional education system into a 'Western' or 'modern' system taught in the French language and focused on gaining access to work in the civil service. This system is understood to have catered particularly to the elite and to have had little apparent relevance to rural society (Ayres, 2000a; Rany et al., 2012; Tan, 2008). Providing a useful indicator of the reach, quality and outcomes of this system, Ayres (2000a) points out that in 1939 only 60,000 students were enrolled in primary school and only 294 passed their Certificate of Complementary Primary Studies.

After gaining independence from France in 1953, vast expansion of the Cambodian education system took place under Prince Sihanouk.

Sihanouk saw education as a tool for setting Cambodia on a path to development and modernity and assigned the upmost value to it, regarding it as a vessel for 'upward mobility' (Ayres, 2000a; Hor et al., 2010; IIEP, 2011; Rany et al., 2012; Sokhom, 2004; Tan, 2008; Tully, 2005). The education system in Cambodia during this era was arguably beyond any of those preceding or, some argue, subsequent to it.

Education became seen to Cambodians as "the entry visa into the more lucrative 'modern' employment sector, centred in Phnom Penh, and on the civil service" (Ayres, 2000a, p.52). Around 20% of the country's budget was dedicated to education and its teachers were amongst the best paid in Southeast Asia (Ayres, 1999; Tully, 2005). By the end of the 1960's, Cambodia's education system was considered "the envy of many of its counterparts in the developing world" (Ayres, 1999, p.206) and the era is often referred to as the 'golden age' (Brickell, 2011a).

During his reign Martin (1994, p.72) points out that:

The greatest changes came in education. Sihanouk wanted his country to close the enormous gap that had developed during

the colonial period. Khmer elites had to be trained and education extended to the entire population, especially women. In 1955 the latter gained the right to vote.

Although Sihanouk's era saw a growth in modern school buildings, universities and teacher training centres, Dy (2004, p.90) argues that, "efforts to enhance basic education opportunities for all Cambodians were largely unsuccessful due to the lack of adequate infrastructural mechanisms and a guiding framework for action." In regard to gender equality in education, de Walque (2005, p.358) also found that, "Only a minority of Cambodian girls attended secondary school in the 1960s and early 1970s." In a study with Cambodian immigrant families in the USA, Okagaki and Sternberg (1993) found low levels of formal education reported by Cambodian parents, with Cambodian fathers having participated in an average of 5.2 years of schooling and mothers 2.1 years. Participants reported that in rural areas "typically girls did not attend school but were taught by their fathers" and boys often received schooling from monks at Buddhist pagodas (ibid., p.39).

Despite these apparent shortcomings, respondents in my study reported the high value placed on education during Prince Sihanouk's reign, often reciting the value-laden slogans attributed to the time and passed down from parents and grandparents such as: "The knowledge is food", "The idea is the weapon" and "Knowledge is Property" (PC10, F24, 07.01.13¹). Stories of teaching being the highest paid and highest status occupation in Cambodia, where children wanted to be teachers, and education was of a "higher standard", remain firmly entrenched in the national psyche. Respondents themselves reported passing information about the 'golden era' of Sihanouk to younger generations, "Sihanouk, the people of Kampuchea so like. I tell my children about Sihanouk. He worked hard in all the provinces" (PC17, F40, 06.02.13).

¹ Personal Communications from my field research are referenced using the code from Annex 4, the gender and age of the respondent, and the date of the interview, as explained in Chapter 3.

The subsequent years of Lon Nol then Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge, however, meant that “by 1979 the education system in Cambodia had been completely devastated, and the rapid expansion seen at all levels of education throughout the 1960s was in tatters” (Fergusson and Le Masson, 1997, p.111). When Lon Nol staged a coup d’état to overthrow Sihanouk while he was in France receiving medical treatment on March 18 1970, Cambodia and the education system built during the Sihanouk era underwent a dramatic change (Ayres, 2000a; Hor et al., 2010; Kiernan, 2002; Tan, 2008). The coup precipitated Cambodia’s headlong descent into civil war and Prince Sihanouk, now out of the country, aligned himself with the Khmer Rouge. By 1971, only 1,064 of the country’s 5,275 public primary schools and half the nation’s colleges remained open. Many of the school buildings were destroyed by bombing or were re-purposed as barracks, munitions warehouses or prisons (Ayres, 1999; 2000a). These activities would be a signifier and precursor of things to come.

In summary, Cambodia’s political history before the Khmer Rouge led to dramatic changes in the education system from a largely male Pagoda-based education system to a French system focused on the civil service. The vast expansion of the education system enacted by Prince Sihanouk was then devastated following Lon Nol’s coup d’état and the ensuing civil war, followed by the Khmer Rouge regime.

2.3.2 The Khmer Rouge Regime, UNTAC and English Language

By 1973 UN agencies all but ran Cambodia, the government had largely ceased functioning and the UN were in support of a victory over Lon Nol by the Khmer Rouge, perhaps understandably failing to predict the extent of what would come to pass (Ayres, 2000a). The five-year civil war culminated in the Khmer Rouge regime taking over Cambodia from Lon Nol on 17 April 1975 as Democratic Kampuchea (DK). The regime was headed by Saloth Sar under the name ‘Pol Pot’ or ‘Brother Number

One' and the 'Khmer Rouge Regime' became synonymous with the 'Pol Pot Regime' (Kiernan, 2002; 2008). The result was fast and brutal:

Their agenda was simple: replace perceived impediments to national autonomy, coined in terms of self-reliance, with revolutionary energy and incentives. Impediments to national autonomy included Cambodian individualism, family ties, Buddhism, urban life, money, ownership of property, and the monarchy. [...] In several respects, Angkar's attempt to build a new Kampuchea was achieved almost immediately. Within days of their capture of Phnom Penh, and with the brutality and violence that were hallmarks of the period, the new leaders had effectively abolished the institutions associated with the country's Buddhist religion; had eliminated the divisions between rich and poor that had characterized Cambodia for centuries; had abolished money; and had dismantled the import-driven economic system (Ayres, 1999, p.95; p.208).

The Khmer Rouge was in power from 17 April 1975 to 7 January 1979. During their reign an estimated 2 million people, over a quarter of the around 7.5 million population, were killed or died through overwork, illness and mass starvation, which continued after the regime had officially ended. Many more Cambodians crossed the border to neighbouring countries or further afield to escape the genocide and its aftermath (Ayres, 1999; Bredenberg, 2003; Chandler, 1993; de Walque, 2005; 2006; Fujii and Ear, 2002; Gravelle, 2010; Hor et al., 2010; Kiernan, 2002; 2008; Prasertsri, 2008; Soeung et al., 2012; Tan, 2008; Tuon et al., 2012; UNICEF, 2009; Viriya, 2011). The highest mortality rates between 1974 and 1980 were educated and urban Cambodians, religious minorities, particularly Muslims, and adult males, indicative of a large share of violent deaths. Under five and infant mortality were also at high levels during the Khmer Rouge across all social groups (de Walque, 2005; Hor et al., 2010; Kiernan, 2002; 2008; Kim, 2011a; Sokhom, 2004; Thomas, 2002; UNESCO, 2010a). The impact on Cambodia's education was unprecedented: "DK policies targeted those

with a higher education, particularly teachers, those who could read, sometimes those who wore glasses, or even those whose hands were soft and therefore unaccustomed to physical labor” (Ayres, 2000a, p.26). During their reign:

Not only was the infrastructure destroyed, the Khmer Rouge had also exterminated the local intellectual community during its almost five years of rule. This factor separates Cambodia from other nations that have experienced civil war or genocide: never before was an intellectual stratum of society erased to such an extent (Berkvens et al., 2012, p.242).

As Ayres (2000a, p.107) put it, “In essence, there was official contempt for educational development”. The Khmer Rouge left only 15% of the population educated to high school level or above (de Walque, 2005; Hattori, 2009). Cambodia also lost 70% of their teachers and education staff, with only a few hundred secondary teachers remaining for the whole country (de Walque, 2005; Fujii and Ear, 2002; Prasertsri, 2008). Although exact figures vary:

According to the Ministry of Education (1990), by the time the Khmer Rouge were driven out of the country by the invading Vietnamese in 1979, 75 percent of the nation's teaching force, 96 percent of tertiary students, and 67 percent of primary and secondary students had either been killed or had died from starvation or inhumane treatment (Clayton, 2006, p.152).

As well as targeting educated Cambodians, “The Cambodian school system was devastated during the Khmer Rouge period. Only some basic primary schools, with a curriculum centred on ‘political education’ and agricultural skills rather than academic subjects, were open and no secondary schools were in operation” (de Walque, 2006, p.229). Books, curriculum and school buildings were seen as signs of ‘imperialism’ and were completely rejected by the regime in their quest to restore the ‘purity’ of Khmer culture (Ayres, 1999; Roberts and Kanaley, 2006). As Ovesen et al. (2006, p.49-50) explain:

The dramatic evacuation of Phnom Penh is a case in point: The urban way of life of the educated elite was foreign to Khmer culture which was based on rice cultivation. 'You don't need education to cultivate the rice fields', and 'The rice field is the university' were among the slogans when the city's inhabitants were transported into the countryside and ordered to till the fields; occasionally, wearing spectacles was enough to get you summarily executed. [...] The foundation of Khmer social life, the nuclear family, was also attacked. It was the ambition of the party, or the *angkar* ('organization') as it was customarily called, to position itself in the place of the family. This was accomplished, among other things, by the establishment of mobile working cadres and assigning family members to different cadres. Kinship terms were decreed as the proper way of addressing representatives of the *angkar*, and marriages were arranged by the *angkar* between young people within the cadres.

It was the revolutionary army of the National Front for Solidarity and Liberation of Cambodia who brought the regime to an end. Made up of returning Cambodians, with the support of Vietnam and 15,000 Vietnamese troops, they invaded Phnom Penh on the 25 December 1978 and defeated the Khmer Rouge on 7 January 1979. Amongst their number was Cambodia's current Prime Minister, Hun Sen, an ex-Khmer Rouge Officer who had earlier fled to Vietnam and was Foreign Minister, becoming Prime Minister in 1985 (Chandler, 1993; Kiernan, 2002; 2008; Tan, 2008). Vietnam continued to occupy Cambodia until 1989 then in 1991 the around twenty yearlong civil war officially ended when all parties signed the Paris Peace Accords (Ayres, 1999; 2000a; Bredenberg, 2003; Chandler, 1993; Kiernan, 2002; 2008; Tan, 2008; UNESCO, 2010b). The signing brought a partial end to the international aid embargo on Cambodia, which had been in place up until this point. The aid embargo imposed on Vietnam and Cambodia meant an over 10-year denial of Western assistance in the recovery period after the end of the Khmer Rouge regime (Ayres, 2000a; Kiernan, 2002; 2008).

In 1991 the transition from communism to democracy began under the supervision of the United Nations Transitional Authority of Cambodia (UNTAC), followed by their 1992-3 stewardship of the country (Bredenberg, 2003; Chandler, 1993; Clayton, 2006; Hor et al., 2010; Tuon et al., 2012). One respondent clearly remembered the hardship that followed the Khmer Rouge era, before UNTAC:

At the finish of Pol Pot there was no rice, no rice. Yes. But a little corn. The government for one family gave maybe 1 kilo corn and rice, maybe ½ kilo for the whole family. But we made soup rice and tried to give a little, a little (mimes serving rice around the table). [...] When I was eight years old, UNTAC came in to Cambodia, in 1993 [...] they came from outside and helped Cambodia (PC17, F40, 06.02.13).

The UNTAC period is significant in the national psyche and was the period in which both the English language was introduced as the dominant second language and the US dollar was introduced to a depleted financial system, both of which are still in use today (Clayton, 2006; Moore and Bouchan, 2010). The delayed arrival of Western assistance up to this point gave UNTAC an enduring position in Khmer society as they arrived while the country was still suffering the aftermath of the civil war and Khmer Rouge. English itself had been illegal as a vestige of imperialism up to 1989, when the ban on the study of English was lifted (Ayres, 2000a; Moore and Bouchan, 2010). Between 1979 and 1989 Vietnamese and Russian were the primary languages of instruction where Khmer staff were not available (Ayres, 2000a). English was the unofficial language of UNTAC, being a common language for workers from around the world. Proficiency in English was consequently demanded of thousands of Cambodians hired during this period (Clayton, 2006). As one respondent recalled, “my husband told me that now English language is important here. It is important now. The language changed when the UN came here” (PC19, F54, 14.02.13).

By 2000 “more than 17,000 students, or approximately 87 percent of the 19,579 Cambodians enrolled in the country's public universities, chose to study English” (Clayton, 2006, p.224). English has continued to be the language of choice, with profound current significance as the common language of ASEAN, which Cambodia joined in 1999, and which will become a free market in 2015. Demand for English since 2001 has continued to grow. As Clayton (2006, p.74) pointed out, “UNTAC and ASEAN have generally passed responsibility for communication to Cambodians. That is to say, these organizations have made language policy decisions and then expected Cambodians to reorganize their skills in response.” Indeed, one of the main challenges seen to Cambodia’s ASEAN membership in 1998 was that, “There are not enough government officials who are capable of negotiating and drafting agreements in English, the official language of ASEAN” (Sophal et al., 1998, p.4). The need to communicate in English in Cambodia and internationally, means demand has never been greater. Not knowing English is fast becoming a source of marginalisation, particularly in urban Cambodia where, as Clayton (2006, p.234) explains:

Everyone is promoting English, and *everyone* is trying to get Cambodians to learn the language [...] Virtually every foreign economic enterprise operating in Cambodia demands English skills among employees. [...] The Association of Southeast Asian Nations expects Cambodians to know English [...] Almost all international assistance organizations in the country require knowledge of English among their Cambodian staff and ministry counterparts. [...] English language teaching and learning figure prominently in technical assistance projects designed to increase capacity among Cambodian civil servants.

In summary, by targeting the education system and educated population, the Khmer Rouge regime devastated the country's educational infrastructure. The arrival of UNTAC after the regime also resulted in English becoming Cambodia's second language, with an ever-increasing demand for this skill. English will gain particular prominence in 2015 when the ASEAN free market agreement begins.

2.3.3. Rebuilding the Cambodian Education System

The UNTAC stewardship ended with the 1993 UN-monitored election and Cambodia became a constitutional monarchy with a king who reigns but may not govern (Kiernan, 2002; 2008; Slocumb, 2006). The Khmer Rouge, who had been allowed to return to Phnom Penh by UNTAC, boycotted the election and was unsuccessful in its attempt to sabotage it. Their opposition was officially defeated in 1999 after Pol Pot's death in 1998 (Kiernan, 2002; 2008). The election in 1993 resulted in Hun Sen and the Cambodian People's Party (CPP) coming in second place to form a minority coalition with the ruling *Front Uni National pour un Cambodge Indépendant Neutre Pacifique Et Coopératif* (FUNCINPEC) party in 1994. A few years later in 1997, however, Hun Sen, Cambodia's second prime minister at the time, accused FUNCINPEC of illegal acts and staged a violent coup in which at least 40 FUNCINPEC officials were executed. Despite officially being a democracy since the signing of the Peace Accords, Hun Sen and the CPP have remained in power ever since (Ayres, 2000a; Bredenberg, 2003; Cock, 2010; Un, 2011).

After the 1993 elections the international aid embargo came to an end and bilateral and multilateral aid came to Cambodia (Bredenberg, 2003; Chandler, 1993; Tan, 2008). It was also at this point, after around 20 years of almost complete destruction, that Cambodia, with international support, began rebuilding the education system (Ayres, 2000a; Bredenberg, 2003; Dy, 2004; Fujii and Ear, 2002; Thomas, 2002). During a time of continuing political unrest, an educational

administration had to be put in place, the few qualified teachers located, individuals with some education assigned teaching duties, buildings restored, libraries pieced together and a new curricula, learning materials and other pedagogical resources developed (Ayres, 2000a; Fergusson and Le Masson, 1997; Thomas, 2002). Several respondents in this research explained that their parents, who had a minimal level of education and had not previously taught, were recruited as teachers during this period at the request of the government. This is still seen in the education level of teachers today, where “about a quarter of primary school teachers hold an upper secondary degree, while about two thirds hold a lower secondary school degree” (IIEP, 2011, p.39).

The new education system was not built in the French language, as in colonial times, but in Khmer and with English now playing a prominent role, particularly in higher education, in part to fill the void of Khmer language educational material. Although only used in Cambodia for just over 20 years, English has become increasingly seen as the ‘second language’ after Khmer (IIEP, 2011; Moore and Bouchan, 2010). As UNESCO (2010b, p.12) found, “Some French is still spoken by older Cambodians in urban areas, and English is increasingly popular as a second language among the young people.” Moore and Bouchan (2010, p.114) point out that “Anyone visiting contemporary Cambodia could not help but notice the pervasive presence of English, be it in the signage of streetscapes, in various media or as the default language of choice in dealings between Cambodians and visiting non-Cambodians”. Individual learning and socio-political involvement are both hampered by a lack of Khmer materials and English language skills “Compounded language issues, resulting from a lack of materials in Khmer and inability to access less-censored English materials, limit both current learning and future socio-political involvement” (IIEP, 2011, p.37).

The rebuilding of Cambodian infrastructure and the education system was supported by the international community and non-government organisations (NGOs), which continue to provide funding and expertise

(Ayres, 2000b, p.458; Berkvens et al., 2012; Northey and MacKinnon, 2010; Prasertsri, 2008; Purcell et al., 2010; Rany et al., 2012; WHO, 2011). Indeed Crowley-Thorogood (2010 p.18) argues that, “the agendas of several major multi-national organizations have influenced educational policy in Cambodia due to the country’s continued dependence on foreign monetary assistance for development.” Between 2003 and 2008 around 113 organisations supported 233 education projects at a cost of around \$225 million (Tan, 2008). The role of NGOs and the private sector are significant in a country where only 59 of the 319 TVET institutions in 2009 were run by government ministries (UNDP, 2011, p.45). Cambodia received a reported \$51 million in aid for education in 2010 (UNESCO, 2012d) and while the initial “proliferation of uncoordinated projects managed by donors and non-government organizations (NGOs)” has by no means been overcome, several sector-wide frameworks are now in place (Hattori, 2009; UNESCO, 2012c).

As Cambodia continues to open up and embrace an increasingly free market economy, begun by mandate as part of the Paris Peace Accords (Springer, 2011), input from outsiders and a boom in private schooling are having a significant impact on the public education system, particularly in urban areas (Brickell, 2011b; Clayton, 2006; IIEP, 2011; Purcell et al., 2010). As Pact (2008, p.19) found, “higher education has witnessed an explosion in Cambodia over the past decade. Most visible has been the proliferation of private schools in the capital and provincial towns.” Private schooling is still predominantly utilised by wealthier Cambodians and some argue that the reliance on the private system has taken some political attention away from public schooling, now used predominantly by rural and less wealthy urban populations (IIEP, 2011). Education in Cambodia remains largely located around its urban centres, predominantly Phnom Penh. Migration to Phnom Penh has been rapid over the past two decades. Around one in 10 Cambodians lived in Phnom Penh in 2012 compared to one in 20 in 1998 (Morris, 2007; Roberts and Kanaley, 2006; Tuon et al., 2012;

UNDP, 2011). The young population demographic has a significant impact on this domestic migration:

Migration is selective, and those in their 20's tend to move more often than others. They move to start jobs, go to school, and get married, all of which can influence the decision to move [...] almost all of this urban growth is taking place in a single city, making Phnom Penh among the fastest growing urban centres in the world (Tuon et al., 2012, p.8)

Still in recovery, the marks of Cambodia's past on the country's education system are evident. Average student teacher ratios in excess of 40:1 and class sizes of 60:1 are frequently found, alongside poor resources and outcomes, which all indicate poor educational quality (Gravelle, 2010; Pact, 2008; UNESCO, 2011a; 2012e; 2014; UNICEF, 2009; World Bank, 2012b). In 2010 a basic Khmer reading test administered across 40 schools in 18 Cambodian provinces to 24,000 students found that 33% of students could not read a single word, 28% could not recognise basic vowels and consonants and 46.6% could read but could not comprehend (UNESCO, 2012e). In economic terms "The inefficiency of the Cambodian education system represents a significant burden in terms of public and private costs of education, which reduces the private and social returns to schooling and, therefore, economic growth" (Lall and Sakellariou, 2010, p.333). Quality is also a problem for higher education:

Characterised by very disparate organisation mechanisms, poor quality output, and low enrolment [...] in most cases, students graduating from university with degrees in management, accounting, and business administration were found to be lacking in the essential skills and practical experience required for employment in the field for which they were supposed to be qualified (UNDP, 2011, p.43-44).

The quality of education at all levels in Cambodia is regarded as low compared to other ASEAN countries (Berkvens et al., 2012; Hattori,

2009; IIEP, 2011; UNICEF, 2009; World Bank, 2012b). This is likely to have a profound effect in 2015 when ASEAN becomes a free market to allow the free movement of goods and people between countries. As Northey and MacKinnon (2010, p.10) note, “Despite the tremendous amount of effort made by Cambodia [and Lao PDR], their post-secondary education systems still need further improvement to be known and recognized regionally and internationally.” Cambodia is at risk of joining the free market with the lowest education in the region, putting Cambodians at particular risk of filling the lower level jobs. Cambodia is already one of the ASEAN ‘sending countries’ with higher levels of out-migration even before 2015, and the free market agreement is expected to expedite this trend (Martinez-Fernandez and Powell, 2009). The majority of out-migrants are reportedly predominantly unmarried and more educated youth going abroad to study or work and send remittances back to their households (Martinez-Fernandez and Powell, 2009; Morris, 2007). Ahead of the agreement in 2015:

Compared to other ASEAN nations, Cambodia is at the bottom of the list. When comparing enrolment in primary education, Cambodia is doing quite well; however, moving on to secondary and tertiary education, Cambodia is last in both categories. In terms of secondary level gross enrolment ratios, Cambodia is only 4 points behind Lao PDR; but 57 points behind Brunei and 43 behind the Philippines and Thailand, which rank first, second and third. Its performance at the tertiary level is even worse (UNDP, 2011, p.45).

In summary Cambodia, with the help of the international community, has taken significant strides in rebuilding the education system since the Khmer Rouge, with English now playing a prominent role. Quality and attainment, however, still remain low, particularly compared to other ASEAN countries and the Cambodian education system is still reliant on support from private organisations and NGOs.

2.3.4. Current Demand and Provision of Education and Skills

Cambodia's past has left an indelible mark on demand for education. Not only have individuals' educational values, choices and agency been shaped by the political era in which they were educated, but the inter-generational influence on education, particularly of other household members, has been a lasting legacy. Respondents in this research who were alive during the Khmer Rouge regime, and those whose parents were, repeatedly cited the repressed agency and opportunities of the time as a reason for studying now, or for influencing younger generations to study. As Pact (2008, p.19) reported, "Cambodians are hungry for education and anybody who has the means is attending school during the day, in the evenings and on weekends. Young people (and older adults) are making a major personal investment in education." This desire has been recognised since the early post-Khmer Rouge reconstruction efforts:

The profound desire and determination for further education felt by many Cambodians was only heightened as a result of KR destruction, and higher education administrators had no difficulty in attracting tens of thousands of students back to school within months of reopening their institutions (Fergusson and Le Masson, 1997, p.112).

The severe trauma many Cambodians suffered during the Khmer Rouge regime cannot be underestimated. As Berkvens et al. (2012, p.241) point out, "Anyone who survived this was likely to be traumatized. How and to what extent such trauma is transferred to successive generations in Cambodia remains unknown." Cambodian children who emigrated to the USA during and after the regime were found to be suffering from current trauma symptoms from being separated from parents and from living in border camps (Bird, 2007; Mollica et al., 1993). In one study symptoms of post-traumatic stress were found in 37% of adolescent respondents (Realmuto et al., 1992). There is a paucity of research on the long-term effect of the Khmer Rouge (de Walque, 2006). However the effects were evident in this research, particularly the direct effect on

participants who lived through the regime. One described the psychological effect of losing her father:

My daddy, he died. Yes, in the Pol Pot regime he worked so hard, he was very thin. He had only a little rice, soup rice. [...] I remember, because I am 5 and 6 years old, I remember then. My daddy was so thin [...] I cry, I cry every day (PC17, F40, 06.02.13).

Another respondent explained how hard it was having gone to school in Toul Sleng, now a genocide museum and one of the main sites for tourists in Phnom Penh, “I studied in Phnom Penh. I went to high school at the school Toul Sleng. I went to school there. When I go to visit the school, I cry” (PC20, F55, 14.02.13). The long-term effect was also evident in the next generation who would describe, often in detail, their parents’ experiences, “my mum would cry because it is such a big loss, she lost her whole family in the Pol Pot regime” (PC25, M21, 11.01.13). Many others referred to the people they lost and friends and family who now live abroad who they rarely see. Along with the effect these losses had on households, the system of forced marriages under the regime was also evident and referred to by several respondents. One described how she was forced to marry and considers herself lucky they are still together, unlike others:

When we got married, me and my husband got married in the Pol Pot regime. In the Pol Pot regime, 66 got married at the one time. We wore the dark clothes. [...] We got married in Kratie. We were in two groups, boys and girls and they chose. [...] It is not traditional, not like this, and at the wedding there was no music, nothing. I think I was lucky it was him because we are still together (PC19, F54, 14.02.13).

Physical trauma from the regime is also evident in Cambodia and, while exact figures are not available, “it is estimated that Cambodia has one of the highest rates of people living with disabilities in the developing world” (UNICEF, 2009, p.4). People living with disabilities in Cambodia

face a multitude of difficulties in accessing education, which often leads to marginalisation (Bernard, 2005; UNICEF, 2009). The education system has traditionally not catered to individuals with disabilities and the public system is poorly equipped to provide 'catch-up' schooling. Indeed one participant with disabilities in this research found she was not able to study secondary education, despite her ability to do so, because she was not physically able to attend primary classes when she was young due to the lack of adequate seating. Morris (2007) also reported a 2004 survey where a number of respondents cited caring for people with disabilities as a reason for dropping out of school, or as a reason for not participating in the labour force. The impact of conflict is particularly evident, with approximately 40-50,000 people disabled due to landmines alone (Thomas, 2005). Furthermore:

Disability is much more prevalent in men than in women for those aged over 30 in 2000, that is, for the cohorts that would have experienced the Khmer Rouge period as children, adolescents, or young adults. This is explained by the greater exposure of males to landmines and weapons (de Walque, 2006, p.229).

In summary, the lasting psychological and physical effects of the Khmer Rouge are still felt acutely today. They continue to influence, amongst other things, the learning participation of those who survived the regime and subsequent generations, indicating the strong inter-generational influence of past experiences.

2.3.5. The 'Skills Mismatch' and English Language Skills

The provision of skills development programmes in Cambodia, following the productivist 'skills for work' orthodoxy, has been explored in a number of papers. A skills deficit has been identified which is often referred to as a 'Skills Mismatch' between skills

programme provision and employer requirements (Burnett and Jayaram, 2012; Chalamwong et al., 2012; Hang, 2011; Martinez-Fernandez and Powell, 2009; Morris, 2007; Pact, 2008). The World Bank (2012a, p.40) found that in Cambodia “about 40 percent of firms considered skills to be at least a moderate obstacle for their business (with almost 20 percent considering them at least a major obstacle)”. Furthermore “73 percent of employers reported that university graduates do not have the right skills (while only 12 percent said that there are not enough university graduates)” (World Bank, 2012b, p.1). As Chalamwong et al. (2012, p.25) point out, “One of the causes often discussed is the skills-education gap in the labor market.” This skills shortage is caused by both supply and demand factors. Demand for skills is ever increasing and on the supply-side Cambodia’s education system, particularly secondary and higher level skills provision, has limited capacity and multiple deficiencies (Chalamwong et al., 2012; UNDP, 2011). The low basic level of education in Cambodia presents further difficulties as it limits participation in programmes where prerequisites for enrolment exist (UNDP, 2011; World Bank, 2012a).

While there are concerns that widespread English-language learning can increase social, political and economic inequalities, it remains the most globally taught language today and is considered by many as a fundamental element of the 21st century skill set (Block, 2010; Coleman, 2010; Erling and Seargeant, 2013). Particular concerns about the teaching of English in South East Asia have been highlighted where English is seen as “a language of opportunity” and there is a risk that “favouring only the national language plus English will lead to Asian Multiculturalism being reduced to bilingualism” (Erling and Seargeant, 2013, p.17). The move towards Khmer based bilingualism with English in Cambodia (UNESCO, 2015) is a good example of this. The reason for the importance of English for many is outlined by Block (2010, p.287-8) who argues that, “In effect, English is the prime mediator of the economic, political, cultural, and social relations and flows that constitute globalization.” Block (2010, p.3) also highlights the ever

increasing, “commodification of English as a necessary skill in the global age and the positioning of learners as global citizens/cosmopolitan consumers”. Indeed, Coleman (2010, p.3) reports the British Council’s view that English is critical for participation in the global economy and “provides individuals with access to crucial knowledge, skills and employment opportunities and enables organisations to create and sustain international links.” Coleman (2010, p.16) goes on to argue, however, that “We don’t yet know enough” about the impact of English and that “Even when the impact of development activities is investigated the role of language is often ignored or taken for granted” resulting in “an urgent need for more research.” Given the worldwide movement towards learning English, and the increasingly globalised nature of Cambodia, it is perhaps of little surprise that English has been identified as such an important skill for individuals to learn.

When reviewing the ‘skills mismatch’ in Cambodia, the importance of learning English is particularly evident, “according to employers and employees [...] English appears to be the number one weakness [...] English is bound to continue to gain importance as international integration continues” (World Bank, 2012a, p.56). Chalamwong et al. (2012, p.1) found that in Cambodia “Employers complain about the unmet demand of specific vocational and occupational skills such as IT, sewing, plumbing, carpentry, foreign languages and blacksmithing.” In a survey conducted by MoEYS (2008) 23 percent of employers considered foreign language skills to be important and around 37 percent reported difficulty in finding workers with adequate English skills. In the same survey unemployed youth identified the criteria required by employers in Cambodia to be, “Experience, Good Personality, Support skills (such as computers or languages) and Technical Skill” (ibid, p.5). The advice by MoEYS (2008, p.8) was that “youth should try to learn more support skills which are mainly computers and foreign languages (especially English).” In a 2007 survey at an ESL university in Phnom Penh, Moore and Bouchan (2010) found that 97.9 percent agreed or strongly agreed that Cambodians

should learn English and 75.5 percent that it raised their status. While the high value placed on learning English by students in this survey was likely to be biased as they were already learning English at the time, it is indicative of the importance placed on English in Cambodia.

Labour force participation has remained equal between men and women for the past decade (Chalamwong et al., 2012; MoEYS, 2004a). Gender disparities do exist, however, and in 2004 it was reported that women tend to earn 23 percent less than men, are more likely to do unpaid work, and their access to certain types of employment is limited by job segregation, although this continues to change (MoEYS, 2004a; Morris, 2007). Economic participation starts early in Cambodia with child labour causing a potential barrier to educational participation. According to the *Cambodia Socio-economic Survey* 47.1 percent of all 10-14 year olds were economically active in 2004. While most of these children were enrolled in school, work was found to have had a negative impact on learning outcomes, dropout rates, and to have delayed school entry (Kim, 2011a).

The skills mismatch is of particular concern given Cambodia's young population demographic as a result of the large mortality rate during the Khmer Rouge, and the post-Khmer Rouge baby boom of the 1980s. The baby boom and the excess mortality and emigration of older generations have resulted in a 'youth bulge', with the Cambodian population dominated by people born between 1980 and 1995, now in their 20s and 30s and having children themselves (Hor et al., 2010; Tuon et al., 2012; UNDP, 2011). In 2010 54 percent of Cambodia's population was aged 0-24 and would be counted as 'Children' or 'Youth' by UNESCO and 62.5 percent were under the age of 30, the upper age for 'Youth' according to MoEYS (Cheng, 2010; Hor et al., 2010). It is these youth who are central to Cambodia's future, and much of their future, according to the World Bank (2012b), is down to their ability to acquire relevant skills throughout their life.

Around 300,000 workers enter the Cambodian workforce every year. According to UNDP (2011, p.4) Cambodia constitutes “the highest rate of projected labour force within ASEAN.” Without being adequately and relevantly skilled, Cambodia will face increasingly serious employment and social problems (Chalamwong et al., 2012; Pact, 2008; UNDP, 2011; World Bank, 2012a; 2012b). Although access to education is increasing, youth currently represent around 72 percent of unemployment (Chalamwong et al., 2012; IIEP, 2011). The World Bank (2012a, p.1) argues this is because “The quantity of higher education graduates is still too low for the labor market in countries like Cambodia.” Further difficulties arise from youth not being able to draw on the knowledge and expertise of older generations due to the ‘missing generation’ of skilled and educated middle-aged, especially male workers and teachers (Brickell, 2011b; Chalamwong et al., 2012; de Walque, 2005). As de Walque (2005, p. 223) point out:

Because the school system was ruined under the Khmer Rouge regime, another lasting legacy of the period is that individuals of school age at the end of the 1970s, especially men, have a lower level of educational attainment than those in the preceding and subsequent birth cohorts.

The targeted strategies of the Khmer Rouge has also led to a high level of foreign ownership and international staff filling high-level positions in Cambodia. Cambodians who would have filled these roles predominantly migrated overseas or were targeted by the regime. Cambodia is reported to have the lowest number of employers in ASEAN (Martinez-Fernandez and Powell, 2009). This situation puts particular pressure on Cambodians to learn English to communicate with business owners and managers, most of whom use English as a common language. As the World Bank (2012a, p.26) point out, “English skills are subject to significant fluctuations in importance across countries but are becoming a priority in countries such as Cambodia.” The dearth of educated individuals and need for English language skills

have resulted in the long standing recognition that “Adult and non-formal education have a critical role to play in human resource development and capacity building in Cambodia” (Roland 1997). Bernard (2002, p.79) also argued that the formal and non-formal adult education system in Cambodia is mutually reinforcing and that “Non-formal education is also important in making an immediate difference to enabling policy outcomes to be achieved now, not just in 10 year’s time as children complete their schooling.”

Cambodians graduating in English can benefit from employment “in the private sector economy where proficiency in English has been a highly valued asset” (Moore and Bouchan, 2010). Perhaps as a result of this for university students “the most common areas of study are foreign languages (14.5 percent average from 2006 to 2009)” (UNDP, 2011, p.43). A World Bank (2012b) survey found that 82% of respondents who attended non-formal classes in Cambodia learned foreign languages. It was at one of these language programmes that this research took place, as discussed in the next section.

In summary, there is a real and present skills gap in Cambodia, and English has been identified by employers, employees, the Cambodian government, and outside agencies, as one of the key skills required for employment. A multitude of public and private providers are offering English language TVET programmes to cater for this demand.

Educational provision in Cambodia has been dramatically affected by its political history, with different eras enacting often entirely new educational strategies or, as in the case of the Khmer Rouge, deliberately pursuing the destruction of the education system. It was clear throughout my research that respondents were influenced not only by the era through which they lived, but also the era in which their

parents and grandparents lived. Stories and the educational values of these eras were passed down through generations, influencing subsequent generations. As a result of this history, and the specific targeting of the educated population during the Khmer Rouge regime, younger generations in households are typically more educated than older generations. On a societal level, the education system and skills provision were both destroyed and are still in the process of being rebuilt. International influence remains significant, as evidenced by the introduction of English as a second language with the arrival of UNTAC twenty years prior to my field research. Each factor has significant implications for educational research in Cambodia, both on a household level and in attempting to understand and contextualise education and skills provision on a societal level. The evident skills deficits, particularly in a country with high levels of foreign business ownership, have positioned English as a central skill for work in Cambodia, with high levels of demand for skills development programmes.

2.4. Conversational English Skills Development Program Case Study

Having established the high demand for English skills development programmes in Cambodia, this section focuses specifically on the centre at which I carried out this research. An understanding of the background, and information about what the centre offers, are important when interpreting the research findings. I begin the section with the background of the centre, the way it is portrayed to students, and the model it is based on. I then outline how the centre is run, its curriculum, and how this shaped which students participated in this research. Following this I discuss the teaching style and use of international volunteer teachers, which shaped both student expectations and outcomes.



Figure 2.4: CWF Building

I carried out the field research from November 2012 to March 2013 at ‘Conversations with Foreigners’ (CWF), a non-formal, unaccredited English language centre in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. The name translates directly in to Khmer as Conversations (*Santhanear*) With (*Cheamouy*) Foreigners (*Borates*). Photographs of the centre can be seen in Figure 2.4 and Annex 1. Annex 2 shows the CWF information brochure given to prospective students. CWF was established in 2006 following the model shown in Figure 2.5. The centre is a social enterprise NGO established with the aim of being self-sustaining while donating all profits to the Cambodian Rural Development Team (CRDT), a local non-government organisation (LNGO) working to improve livelihoods in rural Cambodia. Fourteen paid Khmer staff members run the centre and there is typically one foreign volunteer on the staff to help with foreign volunteer marketing and recruitment.

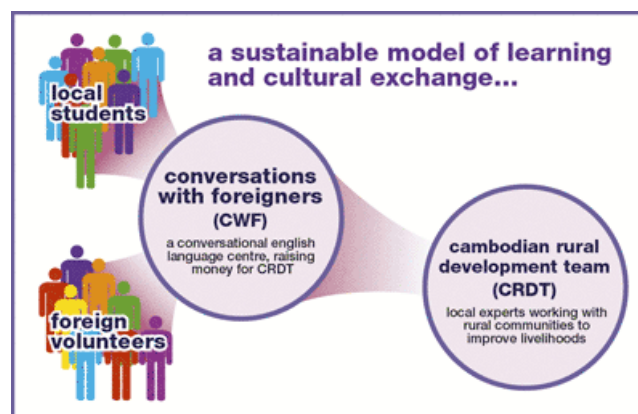


Figure 2.5: CWF Model (CWF, 2013)

The teachers are all foreign volunteers who pay their own way in Cambodia, but are not charged to volunteer. Volunteers are trained in the CWF curriculum and teaching methods at the start of their 3-month stay and teach a maximum of five one-hour classes per day. Students are required to pay a small fee to attend and it is through these fees that money is raised, as shown in Figure 2.5. CWF is one of the cheapest language centres in Phnom Penh at around a third of the cost of similar courses. Some scholarships are provided to assist students unable to afford the fees. Students come from a range of socio-economic backgrounds including those who are unemployed, students, *tuk-tuk* drivers, government officials, doctors, and staff from NGOs and private companies. The centre predominantly caters to adult learners and there is no maximum age limit for enrolment.

The CWF curriculum consists of 10 courses from level 1 to 8, followed by two classes for students who have completed the main course books, Advanced Discussion Skills (AD) and Advanced Communication Skills (AC). Textbooks are sold by the centre at US\$1 per book, to cover the price of printing. Each course is designed to last for 10 weeks, including public holidays. Classes are for one hour per day at the same time from Monday to Friday. Classes start from 6am to 8.15pm to cater for students who are busy during the day, meaning the majority of classes take place before 8am and after 5pm. Over the December 2012 to March 2013 term when I conducted this research, there were 779 students (377 male and 402 female). Seventeen foreign volunteer teachers (10 male and 7 female) taught a total of 60 classes across all 10 levels, with an average of 13 students per class. There were 3 level 1 classes, 6 level 2, 6 level 3, 8 level 4, 10 level 5, 9 level 6, 6 level 7, 4 level 8, 4 AD classes and 4 AC classes. Each term the number of classes per level is subject to demand and room availability.

Although the curriculum is flexible, each lesson in the textbook consists of a topic, a picture, associated vocabulary and a range of exercises. The centre was established on the finding that many Cambodians had good vocabulary and grammar but lacked the pronunciation skills, confidence and listening skills to communicate effectively in English, particularly with foreigners. Furthermore as Moore and Bouchan (2010 p.123) point out, there is the issue that “distortions of pronunciation and both lexical and grammatical borrowings from Khmer stand to contribute to communication difficulties and possible breakdowns when English in Cambodia is used as an international language.” Teaching at CWF focuses almost exclusively on speaking, listening, pronunciation and cultural exchange and caters very little to grammar, reading and writing. Since the centre was established, significant effort has gone in to developing a context-specific curriculum relevant to the lives of the centre’s learners. The curriculum and teaching style at CWF emphasise an experiential learning approach, taking in to account students’ prior learning and focusing on the premise that students learn by doing. The centre emphasises the need for learners to feel comfortable and relaxed in their learning environment. Students are tested at the start of term and are allocated a level. Feedback from students and volunteers is encouraged and the curriculum is continually developed based on this feedback. Course books are provided each term for volunteers to add their suggestions. A wide range of supplementary materials has also been developed over the years for volunteer teachers to draw on to help them cater to their students’ particular areas of interest.

A casual, participative teaching style has been developed at the centre with a strong focus on conversational speaking and listening practise. Teachers are encouraged to include the use of games as well as audio and visual material and resources are provided to assist with this. Classrooms are set up with chairs placed in a semi-circle and there are no desks in order to encourage students to move around the class and participate in activities. This layout and the teaching style runs counter

to traditional Cambodian classrooms, which are usually teacher-centred and often non-participatory (World Bank, 2012a). As one respondent explained referring to his experience outside CWF, “in those classrooms we did not sit like this, just one chair and one table. We sat in rows” (PC30, M22, 07.02.13). The IIEP (2011, p.34) found that in Cambodia there is a “pervasiveness of rote teaching and learning throughout the education system. [The] Cambodian system is prefaced on minimal interaction; students rarely raise their hands in class, and professors rarely take questions.” In a rare insight in to the teaching styles older students are likely to associate with learning, Hardman (1999, p.162) conducted research with Cambodian adults in an ESL classroom in America. Participants reported that schooling in Cambodia at the time focused on recitation and memorisation, with strict classrooms and the use of corporal punishment. Students were also discouraged from learning at home and completed their homework individually in class in case someone at home helped them. Due to these disparities, CWF students and teachers reported that it usually takes a few weeks for new students to adjust to the CWF teaching style.

Another aspect of teaching at CWF is that the volunteers come from all over the world and students usually have teachers from a different country each semester. Respondents regularly reported the positive aspects of having teachers with different accents and from different cultures, as it was useful practise for interaction with foreigners in Cambodia and abroad. None of the teachers are Khmer nationals, although some volunteers who have taught at the centre were children of Cambodian emigrants. Anecdotal findings, later highlighted by Moore and Bouchan (2010) who carried out research at a Cambodian ESL university, led to the decision to have foreign teachers who focus predominantly on pronunciation, listening and cultural exchanges. In their research more than three quarters of students favoured native English speakers over Cambodian teachers, mainly due to their pronunciation and spoken interaction including cultural or authentic exchanges. The CWF model of having foreign teachers at all levels of

teaching is also counter to typical English language provision in Cambodia. Foreign teachers typically teach only the higher levels, or alternate their classes with Cambodian teachers (Moore and Bouchan, 2010). Each of these factors influenced students in their choice of CWF over other English language centres.

The CWF model and curriculum have significant implications for the purposes respondents had for participating in the programme discussed in Chapter 4, and the outcomes for individuals and their households discussed in Chapter 6. As a centre focused on improving English pronunciation, speaking and listening skills, these were all prominent reasons for participation, and were the main reported learning outcomes. With an entirely foreign teaching staff, there is also a strong sense of encouraging cultural exchanges and building confidence speaking English with foreigners, which are also reflected in my findings. This is particularly important given the context within which CWF operates, with a large number of foreign owned businesses, foreign workers and foreign tourists. While both respondents' purposes and outcomes did extend beyond the aims of CWF outlined here, it is in light of this provision that these findings should be interpreted.

2.5. Conclusion

Comprising around ten percent of Cambodia's population, Phnom Penh continues to grow, with around half of the population consisting of rural to urban migrants who have moved there since 2003. Phnom Penh is both one of the fastest growing cities in the world, and is a useful location to use as a case study for this research, consisting as it does of both urban and recently rural populations. The participants in this research, as shown in Annex 4, represent a microcosm of this with

only 14 of the 40 respondents having been born in Phnom Penh, and many having moved there either alone or with their households for education or to find work. The low cost and provision of scholarships at CWF also provide access to a wide range of participants, aged 18 to 70 and from a range of socio-economic backgrounds.

Education has been used as a vehicle for, and has been a victim of, different political regimes in Cambodia for more than 200 years. As a consequence of the complete devastation of the education system by the end of the Khmer Rouge regime in 1979, and the consequent arrival and stewardship of Cambodia by UNTAC between 1991 and 1993, English has become both a second language and a skill in high demand particularly, according to current literature, for work. Learning English had continued to be illegal while under Vietnamese occupation since the Khmer Rouge until 1989. The education and skills deficit as a result of Cambodia's history has led to high levels of foreign ownership of businesses, with foreign managers and English-language requirements for many jobs. The ASEAN free market agreement beginning in 2015 and using English as a common language is likely to expedite this need. Little literature exists on the need for English beyond the productivist orthodoxy, which I explicitly address in this research. What can be surmised from the literature, however, is that there is likely to be a strong social need for English, as many Cambodians have friends and relatives overseas who emigrated during, or in the immediate aftermath of the Khmer Rouge regime.

As a focus of this research, social insights into the structure and influence of Cambodian households, and the social construction of gender within Cambodia, are also significant. Understanding that households are traditionally hierarchically ordered by age, and are matrifocal in nature, are important when interpreting these findings. Paying respect to elders and adherence to the wishes of older generations, particularly parents and grandparents, is significant, as are the gendered implications of the strong role and influence of female

household members. It is also important to recognise the implications of traditional gendered household roles and the tradition of daughters taking care of their parents in old age. Although these traditions are changing, as discussed, it is important to understand what the social norms are that respondents either follow, or in some cases actively avoid. Understanding the contextual factors that shape learners' lives is essential for my social constructivist research approach. It also recognises both the need to understand the influence of past experience, as argued in experiential learning, and participants' own values, choices and agency as argued by the capability approach. Combined, and with the additional cultural understanding of the relationship Cambodians have with their households, this chapter provides important grounding through which to interpret the findings from this research.

Chapter 3. Research Methodology

In this chapter I provide an overview of the research methodology I adopted throughout this research. In the first section I outline my social constructivist epistemological stance and why it is particularly important for addressing my research question. I then discuss my research design and explain how the research timeline and pilot stage helped shape this design. Following this I outline the qualitative research methods I used during my field research, including focus groups, semi-structured one-to-one interviews and visual methods including family trees and daily schedules. I then highlight and discuss the ethical considerations and limitations of the research, which influenced my research methodology throughout both its design and implementation. Reflections on these limitations also shaped the research agenda I outline in Section 7.2. Finally, I discuss my analysis and reflect on my research methodology including my own background as a researcher with previous experience of working in Cambodia.

3.1. Epistemological Stance

Throughout this research I have adopted a social constructivist approach. Adopting this stance was particularly important in order to address my primary research question, “Can the capability approach combined with experiential learning for adult skills development answer the emerging call for a ‘radical’ new approach to lifelong learning?” To answer this question and my secondary research questions requires an understanding of learning participation from the perspective of participants. In order to establish participant’s own purposes for participation, and their relationship with, and extent to which they are influenced by, other household members, requires a social constructivist approach that understands that knowledge is “constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their

world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context” (Crotty, 2005, p.42). I explore how my research methods specifically address each secondary research question in Section 3.3.1. A social constructivist perspective is also in keeping with Sen (1999) and the capability approach, which I utilise throughout this research and which argues that, “it is for individuals to identify the learnings-for-lives that are of value to them” (McGrath, 2012, p.628).

In keeping with the constructivist view of created meanings, my own position as a researcher follows the view that “no researcher can be “objective” in the sense of being “value-free,” since our worldview shapes everything we do, from the research questions we ask to the interpretations we make of the data we collect” (Brodsky, 2001, p.325). I am a white British female in my early thirties with a professional background in development and adult education. My experience in and of Cambodia began in 2004 as a newly graduated student lecturing at a rural Cambodian university. I returned for a year from 2006 to help establish CWF, the conversational English language centre that provided the case study for my field research. I then returned for this empirical research from November 2012 to March 2013. This experience has helped shape my cultural, social, political and economic understanding of the country. I have also been able to observe the changes that have occurred in Cambodia over the past decade. My experience also provided me with the necessary ‘access’ to participants through my connections with the English language centre and its staff, who accommodated my on-site research. It is upon this basis that my research findings should be understood.

3.2. Research Design

In this section I explain the research design and how the design was shaped and finalised during the pilot stage of the field research. I begin with a discussion of how the qualitative methods I adopt address my research questions in keeping with my social constructivist stance. I

then explain the fieldwork timeline and how I calculated the feasibility of my research design in order to fulfil my data requirements to address my research questions. I then outline the pilot stage and how discussions with staff members at the centre influenced the design, particularly focusing on the decision to only draw participants from CWF itself, and to conduct the research in English without an interpreter. The qualitative research methods, ethical considerations and limitations, which all helped shape the research design, are discussed in the following three sections.

I designed the research to cover a full three-month teaching term at CWF, with time before the semester to carry out a pilot stage to finalise the research design, and time afterwards to ensure all of the required data had been collected. The Field Research Timeline can be seen in Annex 3. My research questions required me to gain an understanding of learning participation and the influence of households from learners' perspectives. In keeping with my social constructivist stance, I chose to adopt an in depth qualitative approach to understand participants own perspectives and their interactions with their social contexts (Crotty, 2005). As Glesne (2006, p.7) points out, "Most qualitative researchers adhere to social constructivism or a constructivist paradigm." Qualitative methods importantly allow me to use small sample sizes to gain descriptions and contextual details for an in depth understanding of learning participation and learners' lives (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2008). I therefore explored participants' perspectives through qualitative research with a small but focused sample of students at CWF. To achieve this, the research design incorporates a combination of focus groups and semi-structured one-to-one interviews using visual methods. Together they intend to provide triangulation or a means of combining and verifying several "lines of sight" to provide a richer, more complete "substantative picture of reality" (Berg, 1998, p.5).

A visual representation of my overall research design can be seen in Figure 3.1. It begins at the top with how I recruited participants for the research, followed by the focus groups from which I recruited nineteen students to participate in the interviews, shown at the bottom of the diagram. I recruited the other interviewees through word of mouth, as shown on the left hand side of the diagram. I made the decision to conduct four focus groups followed by forty one-to-one interviews based on feasibility and the quantity and quality of data required for analysis. As the one-to-one interviews were the main source of in-depth data, and a cross-section of participants was required, the feasibility of conducting these interviews was a priority. While the focus groups were important to gain a general understanding of the topics, the one-to-one interviews helped ensure ownership and clarity of individual participants responses, and the ability to cover all topics in detail in a confidential environment (Northcutt and McCoy, 2004).

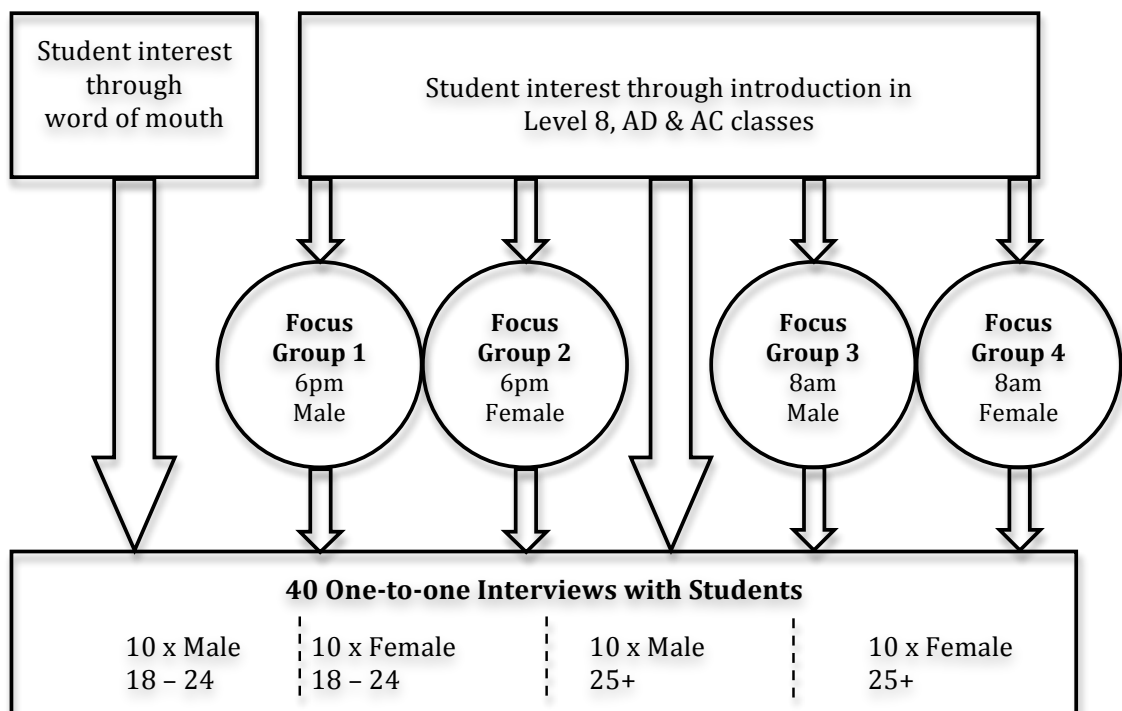


Figure 3.1: Fieldwork Design

In order to address my research questions in depth and to gain an understanding not only of respondents, but also their households and social context, I needed time in each interview to build a degree of trust, and to explore, clarify and understand participants' perspectives. During the pilot stage I carried out two pilot interviews with staff members and established a guide time of 1 to 1 ½ hours per interview, with the possibility of extending this should circumstances allow. By reviewing the Field Research Timeline (Annex 3), I calculated the feasible number of interviews I could carry out in the eight-week semester, accounting for public holidays and participant availability. In order to not interfere with classes or other activities in which the students were involved, the time students were most commonly available was either at 8am or 6pm. Depending on availability this allowed for one to two interviews per day. As the forty interviews this allowed was likely to provide me with as much in-depth data as I required to address my research questions, I decided to interview an average of five students per week. I also scheduled reviews of my data requirements at regular intervals throughout my field research, as shown at the bottom of the Field Research Timeline (Annex 3). In order to invite all of the focus group participants to participate in the interviews, I organised a maximum of four focus groups of up to ten participants. By arranging interviews at the convenience of the participants, I carried out some interviews at weekends to fit around participants' schedules. Aside from these interviews, which were conducted in the café next door to the centre, all the research I conducted was in spare classrooms and vacant offices at CWF.

In order to understand learning from the perspective of both female and male students and across age groups, I decided to interview ten participants from each of the following four groups: 18-24 Male, 18-24 Female, 25+ Male and 25+ Female, as shown at the bottom of the Fieldwork Design diagram in Figure 3.1. As my research focuses on adults, and 18 is the legal age of adulthood both in Cambodia and the UK where my university is based, this was the lower age limit for

research participants. This decision also overcame age-related ethical implications, particularly around informed consent. I further decided that participants would be divided into those who were 18 to 24 years of age and over 25 years of age because 24 years is the upper age limit for 'youth' according to the UN (UNESCO, 2012d). There was also a consensus amongst staff members during the pilot stage that 24 years of age represented an age in Cambodia where individuals moved from being primarily involved in higher education to being more 'settled,' indicated by careers, marriage and parenthood. As there is no upper age limit to lifelong learning or participation in the adult skills development programme at CWF, I did not put an upper age limit on participants. The oldest participant in my research was 70 years old.

I used a combination of methods to recruit ten interview participants for each of these categories. The first was to visit higher-level classrooms, Level 8, Advanced Discussion Skills (AD) and Advanced Conversation Skills (AC), at the start of term, as shown in the top right box on Figure 3.1. I also recruited participants independently through word of mouth, as shown in the top left hand box. To minimise disruption to student learning I visited the twelve higher-level classes at the centre with the Academic Co-ordinator, who was already scheduled to visit each class at the start of term to welcome new students. Visiting these classes served two main purposes. The first was to invite students to participate, either by joining the focus groups or, where preferred, to participate only in the one-to-one interviews, as shown by the downward arrows in Figure 3.1. The second was to explain my research aims to a large number of students at the centre. Being a small centre, it was expected that students would be interested in what the research was that I was conducting. By explaining my research in these classes, I was able to provide an accurate account of what I was doing, which was then likely to be passed on by word of mouth. Word of mouth became a strong recruitment tool, with students either approaching me directly or being referred to me by other participants, teachers or staff members.

My decision to separate the focus groups by gender was made after consulting staff members during the pilot stage. There was a consensus amongst those consulted that participants might feel uncomfortable discussing certain topics openly in mixed gender groups. The focus groups themselves seemed to confirm this, particularly evidenced by the laughter and discussion that followed from comments about household heads (Male 6-7pm Focus Group) and boyfriends (Female 7-8am Focus Group). As Stewart et al. (2007, p.51) point out, "Mixed-gender groups often give rise to different outcomes and group dynamics than do single-sex groups." Given the hierarchical structure of Khmer society along the younger-older dimension, as discussed in Chapter 2, I also asked staff members whether I should further separate the focus groups by age. I was assured, however, that the age range of participants would not be a problem. Staff explained that there are very few topics students would discuss in public that they would not discuss with people of different ages, especially as mixed age groups were the norm for classes at CWF. While, culturally, younger participants would be respectful to older participants, this was not considered likely to stop them from addressing the topics at hand. I organised the focus groups for the early morning at 8am and in the evening at 6pm, due to student availability. Afterwards I invited all participants to a one-to-one interview. The universal reason given by those who could not attend interviews was a lack of availability outside of class times.

As well as meeting with staff members to discuss the research aims, design and feasibility, I used the pilot stage to explain the purpose of the research to staff and volunteer teachers. These meetings also helped develop my own understanding of the research topics and to expand the reach of my questions in light of these findings. One significant outcome was to develop a contextual understanding of 'households' in Cambodia, and the prevalence of often short-term migration to Phnom Penh largely for work and education. In the original research design I had planned to interview other household

members as well as students at the centre, but it became clear during the pilot stage that this would not be feasible. The majority of students at CWF had migrated to Phnom Penh for work or study and identified their 'household', typically associated with where their parents lived, as being in the provinces. As, with travel time, each household visit would take several days to complete, it was clear that it would not be possible for me to interview both the students and their household members. To represent the distances involved, the location of participants' hometowns are coloured red on the map of Cambodia shown in Figure 3.2. Phnom Penh is in the central south of the map. During the focus groups and first one-to-one interviews, I was reassured that participants themselves had an in-depth knowledge of their household members, even when they no longer lived together. Participants were able to answer detailed questions about them, including their learning histories, daily schedules and attitudes to learning. I discuss the limitations of focusing on one perspective in the study of households, and the consequences for drawing conclusions, in Section 3.5.

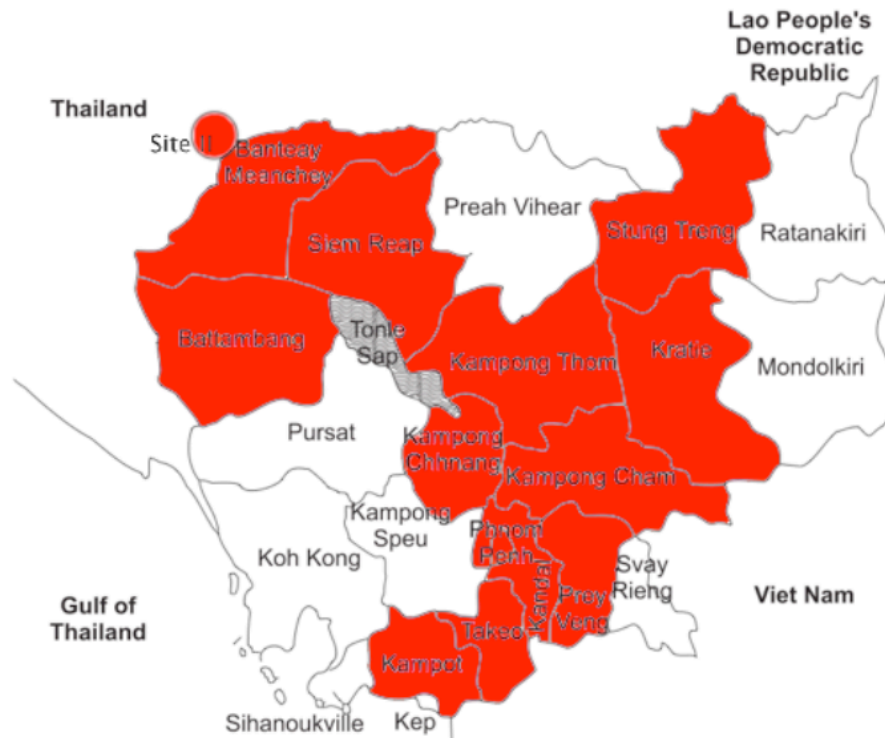


Figure 3.2: Hometowns of One-to-One Interview Participants

Another decision I made during the pilot stage, drawing on the advice of staff members, was to conduct the research in English without an interpreter and to have the written documentation translated in to Khmer. Staff members explained that the conversational English abilities of students in higher-level classes at CWF were comparable to their own, and that an interpreter would not be required. I judged the proficiency of participants recruited through word of mouth, from levels as low as level 6, by speaking to them before the research took place to check we could clearly understand each other. I also gave all the participants the option of an interpreter. Staff members suggested that students' abilities to read and write in English was likely to be lower, as their class levels were based on conversational English ability. It was therefore necessary to translate the Focus Group Questions (Annex 6), Information Sheet (Annex 7) and Participant Consent Form (Annex 8) in to Khmer. These translations were carried out and checked for meaning by three different staff members. As well as ensuring that participants understood what the requirements were, the information sheet gave participants the opportunity to take the information home to show, and discuss with, their household members. I further discussed each document verbally with participants at the start of the research to check understanding and to answer questions.

Throughout the research I constantly re-assessed using English to conduct the research, and reminded participants that we could use an interpreter if required. I conducted all of the research in English aside from two interviews. One participant wanted to speak in French and was interviewed with a French volunteer teacher acting as the interpreter. Another asked for a Khmer interpreter to be on hand and called on her half way through the interview in order to explain certain responses in more detail. The interpreter in this instance was the Volunteer Coordinator, a Khmer staff member selected because she works exclusively with volunteers and does not work with students at the centre. Where interpreters were used I fully briefed and de-briefed them before and after the interviews. As the interviews were recorded

and the interpreters provided direct translations throughout, we did not go back over the transcripts or change the agreed meanings. I explore the ethical implications and limitations of choosing to conduct the research in English in Sections 3.4 and 3.5.

Conducting the research in English without an interpreter was useful as it helped ensure privacy and reduced the risk of participants feeling uncomfortable when discussing certain topics in the presence of a third person. This was particularly relevant in the case of Khmer interpreters as, based on my own experience and accounts from other research conducted in Cambodia, there was a risk that certain topics would have been avoided. As Martin (1994, p.11) found in Cambodia, “individuals will discuss social, political, and cultural problems more or less freely with a foreigner but remain mute with their compatriots.” This finding was validated during my research where topics such as the Khmer Rouge were not mentioned in the focus groups, but were raised by the majority of participants during the one-to-one interviews.

Another benefit of conducting the research in English was that it was often seen as an extension of, or as an extra lesson for participants, whose main reason for attending the centre was to practise their conversational English language skills with foreigners. A number of participants expressed their enjoyment of being able to talk in English and of being understood, often expressed as mutual thanks at the end of the interview. Several explained that they do not like to speak through interpreters and prefer speaking to directly to foreigners, “because it is good when we know English and we don’t need someone to translate in to Khmer” (PC21, M19, 20.02.13). Another referred to the importance he placed on being able to convey feeling when speaking directly, “if I speak Khmer and someone translate to English for you I think they do not provide the feeling, because when we speak individual to individual it is good for the feeling” (PC29, M22, 08.01.13). The opportunity to talk in English with a foreigner also appeared to provide motivation for students to volunteer to participate. I discuss the risks in Section 3.5.

In this section I explored the research design and decisions I made based on the research questions, feasibility of the research period, and meetings with staff members during the pilot stage. The main decisions made during the pilot stage included that of only including participants from CWF and not their household members, and of conducting the research in English. The ethical considerations and limitations involved in this process are discussed in Sections 3.4 and 3.5. In the next section I explore the qualitative research methods I adopted and how I designed them specifically to address each of the research questions.

3.3. Research Methods

In this section I outline, discuss and explain the qualitative research methods I adopted and used to conduct my field research. These were focus groups, semi-structured one-to-one interviews and visual methods, which enhanced both the richness of the data and mutual understanding. There were four main reasons for carrying out focus groups prior to the interviews. The first was to develop an understanding of common meanings for specific terms such as the 'household' in the Cambodian context. The second was to confirm whether exploring these topics would be viable and achievable by asking overarching questions on each topic to ascertain participants' willingness and comfort in discussing them. This also allowed me to see whether the way I phrased certain questions was understood. The focus groups also helped me begin to develop an understanding of the research topics from the participant's perspectives. The third reason was to begin to develop trust. The focus groups gave me an opportunity to explain my research aims and what further participation would involve. As with the classroom visits, participants were likely to pass this information on to other students at the centre through word of

mouth. The fourth reason was to start to explore my research questions by asking higher-level questions about key research topics. The discursive nature of the focus groups meant participants could build on the answers given by other participants. Through the focus groups I also explored a number of contextual factors in Cambodia, such as the opening up of the ASEAN economic community in 2015, which has English as a common language. These factors were important to understand prior to the one-to-one interviews, which could then focus specifically on the individual and their households.

3.3.1. Focus Groups and Semi-Structured Interviews

To address my research questions, I chose to use focus groups to stimulate discussion around the research topics and to “bring to the surface responses that otherwise might lay dormant” (Henn et al., 2009, p.190). Semi-structured one-to-one interviews then allowed for an in-depth exploration of the research topics from the perspective of participants (Henn et al., 2009; Vogt et al., 2012). I used two sets of questions for both the focus groups and interviews, the Interview Prompts (Annex 5) and Focus Group Questions in Khmer and English (Annex 6). Combined, I designed them to address each research sub-question taken in turn, the first being, “Do respondents’ reasons for participation in adult skills programmes indicate purposes beyond the productivist orthodoxy, and if so, which?” I addressed this by questioning individual purposes for enrolment and continued participation and by asking if anyone had influenced their learning. This provided the basis for discussing the second question, “To what extent is enrolment and continued participation in adult skills programmes the result of individual and/or household agency?” This included asking about the possible factors that might have facilitated or inhibited learning participation for individuals and their household members, including physical, emotional or financial assistance or constraints. Finally I addressed the third question, “In what ways are individuals and their households influenced by the outcomes of individual

participation in adult skills programmes?” Here I asked about outcomes achieved, or expected future outcomes from attending CWF for participants and any impact these outcomes have had on others. Where an individual had previously participated in a course at the centre, this included any actual or realised outcomes from participation for the individual and their household.

I designed the Focus Group Questions (Annex 6) to help answer the research questions through broadly representative answers to short answer questions for data analysis (Vogt et al., 2012). I predominantly used them to obtain background information on participants, which they could self-identify by completing the top section of the form, including their age, occupation and hometown. The questions also provided a starting point for further discussion. I handed out and explained the questions at the start of the focus groups and interviews. During the interviews I asked verbally about participants’ reasons for participation rather than having them write them down. I used the Interview Prompts (Annex 5) as reference points, ensuring all topics were covered without being overly prescriptive, to allow the focus groups and interviews to flow more naturally across topics. I used the prompts in the focus groups to discuss the overall topics and concepts, rather than going in to detail on each one. In doing so, the focus groups provided a broad overview, and interviews explored individual detail.

I discussed the Information Sheet (Annex 7) with participants at the start of each focus group and interview to ensure the research, and how any information provided would be used, was understood. Following this we discussed the Participant Consent Form (Annex 8) and I asked participants to tick the boxes next to each statement they agreed to. All of the participants agreed to these statements and signed the form before we began. Both interpreters also signed these forms. It was only after the form was signed that I checked again that each participant was comfortable being recorded and started the Dictaphone recording, explaining it was only being made for transcription purposes and that

as soon as this was completed I would delete it. Once I turned on the Dictaphone I put it aside and did not notice any participants looking at it, or indicating that they were conscious of its presence. While it did not appear to influence responses, I discuss the ethical considerations of recording in Section 3.4. In an effort to preserve participant anonymity I reiterated the need to maintain confidentiality at the start of each focus group and anonymised all transcripts.

During the interviews I adopted a conversational interview style, which allowed me to check my prompts (Annex 5) and return to topics to check understanding or to ask the participant to elaborate. This was particularly important as the interviews were conducted in English. Visual methods including the Family Tree and Daily Schedule also assisted with this. Participants would also draw pictures and write words or numbers to ensure my understanding, particularly around vocabulary and pronunciation. One example of a pronunciation issue was when discussing UNTAC, which is said as one word in Cambodia, as opposed to individual letters. Once the respondent wrote it down, the meaning was clear and I was aware of this issue for future interviews.

Several participants also used mime both to act out unknown words and to share information participants appeared uncomfortable articulating in words. As Schratz and Walker (1995, p.76) explain, “Our use of language, because it is so close to who we are, is surrounded by layers of defence” and using non-verbal communication provides a means to “short circuit the insulation between action and interpretation.” A few participants, for example, mimed acts of violence. One used mime to show how her father would hit her:

When I was lazy to study he would hit me and I would cry
(mimes hitting, possibly with a stick).

AJ: *With a stick?*

A stick?

AJ: *Long and round and wooden?*

Oh, yes, a stick, yes (PC18, F40, 16.02.13).

Another participant also used mime to demonstrate the treatment of monks by the Khmer Rouge, which she witnessed when she was 5 or 6 years old. She visibly found this treatment hard to articulate in words:

I remember all the people, so hard, some people worked so hard and the monks, I see the monks (mimes wrists and legs being bound together).

AJ: *Their arms and legs tied?*

Yes, a lot of the monks, around the Pagoda, but Pol Pot (shows being hit on the head with perhaps a stick).

AJ: *They were hit on the head?*

Yes, yes (PC17, F40, 06.02.13).

Visual methods and mime often resulted in participants sharing a greater depth of information. A number of participants would also explain words they weren't sure of, "Sometimes we don't know the grammar and sometimes we don't know all the words but if we can speak English, some words, we can explain them like this, like this, the same me now" (PC34, M28, 22.01.13). Another talked about how this had changed after attending CWF, "sometimes I don't know about the word but now when I try to speak to other people I just try to explain around the word, more than the word, I try to explain" (PC29, M22, 08.01.13). In some instances these explanations led to further topics or provided unexpected insights where information was raised incidentally by way of explanation.

Overall adopting a conversational interview style based on common meanings established largely during the focus groups was an effective means through which I could address the research questions. The further implications of these research methods are discussed in Sections 3.4 and 3.5 and reflected upon in Section 3.6.

3.3.2. Visual Methods: Family Trees and Daily Schedules

I used visual research methods during the focus groups and interviews to provide a basis for discussion and as a means of addressing and clarifying topics that were more difficult to articulate (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2008). These methods also meant “both the interviewer and interviewee [could] address the diagram, adding a third point of reference and so taking the pressure off the interviewee to perform” (Schatz and Walker, 1995, p.88). Once a participant had drawn a family tree or daily schedule I asked them to explain and discuss it, rather than leaving it open to interpretation. This proved key to using these methods effectively. As Schratz and Walker (1995, p.77) point out, “the ways in which people draw things [...] can at least give us a starting point from which to ask questions.” The family tree exercise proved to be helpful for understanding each individual’s definition of the ‘household’ for clarity in each interview. Family trees also helped to identify the relationship between particular household members, for example where there was confusion between siblings and cousins. They also allowed for absent household members such as migrant workers to be included (Bird, 2007). This not only aided my understanding of the responses given by participants, but also assisted with data analysis. The family tree also facilitated discussions around household influences, positions, roles and other factors leading to the facilitation or inhibition of individual learning participation to address the research questions. A particularly clear and useful representation of negotiated intra-generational household strategies, for example, can be seen in Chapter 5, Figure 5.2.

Another application of the family tree was to allow participants to show how their households have changed over time, whether they have multiple households, and which household members currently live together. Changes in household membership were found, for example, to alter the learning participation of individuals as their household influence and agency changed. Family trees also allowed participants to position themselves relative to other household members and explain

their understanding of a 'household head' or 'household decision maker' and to discuss the way households are structured more broadly in terms of shared roles and responsibilities. Figure 3.3 is an example of how a family tree was used during one interview. The participant originally drew a family tree with five members and then, through the course of the interview, continued to add to it and use it to clarify particular points by pointing to which household member he was discussing, or by using arrows to show who was supporting whose learning in the household. The family tree exercise also helped the participant explain that he had a new household, which was created when he moved to Phnom Penh from his hometown. Taken alongside the transcript the family trees provide a depth of knowledge unlikely to have been reached by taking either one in isolation.

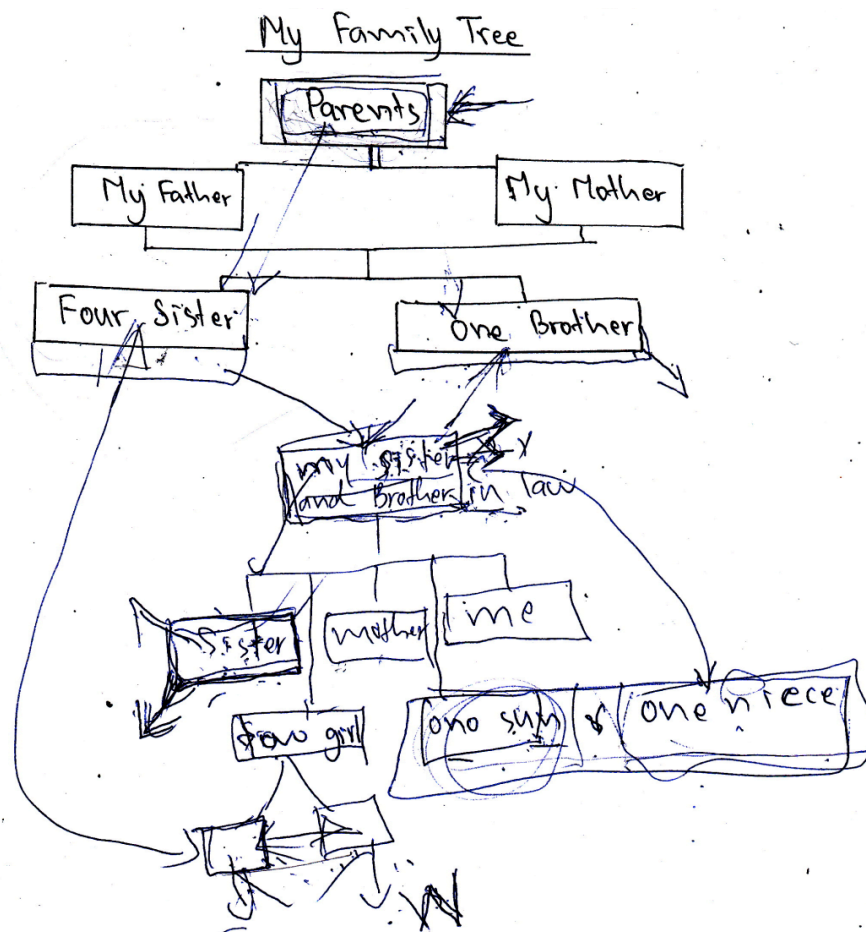


Figure 3.3: Annotated Family Tree (PC29, M22, 08.01.13)

I used daily schedules to explore the daily lives of participants and the activities of the household as a whole. They were also useful when discussing possible inhibiting or facilitating factors for individual learning participation. While the family tree was used in all interviews, the daily schedule was only used where further clarification was required, or as a prompt for further discussion. As with the family tree, the participant then explained and we discussed their daily schedule during the interview, rather than leaving it open to interpretation. The daily schedule shown in Figure 3.4, for example, not only clarified a discussion about the participants daily life, but the participant also revealed new information when explaining the schedule, which she had also kept secret from her household members. This in itself, as it turned out later in the interview, had its own repercussions for her learning participation. As written, her schedule shows her going to study from 1.30pm to 6.30pm, however when she explained this, she revealed she had actually been working as a teacher at the university during this time, “on here, from 1.30pm I go to study, I just study Chinese between 5.30 and 6.30pm but from 1.30pm to 4.30pm I teach English and Chinese, but I lie to my sisters. I don’t tell my sisters and my family.” This information was significant when she later revealed she cannot participate in further learning activities because her sisters think she is already studying at university for five, rather than one, hour per day:

My sister, she says you are busy, busy for study because she doesn’t know I teach, I tell her I study so she asked me why do you study so much? Now I have a plan I want to study accounting for Saturday and Sunday but when I discuss with them they told me, ‘Already you study a lot why do you want to study more?’ I think that now I can’t study (PC3, F18, 14.01.13).

| | | |
|----------|--|------------------------|
| 6:30 am | wake up.. prepare bed have a shower | have dinner. study. |
| 7:35 am | go to school. study. | 11:30 . go to bed. |
| 9:00 am | break have breakfast. | |
| 9:15 am | study | |
| 10:45 am | leave school. | |
| 11:00 am | arrive home washing clothes have lunch | |
| 1:30 pm | go to study. | |
| 6:30 pm | arrived leave school. | |
| 6:45 pm | arrived home. have a shower | |

Figure 3.4: Daily Schedule (PC3, F18, 14.01.13)

If I had not prompted the participant through the use of visual methods, it is unlikely that this information would have been shared. In other interviews, daily schedules provided a back-up method to use if I was not initially effective in eliciting in-depth responses through my usual conversational interview style.

3.4. Ethical Considerations

In this section I explore the ethical considerations of my research methodology, which helped inform both its design and implementation. While there were no major ethical issues related to the field research, I considered and addressed a number of issues to ensure ethical practices were adhered to. I discuss these in turn here, beginning with the overall impact of the research, and the topics it addresses, on participants. Following this I discuss the ethics of the research methods themselves and how they were conducted, with a particular focus on the use of English and audio recording. Finally I address the importance of incentives, information security and anonymity for participants.

An important ethical consideration throughout my research was that participation in the research did not negatively affect participants' daily lives or participation in classes at the centre. I organised the focus groups and one-to-one interviews outside of class times to ensure they did not interrupt student learning. The location and timing of the one-to-one interviews were also arranged at the convenience of participants. In doing so neither student learning nor their daily lives were negatively affected. The only interruption to classes was the five-minute introduction in the 12 higher-level classes I used to explain my research and to invite students to participate. I minimised this by including it as part of a wider welcome already carried out by the Academic Coordinator. Each participant was given at least a week between volunteering to participate and attending the focus groups or interviews, and were made aware that the research was optional and that they could withdraw at any time. I also organised the focus groups and interviews through a receptionist at the centre, who I fully briefed on my research and who could discuss participation in Khmer with volunteers prior to their agreement to participate. The Information Sheet and Participant Consent Form (Annex 7 and 8) that participants signed prior to the focus groups and interviews also made it clear that students could opt out of the research at any time. I discussed each of these in detail with participants before we began.

Another ethical consideration was that some topics might challenge local social norms or customs. By focusing on agency and learning participation in relation to households, for example, the research could raise issues with participants who had previously considered them as unquestioned social norms. My own experience working in Cambodia and the conversations I had with staff members during the pilot stage were useful for me to develop my understanding of this issue. I took care throughout the research to ask participants to explain their meaning, rather than directly challenging the information provided. Where participants appeared uncomfortable or hesitant to discuss certain topics, I moved away from them and revisited them later in the

interview as required. The explanations participants gave to me of local norms and customs as an outsider, and in particular the influence these contextual factors had on their own learning participation and that of their households, were rich sources of information for my research.

The main ethical consideration for the focus groups was the potential for the power dynamics of the group to influence the ability of each individual to speak freely and openly. Although the topics addressed were not expected to be of a sensitive nature, it was important to recognise that not all participants would feel comfortable discussing these topics in a group. I attempted to address these issues in four ways. The first was to discuss the questions and topics I planned to use in the focus groups with staff members during the pilot stage to ascertain which topics might be sensitive to group members. The second was to separate the groups by gender, as some issues might be more sensitive when discussed in mixed focus groups. The third was to outline the need for confidentiality in the Information Sheet and Participant Consent Form (Annex 7 and 8) and to discuss what this means as a group. The final measure was not to push participants who appeared unwilling to discuss certain issues in detail with the group, but to remind them we can discuss these issues during the one-to-one interviews. This proved successful for a number of participants, who referred to comments they had made in the focus groups and expanded on them in detail during the interviews.

The language in which I conducted the research was a further ethical consideration. Although all participants were given a choice as to whether to speak in English or with an interpreter present, both methods raised ethical concerns. Conducting the research in English could cause discomfort for participants who might have felt unable to fully explain their points. However, requesting an interpreter might be difficult for participants who feel they should be able to participate in English having reached the highest levels at the centre. Another issue was the power dynamic of conducting research in my native tongue,

with participants speaking in their second language. It was also possible for misunderstandings to arise due to language or cultural barriers. In order to mediate for this, as well as having interpreters on hand should the participant decide they would prefer to speak in Khmer, I took care to discuss expectations at the start of the research. This was primarily achieved by explaining that the purpose of the research was in no way to assess English language skills and by continually checking mutual understanding throughout. Where necessary, to help put participants at ease, I would refer to or demonstrate my own lesser Khmer language abilities. Interpreters presented other ethical considerations around our respective roles and the need to each adhere to the same Information Sheet and Participant Consent Form (Annex 7 and 8). I took time to explain these roles and reassure participants. Interpreters were fully briefed and debriefed and complete confidentiality was assured. Part of the briefing and debriefing was to ensure interpreters were not impacted negatively by any of the topics discussed. I informed participants of who their interpreter would be and selected interpreters of the same gender and similar age to myself to minimise any influence a different gender or age of the researcher might have.

The use of audio recording was another ethical issue, which formed part of the Participant Consent Form (Annex 8). To mediate for some of the ethical implications such as confidentiality, the focus groups and interviews were recorded for the purpose of transcription only. Once transcriptions were made the audio-file was deleted. This process was made clear to participants as part of the informed consent process. Recording was only started once participants had agreed to it and had signed the Participant Consent Form. Although it was possible audio recording could have dissuaded participants from participating or from talking openly, this did not appear to be the case in practice and I constantly re-evaluated its use throughout. As all participants agreed to be recorded and did not appear to be affected by it, all of the focus groups and interviews were recorded, transcribed word for word and kept confidential at all times.

None of the participants were provided with incentives to participate in this research, however some saw participation in a focus group or interview conducted by a native English speaker as a good opportunity to practise their conversational English skills. There were, however, ethical considerations in the incentive for CWF to assist me with my research. The research was useful for CWF staff members to develop the centre and learn from participants. However staff members might have been wary about my presence as an evaluator. To minimise this I met with staff members and outlined my research, making it clear that the focus was not on the centre itself, but the students attending it. I also agreed to pass on anonymised information that might be of use to the centre, such as why people had chosen to study there, through staff meetings and a written report, which I compiled after analysing the data. Staff members at CWF have since used my findings to gauge their progress, develop policies and practice and to assist with future plans. Once the thesis is complete, I will send it to staff members to further disseminate and utilise the findings. Participants were made aware that the information they provided might be used anonymously for this purpose, as well as for my own future research (Annex 7 and 8).

Participant information was securely stored at all times to ensure confidentiality. Informed consent included assurance of anonymity and was collected with a detailed explanation of how the information might be used in the future. I made further efforts to ensure anonymous data cannot be identified by inadvertently including contextual material. Interpreters were fully briefed to ensure they adhered with this. All electronic data and research was protected and kept secure through the use of passwords. Where names were given in written materials such as the family trees, they have been edited out to retain anonymity. I have taken care to ensure the material information was not altered during this process.

3.5. Limitations

In this section I discuss the overall limitations of the research that arise from my choice of case study, my overall research design, and specific research methods. Each of these limitations have an impact on the conclusions that can be drawn, and have implications for future research design. The future research agenda I put forward in Section 7.2 is based on my reflections on the limitations I outline here. I begin by discussing the limitations pertaining to the choice of participants, starting with my focus on participants currently enrolled at the centre and those with higher-level conversational English language skills. I then discuss the limitations of having only one household member as a participant representing their household. Finally I discuss the limitations of how the research was conducted and the research design.

This research is limited to participants enrolled in the language centre, which means they not only live in or travel each day to Phnom Penh, but have also chosen to study English. Participants are therefore students who already regularly attend the centre and that have, unless they are scholarship recipients, paid the small fee to attend. Research findings relating to the centre are thereby limited to understanding how and why individuals came to study there and their outcomes from doing so. It does not include individuals who chose not to study English or not attend the centre. Participants are also students who were able to continue to participate in classes for one hour a day throughout the 10-week programme. The research does not include anyone who had to drop out of the course. These topics did arise, however, when individuals discussed past semesters, their households, and their future plans for study. Although for the purposes of this research this information was not required, these wider participant groups could form the basis of future research in this area.

The research is focused only on students from the higher-level classes who can communicate effectively in English. The participants are therefore students who have already learned English within or outside of the centre to a comprehensive level. The research therefore does not include individuals who chose not to, or were unable to, acquire this level of proficiency. The main limitation of choosing to conduct the research in English was that it narrowed down the number of potential participants. It also meant it does not include interviews with students from lower level classes who would have required an interpreter. While a cross section of students from higher level classes were interviewed, with an equal number of male and female participants across age categories, the research does not claim to be representative of all students at the centre. As the research focuses on individuals and their households, rather than evaluating or focusing on the centre itself, a representative sample was not required for data validity. This does have implications when drawing conclusions, however, as it does not include students with lower levels of attainment or participation. Widening the participant sample in future research would provide an opportunity for a more in depth examination of the wider factors inhibiting learning participation.

As the research focuses on the viewpoint of individuals already participating in the programme, another limitation is that it was not possible to verify the information provided by participants. Although I took time to ask a range of reflective questions on each topic and to explain the aims of the research and the need to understand participants' learning backgrounds, and those of their household members, it is possible individuals might be biased in their reporting. As No and Hirakawa (2012, p.28) point out in the case of their own research interviews, "responses might be biased by self-justification. It is likely that a dropout explains the causes of drop out by stating 'My family was poor. I wanted to help my parents' rather than 'My achievement was poor.'" Examining the perspectives of a wider range of

participants, including their household members, would provide a means of triangulating these results in future research.

A further limitation of interviewing only one household member is that when they are referring to their households, it only reflects their perspective, perception and memory. As Goodnow and Collins (1990, p.158) argue, "Just as it is inappropriate to characterise a family in terms of one member's occupation, income, or political opinion, so also is it a distortion to take one person's viewpoint and then regard this as 'the family's' view of the world or 'the family's' account of the past." I attempted to minimise this by asking respondents to reflect on different household members perspectives, and not to take their responses as evidence that all household members were the same. In doing so I was able to address my research questions about the individual influence of different household members. Schratz and Walker (1995, p.41) also point out that memories "are not direct quotations from experience, but are continually reprocessed in the form of identity, a process in which certain events from the past acquire subjective significance." The significance assigned by individuals is itself important for this research, however, when trying to understand the past and the influence of households on individual learning participation. It is important to note when interpreting the findings that another household member could report events differently.

Certain retrospective limitations of the focus group questionnaire arose when I analysed the data and attempted to establish trends and make comparisons. Two of these were questions pertaining to ethnicity and religion. Although ethnicity was a question on the form and a number of participants mentioned their Chinese ancestry, for example, during the interview, few participants wrote their ethnicity as anything other than Khmer on the form. This might be due to the way the question was phrased or how ethnicity is identified culturally, but it meant that I could not make comparisons based on ethnicity. Another question absent from the current form that could have been useful for analysis is

religion. Given the responses by some participants who discussed the important influence religion, particularly Christianity and foreign-run churches, had on their propensity to learn English, it would have been useful in retrospect to have this information from all participants. It could also have been useful to ask an explicit question about whether participants have friends or relatives overseas, as the responses during the interviews indicated that this was a key factor in participants' desire to learn a language and to live, study or visit overseas. Each of these would be useful to include in future research, as discussed in Section 7.2.

3.6. Analysis and Reflections on the Research Methodology

In order to analyse my data, I began by transcribing all of the audio recordings from the interviews word for word, and using the language of the respondent. I made no attempt to edit or correct for grammar or vocabulary in order to remain faithful to the interview, including where and why terms required an explanation. When reading the transcripts I was then reminded more clearly of the interview itself and was at less risk of misinterpreting meanings by taking meaning from the original, as opposed to an edited version. Each of the forty interview transcripts was an average of around seven A4 typed pages. Before transcribing the audio-files, I coded the interview to ensure anonymity, using the same code on each of the written documents (Annex 6, 7 and 8). I later re-coded these to add the interviews to the NVivo software I used to identify key trends. By using the gender, age and hometown of respondents, I could quickly identify key information related to these in my analysis.

Once I had completed my analysis, I then re-coded my participants for my final thesis and made the 'Synopsis of Respondents' table shown in Annex 4, to provide the reader with further individual determinants when reading quotes. Alongside the code, I retained the gender and age of the respondents, and also added the interview date. Where I have not

referenced the gender or age of a respondent when introducing a quote from my field research, their self-identified gender and age can be seen in the reference following it, depicted as M or F for male or female, followed by their age. I was conscious of the value and importance of this information when interpreting the findings, so made sure they were clearly written after each quote in the reference. Other information provided by respondents can be seen in Annex 4, including their hometown, how long they have lived in Phnom Penh, their study time and level at CWF, how many past CWF courses they have attended, their occupation, formal level of education, number of household members, marital status and number of children. Respondents self-identified this information when they completed the first section of the Individual Question Form (Annex 6). The coding references are shown in the first column of Annex 4 and run from PC1 to PC40. The references after each quote read (PC1-40, Gender and Age, Date of Interview) for example (PC1, F18, 31.01.13).

While NVivo provided a useful means through which I could code the data and identify key trends, my initial reaction was my feeling that it in a sense dehumanised the respondents, who I had come to know and identify closely with their life stories. While this at first felt negative or insensitive to respondents' individual stories and the feelings and emotions involved in relaying them to me, over time I came to recognise the advantages of being able to take a step back from the intimacies of individual stories to identify and draw greater generalities and identify trends. Coding through NVivo also encouraged me to re-read the interviews together, familiarising myself with the data as a full set of findings, as opposed to focusing more on individuals or interviews that particularly stood out for me on a personal level. I could also gain a sense of where my research extended beyond my initial research questions, for example where respondents made important reflections on their past learning experiences, which helped shape my overall understanding of their participation in classes at CWF and were important to include in my thesis. The coding also helped me develop

an overall sense of the robustness and suitability of my theoretical framework. The importance of past experiences, which are central to experiential learning, for example, became particularly evident.

Coding through NVivo also helped me to identify where crossovers existed between my research questions and to recognise how inextricably linked the purposes, agency and outcomes from learning participation are. Coding certain quotes as examples for multiple topics, however, would later cause difficulties in trying to separate these findings again to present them clearly and coherently for the reader as three successive chapters in this thesis. However as I was conscious to ensure my findings reflected participants' own perspectives, in keeping with my epistemological stance, this was an important step to take. It encouraged me to accurately reflect participants own realities, rather than allowing my initial expectations to unduly bias my actual findings. After writing up my findings through these identified trends, I then worked back through them to remove topics that did not directly address the research at hand, or that I did not have enough information on. I then used these findings to inform the future research agenda I discuss in Section 7.2.

Using NVivo further allowed me to reflect on my research methodology, research methods and research style. By being conversational in my interview approach, I found that both during my field research, and when reading back through the transcripts, I had been able to obtain a richness and depth of data I could not have achieved by using quantitative methods, a highly structured interview, or a survey. Much of the most interesting information, particularly where it went beyond current literature, was not information I expected when I began my research. A survey would not have been able to capture these unexpected findings, or the complexity of learning from the perspective of respondents, and their reflections on their household. A highly structured interview would also not have allowed me to focus on certain topics to discuss them in more depth, and would not have given

me the freedom to follow respondents into topics I had not initially identified in my prompts (Annex 5). It would also not have allowed me to move quickly around topics, moving past those respondents initially appeared less willing to discuss, but did discuss once a level of trust had been established. Seeing the interviews as a way of getting to know the perspectives of respondents, and being genuinely interested in respondents' life stories, their relationships with other household members, and their household members' life stories, appeared to put respondents at ease and encouraged them to open up on topics beyond my expectations, particularly as I was previously unknown to them.

Another point of reflection is the influence of my own previous experience in Cambodia, which meant I had a certain amount of knowledge of Cambodia prior to carrying out my research, and was familiar with both the Cambodian culture and the teaching and learning environment more specifically. Having previously lectured at a university in Cambodia, and taught at the conversational English language centre at which this research was based, I was familiar with class discussions, which proved to be useful when conducting the focus groups. I was also familiar with one to one discussions and etiquette. Having this experience also helped me develop a level of trust with research participants. Mutual trust was often built from conversations about changes that have occurred in Cambodia and places I have lived and travelled to, particularly my having lived in rural Cambodia and lectured at a university there. These conversations assisted both in helping to build trust and establish a relaxed conversational style. My travels also aided my understanding of context-specific topics including references to participants' hometowns. The understanding of Khmer culture and language I have developed also helped, including my ability to meet participants with the correct respectful greeting. As Berkvens et al. (2012, p.250) point out, "The need for trust is mutual: for the respondents to feel secure to provide their real opinions and thoughts, for the researcher to feel safe to ask for elaborations and more challenging responses."

My conversational research style using prompts (Annex 5) did, however, cause some difficulties when it came to coding the data using NVivo. Relevant information for each topic could be found at any point in the document as I did not follow a strict structure. The ability in NVivo to highlight these different quotes and view them together in one document proved invaluable when it came to analysing this data and identifying trends. Another difficulty of being led to some extent by the participant was that it meant I focused more on certain topics than others in different interviews. As the purposes for participation was my opening topic, I had discussed these in detail with all participants, which meant that I could use this data to gauge roughly how many had specified which purposes. This proved valuable when I was making the case for providing purposes beyond the productivist orthodoxy, discussed in Chapter 4, as I could identify around a quarter of respondents who had not mentioned any work-related purposes. I could not in later questions, however, quantify these findings in the same way, as I did not devote equal time and weighting to all research topics. As I used qualitative methods and did not set out to provide quantitative data, this did not diminish the validity of the research findings. There was, however, a temptation that I had to avoid while writing up and presenting my findings, to state the number of participants who had given certain responses. This was particularly tempting as it is prominent in the NVivo reports, both from my own coding and through 'word frequency queries' and 'text searches'. While the latter two tools provided useful snapshots and insights in to the use of certain words, it could not be relied on for my arguments. Having familiarised myself with what software programmes such as NVivo can do, however, while I would not have changed my research methods or interview style for this research, I will be conscious of this when designing future research. I will, for example, make a note in my prompts of the terminology to use when asking questions and use this to assist with my coding at the analysis stage.

The main difficulty using the capability approach for my analysis was in retrospectively applying the language of the capabilities, while remaining true to participants' responses. In effect I was 'translating' responses. Alongside calls to 'operationalise' the capability approach, discussed in Chapter 1, is the need to ensure definitional clarity of key terms and to use them consistently throughout research. This in itself was sometimes hampered by the way the terminology is adopted by different authors who do not always clearly set out their own understanding. This has led to some definitional inconsistency across topics and research areas. I found I had to draw on other papers (Robeyns, 2006; Unterhalter et al., 2007; Walker, 2006), alongside Sen (1999), to define these terms in regard to learning participation. My own working definitions in relation to learning participation, are outlined in Chapter 1, with 'capabilities' being the opportunities to participate, and 'functionings' the actual valued learning outcomes. Sen (1999, p.291) explains that, "In pursuing the view of development as freedom, we have to examine [...] the extent to which people have the opportunity to achieve outcomes that they value and have reason to value." Given these definitions, it would be useful if he used his own terminology, or included them in brackets, (capability) after 'opportunity' and (functionings) after 'outcomes'. While I had no difficulty identifying the applications of the capability approach throughout my analysis, my difficulties applying these key terms draws attention to the wider issue of definitional clarity, consistency and understanding when using the approach.

3.7. Conclusion

In this chapter I have established my own social constructivist stance and explained how qualitative methods have helped me to effectively address my research questions. Understanding learning participation and the influence of households from learners own perspectives has led to a richness of data and understanding that it would have been difficult to achieved otherwise. It led me not only to adopt focus groups, semi-structured interviews and visual methods, but also my conversational, largely participant-led interview style. The information shared by respondents was both beyond my initial expectations and beyond current literature in this field and context. Furthermore the importance of a pilot stage when focusing on understanding learning from the perspective of participants was significant. My own background in Cambodia gave me a basic level of information and understanding of the country, but it is only when there in my capacity as a researcher that the level of detailed contextual and cultural understanding became clear. Given the speed of change in Cambodia over the past decade, the importance of updating my knowledge at the start of any future research I conduct in the country is evident.

As well as establishing the advantages of my conversational interview style, I also highlighted in this chapter the difficulties associated with it, particularly when it came to analysing the data. Upon reflection I have identified a number changes I would make for future research.

Designing, conducting and analysing this research has highlighted for me that these three are not discrete research stages, but are deeply interrelated. Each stage is influenced by the others and should be considered as such. A number of areas for future research have also arisen from my reflections on the limitations of my existing methodology, and from my overall research findings. I explore these in more detail in Chapter 7, particularly in the future research agenda in Section 7.2. My analysis and writing have also encouraged me to reflect more on analysis during the design stage in my future research,

particularly given my new understanding of how I can most effectively utilise computer software to assist with analysis. The use of key words, for example, would be a useful addition in the design of future interview prompts.

Reflections on my research methodology have also highlighted the importance of ensuring the methodology is consistent with my overall theoretical framework and research questions. Having adopted the capability approach, which puts the perspectives of individuals at its core, and experiential learning, which requires individual reflection on past experiences, a social constructivist approach with qualitative methods has proved a very useful way of addressing my research questions, and of analysing my research findings.

Chapter 4. Adult Skills Development: Beyond the Productivist Orthodoxy?

Productivist purposes are typically cited as the main reason for individuals to participate in skills development programmes, as discussed in Chapter 1. Given this rather restrictive economic view of skills development programmes as ‘skills for work’ or a ‘return on investment’, there have been calls to construct a more ‘radical’ notion of skills development and lifelong learning to include wider human development goals, drawing on the work of Sen (1999) and the capability approach (McGrath, 2012; Tikly, 2014; UNESCO, 2012b). Combining the capability approach and experiential learning encourages a view of learning participation that extends “well beyond the traditional view of development in terms of ‘the growth of output per head’” (Sen, 1999, p.291) and recognises learning as a continual process building on past experiences (Dewey, 1938; Kolb, 1984). Sen (1999, p.291) argues that “non-income variables point to opportunities that a person has excellent reasons to value that are not strictly linked with economic prosperity” and “have to be understood as constructive parts of the *ends* of development in themselves.” He furthermore points out that the extensive reach of the capability approach is possible “because the freedoms of persons can be judged through explicit reference to outcomes and processes that they have reason to value and seek” (Sen, 1999, p.86). In recognition of this I focus in this chapter on respondents’ own past experiences, values and choices to determine the functionings, or actual learning outcomes, respondents have ‘reason to value and seek’ (Sen, 1999). These include both productivist, work related purposes and wider human development purposes, or ‘non-income variables’. In doing so I address the first research sub-question, “Do respondents’ reasons for participation in adult skills programmes indicate purposes beyond the productivist orthodoxy, and if so, which?”

The wider goals outlined by McGrath (2012) to fulfil the aim of constructing a 'radical' new approach to lifelong learning are vocational learning for cultural, leisure, caring, spiritual, communicative and community development purposes. By identifying respondents' own purposes for participation, I aim to establish whether these wider purposes are corroborated and whether they go far enough to provide a full picture of the possible reasons for individual learning participation. In doing so I aim to identify any purposes for participation outside of these broad categories to provide a list that fully reflects the reality of learners' lives. Recognising that learning is both context and programme specific, it should be understood that these purposes reflect those of learners in a conversational English language skills development programme in Phnom Penh Cambodia, as discussed in Chapter 3. Some purposes are therefore focused on communication, for example, where purposes for other skills programmes might not. There are likely, however, to be purposes that cross over to other skills programmes, as the categories put forward by McGrath (2012) suggest. Following Sen, it is the individual who should dictate the capabilities and functionings of value to them, and providing a 'universal list' would be 'tremendously over specified' and would not apply to all learners in all skills programmes, contexts and circumstances (Nussbaum and Sen, 1993). What the extended list I offer does aim to do, however, is draw attention and recognition to the wide range of possible purposes beyond the productivist orthodoxy that learners might value, and have reason to value.

While there is a paucity of research on adult skills programmes in Cambodia, insights in to the uses and purposes for participation in English language skills programmes can be gleaned from research at an ESL university in Cambodia carried out by Moore and Bouchan (2010). This research suggested multiple uses for English which both include and go beyond the 'skills for work' productivist orthodoxy including using English at home for the television, radio, DVD movies, Internet, email, speaking to children, and as a 'secret' language not understood

by others. They also identified social reasons including chatting socially, text messaging and singing karaoke. Learners were also reportedly motivated by the act of learning English in and of itself. Extending the research focus to Cambodian learners in an ESL classroom in the USA suggests further purposes including social interaction and learners having 'time for themselves' (Skilton-Sylvester, 2002). These findings are both corroborated and expanded upon in this chapter and contribute to the broad categories suggested in the conclusion.

I begin this chapter in Section 4.1 with an exploration of respondents' productivist purposes for participating in classes at CWF, discussing context-specific factors, their current productivist uses of English, and finally their future purposes for participation. In Section 4.2 I address their purposes for participation beyond the productivist orthodoxy. These include using English to help with other formal and non-formal studies in Cambodia and overseas, to access information in English, for entertainment or leisure purposes, and for the enjoyment of learning in and of itself. Further purposes include social purposes, to communicate with and help foreigners in Cambodia, to visit, live, or communicate, with relatives and friends overseas, and for confidence, reassurance, status and pride. The chapter concludes by building on the purposes for participation suggested by McGrath (2012) that respondents had 'reason to value and seek' (Sen, 1999). The values and choices of other household members and the influence they might have on the individual are the focus of Chapters 5 and 6.

4.1. Productivist Purposes for Participation

In order to help construct a 'radical' new approach to lifelong learning and skills development, it is important to ascertain whether an entirely new approach is required, or whether it is rather a question of building on the existing productivist orthodoxy by including wider human development goals. This section explores respondents' reasons for

participating in the adult skills development programme at CWF and whether they reflect the productivist orthodoxy of ‘skills for work’ and economic ‘returns on investment’. First I explore the broad contextual factors that make learning the skill of conversational English particularly important for work in Phnom Penh. I then outline the current individual uses of English reported by respondents, starting with the respondents’ occupations and which of them required English. Finally, I explore the future productivist purposes for participation by focusing on respondents’ future career plans. Fewer than half of the respondents reported currently using English at work, but around three quarters of respondents reported future career plans as a reason for participating, reminiscent of the influence the ‘capacity to aspire’ can have on individual enrolment (Appadurai, 2004). The influence of household members on respondents, including when respondents reported that household members cited productivist purposes to persuade them to attend, is discussed in Chapter 5.

4.1.1. The Importance of English for Work in Cambodia

To understand respondents’ purposes for participation in classes at CWF, it is first important to establish their own understanding of the uses of English in this context. The majority of respondents who referred broadly to Cambodia explained the central importance of being able to speak English to get a job. As one university student reflected, “In general this is a skill and for Cambodian people, if we have good English, we will find a good job” (PC30, M22, 07.02.13). This was particularly linked to speaking and listening skills, which are the focus of teaching at CWF. One respondent working as a goods controller explained that, “Cambodia requires the English and depends on your speaking and listening. If you can speak well, or listen well, you can have a good job” (PC27, M22, 09.01.13). English was regarded as a relatively new and growing requirement in Cambodia, particularly for university graduates, as one university graduate reflected:

English now very, very, popular in Cambodia. Some other companies, when we can't speak English, we can't find a job. So all students that graduate from university when they can't speak English, they can't work, so all students try to study English, to speak English (PC33, M28, 07.01.13).

The fluency with which an individual could speak English was seen as a particular determinant of success. Keen to progress in his company, a sales supervisor explained, "You know in Cambodia when we speak English very fast it is good speaking, so I think that when we work with a company, an organisation or the government, our position can be so high. We can get a high position" (PC36, M29, 23.01.13). For some, although other purposes were recognised, productivist purposes were considered the most important. As a financial controller pointed out when asked why she was learning English:

The main reason is for work. [...] If people don't speak English and can't use English, it is very hard to find a job. Not only focused on the Internet, or Google, or games, or something like that. The most important is for work. Even if they want to own their own business, they must understand about English (PC13, F26, 22.01.13).

The burgeoning number of English-speaking tourists and foreign workers in Cambodia, as well as the need to speak English to do business outside Cambodia, were both important factors. Reflecting a popular sentiment, a farmer who hoped to join her family living in America explained, "I think in Phnom Penh right now has a lot of foreigner and business and we need a lot of people who can speak English to do business and it is easy for travel to another country" (PC11, F26, 19.02.13). A sales and marketing supervisor highlighted the importance of English as a universal language, "English is an important language, because the people around the world, they use English first, the next Chinese. If we want to do the business and want to be good at communication with other people, this is very important" (PC34, M28,

22.01.13). The importance of foreign investment in Cambodia was also recognised by several respondents, as one graduate highlights:

You know when the foreigners visit Cambodia they speak English and there are a lot of foreign investors, so in Phnom Penh the children, they try to speak English a lot, they try to study. [...] At university I studied everything about the situation in Cambodia, about the economy and you know, Cambodia right now relies on the foreign investor and the foreign investors, they use English. So I think myself, I study Business Management so I have to speak English (PC27, M22, 09.01.13).

Another important factor for Cambodia, announced just before my research started in late 2012, was the upcoming 2015 ASEAN free market agreement that will use English as its common language, as discussed in Chapter 2. Several respondents cited this as a reason for learning English at CWF including a sales supervisor who explained, “The main reasons for participating in class, because I want to improve my knowledge as ASEAN members countries, in 2015 the members of ASEAN will integrate and the people can work each other” (PC36, M29, 23.01.13). The presence of foreign tourists in Cambodia was another important factor. The common response was that regardless of where tourists come from, they all appear to speak English to communicate with people in Cambodia. English skills were therefore important for Cambodians of all ages:

Cambodia attracts a lot of tourists and has Angkor Wat and Sihanoukville and has a lot of travellers interested and so when the foreigners come here they just speak English. At Angkor Wat the children can speak English to sell something and like the *tuk-tuk* and taxi can speak, they always use English. If you can speak English you can earn money because if you are a taxi and you don't know English, how do you connect, to communicate with the foreigner? So you must know it (PC32, M27, 09.01.13).

Responses indicated a clear understanding of the ever-growing need to be able to speak English in Cambodia. English was required for work, to communicate with a growing number of English speakers in Cambodia, and in preparation for the 2015 ASEAN free market agreement, which will use English as a common language.

4.1.2. Current Productivist Uses of English

Alongside full time students, respondents had previously or currently held a variety of jobs. Female respondents reported working as a farmer, beautician, shop assistant, market seller, landlady, language tutor, receptionist, administrator, accountant, financial controller, television controller, chief of staff in the civil service, doctor and deputy director at a hospital and as a full time housewife. Male respondents reported working as a sales person, sales and marketing supervisor, travel agent, language teacher, interpreter, translator, electrical technician, goods controller, administrator turned IT officer, project manager, in investor relations, and as an army officer turned NGO worker. Their current positions are shown in Annex 4. Just under half of the respondents cited work as a past or current use of their English language skills including when working as a translator, receptionist, financial controller, investment banker, doctor, waiter, letting agent and working in sales, IT and at international NGOs. A government worker and doctor also attended meetings and international conferences typically held in English.

Having foreign management from countries including Malaysia, Vietnam, Australia and the USA was one of the main reasons given for needing to acquire the functioning of English language skills for work. Respondents also reported talking English in person, on the telephone and by email to foreign customers and suppliers from various countries including Vietnam, Thailand, Europe, America, China, Japan and India. Some also reported speaking English to returned migrants, including an apartment building receptionist, “sometimes Khmer go to live abroad,

they come back they speak English so I speak English with them” (PC9, F23, 09.01.13). Even when English was not used at work, respondents explained that the increasingly international nature of business in Cambodia meant this was likely to change. As a receptionist explained:

Even if my business is small I need to speak English as well and then I can also go to another country to do business there too. Like my boss, she sold the shoe and she needed to connect with the people in Malaysia with English. English is the language you can use to connect with people. If we connect with people by phone or by email we need to know more English so we can control our business (PC12, F26, 22.02.13).

In many situations, respondents reported speaking multiple languages at work, or a mixture of English and Khmer. As a TV controller explained, “I work in Khmer, but my reports I have to do in English” (PC15, F27, 18.01.13). Even where it was not officially part of their job, respondents with capability sets that included English language skills reported using them at work. Working as a financial controller, one explained that her job role has expanded due to her skill set:

My boss, he has a lot of business and when he wants to do something he brings me and takes me anywhere. Because he said that I can speak English, so he brings me to help for many things. When he has the client from overseas, he appoints me because I can speak English. When the foreigner wants to see Siem Reap, he appoints me to bring them because it is my province and because I speak English! (PC13, F26, 22.01.13).

The ability to communicate with foreign colleagues or managers was the main purpose for acquiring English language functionalities for work. Working in a company with a lot of foreign employees, one receptionist explained she needed to improve her English, “Because it is difficult to talk to another person. Sometimes when I talk with them, I cannot catch their pronunciation and so my work is not good enough” (PC12, F26, 22.02.13). Having teachers from a range of countries with different

accents was seen as a particular advantage of studying at CWF. As a sales supervisor explained, “I come here to study because my boss is a foreigner, Indian. I think Indian is very hard to listen to. It is a problem. So I think that when I finish this school I can communicate with foreigners” (PC36, M29, 23.01.13). A sales and marketing supervisor pointed out, “When I go to interview, the interviewer who asks me, they are not Khmer, they are not Cambodian, they are from overseas. They speak sometimes and if you are English, it is easy to listen sometimes, if you are Australian, listening is easy. But Philippines, it is very hard, their pronunciation is hard to listen” (PC34, M28, 22.01.13). Developing confidence talking with foreigners was also recognised as particularly important, as an administrator at an international NGO explained:

Before I know English, but I am very shy, I cannot speak. When my boss speak English with me I smile but I cannot speak because I think I will speak wrong and I was shy, my pronunciation not good I think, so I don't speak. I think when I learn at CWF I can speak very good and I can meet my boss and meet other people and I can speak English (PC16, F32, 21.02.13).

Respondents used English in a wide variety of jobs in person, on the phone and by email, with colleagues and customers from around the world. Understanding a range of accents was therefore considered important. English was required for some at the interview stage and for others their skills unexpectedly led to expanded job roles.

4.1.3. Future Productivist Purposes for Learning English

Respondents both with and without specific career plans considered English to be important for their future roles. Where an individual had no specific career plans, English was typically cited as a skill that would lead to a ‘good’ or ‘better’ future, job, and salary, both for themselves and for others, discussed in detail in Chapter 6. English was closely linked to respondent’s aspirations for a better future often using phrases such as, “If I study hard, I have a great future” (PC37, M30,

03.01.13). English under this conception was seen as an instrumental means to achieve the desired end of finding or excelling at work.

Specific future career plans that required English language skills or functionings for female respondents included working in an office, bank or government, as an accountant, flight attendant and writer. For male respondents it included becoming an engineer, paediatrician, architect, artist, lawyer, nurse, business manager, English teacher and to work in tourism and information technology. Several female and male respondents wanted to learn English to start their own business. As one university student explained, “if I study English and know a lot I can have a business at my home. [...] Yes to earn money” (PC21, M19, 20.02.13). Another student who aspired to become a flight attendant considered English and Chinese to be the two dominant world languages and therefore the focus of her studies, “I decided I want to be a flight attendant. So I want to study English very well and Chinese very well. I think that I can communicate with all foreigners (PC3, F18, 14.01.13). Working as a sales supervisor, another aspired to become an English teacher to work with children, “My goal in the future, when I have a lot more English I want to be a teacher at the private school in Phnom Penh because I want to teach the child” (PC33, M28, 07.01.13). Working as a travel agent while at university, another explained, “I study in tourism, so I have to know English clearly for my university study and after I graduate from university I have to find a job and the job that I will work is related to the foreigner and tourism, so I must know about this” (PC26, M21, 05.02.13). Working as a nurse, it was another’s dreams of stardom that originally led him to learn English, “It’s kind of a crazy idea like, I like movies, like Hollywood movies or something and I’m thinking, ‘I could be a Hollywood star!’ and it made me want to study English” (PC25, M21, 11.01.13).

Migration to work either within or outside of Cambodia was also a significant influence on the career aspirations of respondents. As a market seller with a daughter and brother overseas explained, “in the

future I want to live with my daughter in the USA. I have plans. [...] But when I am old I want to move back to live here because my homeland is easier to live than America. It is not cold. America is cold” (PC39, M51, 15.02.13). Working as a farmer, another wanted to learn English to be able to move to Texas and be with her mother, believing that unlike in Cambodia she can get a ‘good’ job without a high school education there and, “maybe if I go abroad I can find a man who is good. I am looking for a relationship.” When asked about her future she replied, “I want to be a good housewife! (Laughs). I want to get married and have children” (PC11, F26, 19.02.13). Another respondent working as a TV controller discussed the importance of learning English to start a business. Having migrated to Phnom Penh from Kampong Cham, she explained:

For me, it is my purpose, I don’t want to go back to Kampong Cham and I want to make a new family in the future. In my dreams I think I will buy a house and my husband has a good job (laughs) and we have a good family and enough money to support our family [...] and I wish I can be a good businesswoman, this is what I wish (PC15, F27, 18.01.13).

A range of future productivist uses of English language skills were reported by respondents, who saw developing this skill as an instrumental means to a ‘good’ or ‘better’ future including jobs, salaries, and the means to live and work in both Phnom Penh and overseas.

Through an exploration of respondents’ productivist purposes for participating in the conversational English adult skills development programme at CWF, it is clear that including the conceptualisation of ‘skills for work’ is important in the construction of a ‘radical’ new approach to lifelong learning. The productivist purposes given, particularly in the context of Phnom Penh, are too significant to ignore. The increasing internationalisation of Cambodia, particularly with the upcoming ASEAN free market agreement and burgeoning numbers of

foreigners in Cambodia are key reasons for the growing importance of English. This is particularly due to the ever growing number of foreign-owned and foreign-run businesses. Most respondents both valued and had chosen to acquire English functionings for their current roles and future career plans. However most respondents gave purposes beyond these, and around a quarter did not mention productivist purposes. These findings indicate that purposes beyond the productivist orthodoxy should be explored, and their influence on participation identified, in order to construct a 'radical' new approach to lifelong learning that more accurately reflects the reality of learners' lives.

4.2. Purposes for Participation beyond the Productivist Orthodoxy

In this section I explore the purposes for participation in classes at CWF beyond the productivist orthodoxy, which, for around a quarter of respondents, were their only reasons for participation. To investigate whether wider human development purposes should be included in the construction of a 'radical' new approach to lifelong learning and skills development, it is important to understand what role, if any, these purposes have for respondents. Identifying these wider purposes also contributes to the current literature by helping to establish whether vocational learning for cultural, leisure, caring, spiritual, communicative and community development purposes (McGrath, 2012) are all corroborated by these findings. It also allows for an exploration of whether these broad categories go far enough to provide a complete picture of the full range of purposes for learning participation.

A range of purposes beyond the productivist orthodoxy were given, each of which I discuss in turn. These include using English to assist other formal and non-formal studies, both in Cambodia and as part of respondents' future plans to study overseas, to access information both on and offline, and for spiritual purposes. Entertainment and leisure purposes included listening to music and the radio, going to karaoke,

watching television and films and using the Internet. The enjoyment and escapism of studying at CWF and of learning English in and of itself were also identified, as were social purposes including meeting new people at CWF and in Cambodia. The desire to communicate with and help foreigners in Cambodia and to visit, to live, and to communicate with friends and relatives overseas were also highlighted. Respondents also reported personal purposes for participation including confidence and status building, pride and reassurance about existing skills. Purposes linked to other household members, including altruistic desires to help them, are discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

4.2.1. To Assist with Studies in Cambodia and Overseas

A key reason for acquiring English language skills, or functionings, was to assist with other studies, particularly at university. The majority of universities in Phnom Penh teach at least partly in English, have English course texts and further reading, or require class or homework to be completed in English. Passing an English language test is often an entry requirement. As one university student explained, “in university a lot of lessons are written in English so we need to know the English to translate. If I do not know the English, I cannot study. English is a second language here. It is very important here” (PC23, M20, 03.01.13). A university graduate explained how English and Khmer are used alongside each other in his classes, “when I study at university, the teacher always speaks Khmer, but the documents are all in English. I understand the meaning of the documents, but I never speak” (PC27, M22, 09.01.13).

Even where English is not the language of instruction, respondents explained that they required it to access wider reading and for research purposes, as the majority of texts and resources, including Internet resources, are written in English. Several reported that the first time they learned English was at university. One university graduate did not have access to English language classes growing up in his hometown of

Takeo and first learned English, “When I started my bachelor degree in the year 2000. [...] I tried so much to improve my English, especially through my conversations” (PC38, M31, 02.01.13). Another moved from Kampot to go to university in Phnom Penh and found he had to learn English quickly upon arrival:

I had very poor English when I stayed at the province. When I live in Phnom Penh I try to study, I study here since I tested. [At university] sometimes when the teacher give an assignment or homework to me, I go to my aunt’s house and I have dictionary Khmer-English and English-Khmer and when I read one sentence I open my dictionary. [...] I tried to check the Internet too. Very, very, difficult for me when I had poor English. When I studied at university and had English for all my study (PC33, M28, 07.01.13).

The desire to study overseas in the future was a key reason for learning English and was an aspiration strongly influenced by the exposure respondents had to foreigners, and particularly whether they had extended family members living overseas. The country in which respondents wanted to study was also strongly linked to where their relatives lived. The role of extended household members overseas, many of whom migrated during or after the Khmer Rouge regime, is particularly significant for Cambodia’s youth who are increasingly connected to the international community, particularly through the Internet, as discussed in Chapter 2. Many respondents wanted to pursue a Masters degree in their undergraduate subjects, and others to take different subjects directly related to their future career plans. English language skills were seen as a gateway to this. Respondents often had to pass English language tests to be accepted, which require a range of skills. As a university student who wanted to study and live with her relatives overseas explained, “TOEFL is very difficult so I have to do my best, it is four skills, reading, writing, speaking and listening” (PC1, F18, 31.01.13).

Respondents gave a range of reasons for choosing to study overseas. The first was the perception that a foreign education was of a higher quality, or was more highly valued, than a Cambodian education. Drawing on what she had been told by her relatives overseas, one high school student explained, "I don't want to study at university in Cambodia. It is not very good and teachers do not work as hard as another country" (PC1, F18, 31.01.13). Another university student who was told she was too short to become a flight attendant in Cambodia believed a qualification from the USA would get her accepted, "I think if I can get scholarship to the USA I can join the university flight attendant and when I graduate from flight attendant school and come back to Cambodia I can get the job easily" (PC3, F18, 14.01.13). The pull factor of overseas relatives telling or encouraging respondents to study in their country was also discussed. This was often combined with the push factor of household members in Cambodia telling or encouraging respondents to study overseas where their relatives live. As a university student who said she would like to study in Australia after graduation reported, "I have an auntie in Australia, so my mother wants me to go there" (PC7, F21, 05.02.13). Another student with relatives in the USA explained, "My parents also said if I go to abroad and study there, maybe when I come back I can find a good job" (PC30, M22, 07.02.13).

Respondents without relatives overseas were also influenced by foreigners to study overseas, either by working closely with foreigners in Cambodia or by travelling overseas for work. One student who worked in the morning and went to university in the afternoon had a Vietnamese-Australian boss and explained that English was important for him to get a scholarship to study overseas, "I want to speak English fluently, speaking and listening, and once I graduate from university, I want to get a scholarship to study and abroad and to study abroad you need to speak English" (PC23, M20, 03.01.13). Another who had worked overseas for her job in the civil service explained that she required English for her postgraduate studies, "I also want to study a

Masters degree abroad and because abroad we need English, I need to know this” (PC18, F40, 16.02.13).

Respondents reported requiring English language skills or functionings to assist with other studies in Cambodia as the language of instruction and to access wider resources, and for their future plans to study overseas. English therefore had an instrumental value for respondents, to assist their learning outside of CWF.

4.2.2. To Access Information in English

The majority of respondents regularly used the Internet and required English language skills, or functionings, to do so. The rapid expansion of Internet use in Cambodia is in part due to the increasing use of Smart Phones. As one respondent explained while showing me his phone, “in Cambodia we have the smart phone now. It is easier to do research and everyday we use them” (PC32, M27, 09.01.13). English is essential to access the Internet, as one university student pointed out:

English is an international language, so the documents are always written in English. When I know the English I can see things I want to know, the culture, the stories. I can surf Internet, because the Internet is in English, not Khmer or another language, only English. So, I try to study English for searching and for documents on the Internet (PC10, F24, 07.01.13).

Referring to languages on the Internet, another respondent previously employed as a Japanese translator explained, “if you are reading some documents, they are all in English and another language they also have, but a little. Like Wikipedia you can see that a lot of the words, a lot of the words in Wikipedia the first is English, Japanese not so much and Chinese not so much, only English is the first” (PC32, M27, 09.01.13). The difficulties faced by not having English language functionings was highlighted by another respondent working in investor relations:

We can get information from the Internet and we can learn also from the Internet, but if we don't know how to speak English, or how to read English, I think it is very difficult for all of us. How can we find the information, how can we ask for the information? (PC38, M31, 02.01.13).

The Internet was often used in preference to printed newspapers, as expressed by one university student, "I like reading but I do not often read the newspaper, I learn something from the Internet" (PC1, F18, 31.01.13). A key reason for this was that the Internet provides access to news not otherwise easily accessed in Cambodia. This has significant implications for the information Cambodians with English language functionings can access, as opposed to those without these skills. One respondent who worked as a receptionist expressed a sense of empowerment in being able to access this information herself, and on her own terms:

If I know English more, I can listen to the news, check the Internet as much as I want. Sometimes I check, check, check and it is so boring when you don't know the English and then I stop checking. On the Internet they have a lot of news that we don't know and it is very attractive, some problems we cannot read in the Khmer papers and they show us a lot of things. We don't need to ask anybody, we just check and we have the knowledge. The result is good! (PC12, F26, 22.02.13).

Two respondents who worked for foreign Christian NGOs and who had converted to Christianity and become members of foreign-run churches, reported using English to access information for spiritual purposes. English was commonly used in the NGOs and churches and was required to read the bible and other Christian texts. This was particularly significant for one respondent whose brother became the pastor of a foreign-run church in Phnom Penh and brought his sisters from the provinces to live and work there. In the process the respondent converted to Christianity and became interested in learning

English to read Christian texts and to teach at the church, which had an international congregation, “I always try to study English, to read the book or check the Internet to study and I read all the story relationship to English, especially the Jesus. Yes, because I believe in Jesus, so I love the English!” (PC9, F23, 09.01.13).

English language skills allowed respondents to access information not otherwise available to them both through the Internet and through English-language spiritual texts, where respondents reported having converted to Christianity.

4.2.3. For Entertainment or Leisure Purposes

The majority of respondents reported using their existing English language skills to listen to music and the radio, to watch television and films and to go to karaoke either for entertainment or leisure, or to learn and practise English and to acquire further knowledge. Particular requirements for each of these are listening skills, including the ability to understand foreign accents. One respondent who learned English when he moved to Phnom Penh highlighted the importance of these methods to practise his skills, “I try to review my English, like reading books or searching the Internet and listening to the voice to improve my English. Because I think that if I do not do this my English might drop down and completely run out from me” (PC38, M31, 02.01.13).

A key source of English-language entertainment was English-language music. As well as watching English music channels on the television and listening to music through the Internet and radio, respondents reported singing English songs at Karaoke. English pop music was particularly popular, as one respondent explained, “I love pop-rock, pop-rock is number one then the others are OK for me, anything mixing with pop.” This interest in pop music led to an interest in English-language talent shows such as X-factor, with their apparently universal appeal, “it’s cool you know. Sometimes it’s really funny when the competitor cannot sing

but wants to be a singer, you know!” (PC25, M21, 11.01.13). English-language songs were also appealing to respondents who did not enjoy the sentiment behind traditional Khmer music. When asked if she listens to music, one university student replied, “Yes, especially English songs and Chinese, but not Khmer because Khmer songs are always the sad ones” (PC7, F21, 05.02.13).

English-language music was also popular for respondents who wanted to practise their English and to learn new vocabulary. A farmer who learned English with a tutor in her hometown before studying at CWF explained, “sometimes I listen to music that is not Khmer because it is easy to listen and I check the dictionary for the new words” (PC11, F26, 19.02.13). Similarly a student who learned English in part to assist with her university studies, explained that when she listens to English-language music, “Some words I don’t understand and I check the lyric and translate it” (PC4, F19, 31.02.13). Indeed, the popularity of singers was often directly connected to how clearly they could be understood:

I used to listen to the music, but for the song I think that I cannot catch much. Like Lady Gaga, you know? [...] Her song is very difficult! Sometimes I don’t know what she is talking about, I just listen to the music. [...] I used to listen to Britney Spears and I like Taylor Swift, her songs, I can catch some meaning. [...] But Britney Spears now her song is so difficult to listen, so different than before (PC12, F26, 22.02.13).

Watching English-language films both for entertainment purposes, and to develop vocabulary and speaking and listening skills, was also reported. One respondent explained the influence watching films from a young age had on his desire both to become an actor and on his speaking skills, “Harry Potter is the thing I want to study English for, I watched it since I was small [...] when I played with my toys, I pretend they are magic and I try to speak like the actor and actress in the movie. That’s why my English is like it is now” (PC25, M21, 11.01.13). A university student explained that she watches films to work on her

pronunciation, “I like to watch the movie. My dad told me if I watch the movie my pronunciation can be improved” (PC2, F18, 16.02.13). Several respondents explained that their English reading skills were stronger than their listening skills and that they used subtitles if the dialogue was too fast, or if the actors accents made the dialogue hard to follow. Respondents also reported using subtitles to broaden their vocabulary, often looking up unknown words in dictionaries, “sometimes I can learn from that, like one film they had a gun and he said to him ‘Freeze’ and then I learn one word and it means two things” (PC2, F18, 16.02.13). Another university student explained, “I really like watching Hollywood movies and I want to be able to listen well to the Hollywood movie. [...] I also read the subtitles and when I can’t understand some words, I open the dictionary” (PC28, M22, 13.02.13).

Almost all respondents referred to using their English to access the Internet for entertainment purposes, often using the term ‘play’ to describe their activities. As one sales supervisor put it, “I think English is very important and if we want to play the Internet and we want to play the Facebook, we want to chat anything with the Skype, we need the first, we need English.” He went on to say, “sometimes when I do not feel good I always check Internet and play Facebook with my phone” (PC33, M28, 07.01.13). The Internet also provided respondents with a way to develop their English language skills. Hoping to move to America and get married, a farmer explained that she has met a man online and communicates with him on Facebook to develop her vocabulary, “I also play Facebook with the foreigner, because it can give me more words” (PC11, F26, 19.02.13). The Internet was also used to access English-language videos. As a doctor reported, “sometimes I look on YouTube for the conversation, to teach me and sometimes for a story on YouTube” (PC18, F40, 16.02.13). Another explained, “I always check the grammar on the Internet to know about the sentence, it shows everything for me” (PC27, M22, 09.01.13). Respondents also learned through Smart Phone applications and games:

I take grammar exams by my phone [...] Sometimes I play word games, sometimes if I don't know words I open my dictionary and I note in my notebooks the new words, idioms, special words. [...] I always check grammar on the Internet, comparison and verbs, irregular verbs, noun, pronoun, I always study like this (PC33, M28, 07.01.13).

Although not as prevalent as using the Internet, a number of respondents read newspapers and non-academic books for information and for pleasure. English-language newspapers in Cambodia such as the Cambodia Daily have a separate English and a Khmer section, and several reported using the English-language section to practise their English. As an English teacher explained, "Especially I like reading Cambodia Daily because it has a lot of content like business, news, and I learn a lot of new words and new vocabulary. This is the way I can improve my English" (PC8, F22, 15.01.13). A market seller further reported, "sometimes I take the book to study and sometimes I read the English paper. The newspaper has the slang word, the new words, I can learn new words" (PC39, M51, 15.02.13).

Watching films and television programmes, reading books and newspapers, listening to English-language music and going to Karaoke, were all key uses of English for respondents. As well as entertainment, they also helped respondents develop their language skills.

4.2.4. For the Enjoyment of Learning and Escapism

Respondents gave a range of personal reasons for enrolling and participating in classes at CWF including using the classes as a form of escapism from daily life, to develop their confidence, and to seek reassurance about their language skills. The enjoyment of participating in classes in and of themselves was made clear by a respondent who worked in IT, "I work the job and sometimes when I go to study I have the good feeling. If I have the class and the teacher is joking or speaking

a story or sometimes has the game, sometimes I feel good!" (PC35, M28, 17.02.13). Another who worked selling automotive parts since leaving university early for financial reasons, found studying at CWF important as escapism from his daily life:

When I come to study here I am very happy, happier than before. Because before I am very stressed because of my work from the day, from the morning to the night, so stressed. But here it is not stressed. I can come to join the class and be happy with the teacher and to speak and sometimes we play the games, like that, and so it is funny, but it is important for the group, for learning [...] when I come here I go to another place, it is not like when I stay home alone (PC31, M27, 23.02.13).

The need to enjoy learning English was made clear by a respondent who described his enjoyment of learning English in and of itself and explained that, "If you don't like a language, you won't be able to study it" (PC25, M21, 11.01.13). Some described their preference for learning English over other languages, including a receptionist who said, "Of all the languages in the world I love English" (PC9, F23, 09.01.13). A university student also explained, "I like to study languages. Maybe I am better to study this. I realise that I like to study language" (PC1, F18, 31.01.13). One respondent who had been studying at CWF for three years and passed away unexpectedly a few months after the interview, explained that he studied English at CWF for his work at an NGO and to communicate better with foreigners, but mainly for pleasure. He ended our interview by saying, "I want to study at CWF until the end! (Laughs). I am old. I will study at CWF until the end of my life! No change, I am happy because I am old and I love studying English here. I am happy to study English until the end of life" (PC40, M70, 31.01.13).

The enjoyment, pleasure and escapism of attending classes and learning English in and of itself were clear for a number of respondents. Learning in this sense was not only instrumental, or a means to an end, but also an end in itself.

4.2.5. For Social Purposes

The main reason beyond the productivist orthodoxy respondents gave for learning conversational English were social. The desire to meet new people was both a reason for enrolling at CWF, and an unintended consequence that encouraged continued participation, discussed further in Chapter 6. Some wanted to make new friends because they had migrated to Phnom Penh from the provinces and others reported wanting to meet other people from Phnom Penh. One student who was born and brought up in Phnom Penh, explained the impact that temporary migration to Phnom Penh had on her friendship group:

When I study at university there are a lot of people from different provinces but maybe they, it is hard to make friends with them, so I want to make more friends. Yes, now I have a lot of friends here. [...] I think that sometimes students from the province when they study here they never care about friends, they always care about, 'Oh, missing home! Missing my homeland!' (PC6, F20, 29.01.13).

Being able to speak English was also seen as a good way to meet and talk to people outside of classes. As one university student put it, "the person that can speak English very well it is good for social" (PC5, F19, 21.02.13). Developing social skills and the confidence and ability to talk with friends in English was an important reason for studying at CWF for some respondents. As a nurse explained, referring to both his Khmer and foreign friends in Cambodia, "since I got friends, they like to talk to me in English and I am brave to speak it out now and it is improving, you know? [...] So that's the reason that I study English" (PC25, M21, 11.01.13). The need to communicate in English within households was particularly important for respondents whose household members could speak English but they could not. One housewife explained that she was the only member of her household who could not speak English and she wanted to be able to join in, "I study English because in my family a lot of members speak English and so for me, I try to learn" (PC19, F54, 14.02.13). Another housewife explained that she wants to

learn English to keep up and communicate in English with her other household members who both practise together and encourage her to learn, "I want to be stronger in English, yes. Now I try, I try every day. I study a lot. My husband and my children, they say, 'Mama, study English, Mama!'" (PC17, F40, 06.02.13).

The use of English as a 'secret language' at home was also raised. A doctor explained that her niece and nephew, who live with her along with their mother, used English knowing their mother could not understand them. Although her sister wanted to learn English, however, she felt she was too old to learn:

In my house I don't speak English because they can't listen, but the children can speak. You know my sister, she has two children [...] one son and one daughter, and they know their mum cannot listen to English and when they are angry at their mum they speak English together! (Laughs). It is a secret for them! Their mum told me and their mum said that, 'I don't know what they say to each other because when they are angry with me they speak English so I cannot understand!' (PC18, F40, 16.02.13).

Respondents also socialised in English through the Internet. The most commonly cited use of the Internet was to check and communicate through the social networking website Facebook. This was reported throughout the age groups, from the youngest respondent to the oldest who explained, "I am friends with my children and friends with my classmates and the workers at my office. I inform to my friends my activity every day" (PC40, M70, 31.01.13). Respondents also reported using Twitter, Messenger and Skype. English was used to access these sites and was also the primary language when using them.

Participation in classes gave respondents the opportunity to meet new people both in and outside of class. Learning English were also found to help respondents communicate both in person and online, to develop their social skills, and to use English as a 'secret language.'

4.2.6. To Communicate with and Help Foreigners in Cambodia

The ability to speak to foreigners in Cambodia was a popular reason for participating in classes and was the main reason for choosing CWF over other language centres, due to its foreign teachers. As one university student reported, “I want to hear the pronunciation from the foreigner and to practise more English, and my pronunciation too” (PC2, F18, 16.02.13). Another university student explained, “I want to improve my speaking skill in order to communicate with other people especially native speaker” (PC4, F19, 31.02.13). This was especially important for respondents who had trouble talking with foreigners in Cambodia in the past, as one NGO worker explained, “When the foreigners would speak I did not understand, so I chose CWF because of the foreign teachers” (PC40, M70, 31.01.13). For some CWF was an opportunity to meet and speak with foreigners, and in some cases it was the first opportunity they had. A nurse who now has a number of foreign friends in Phnom Penh recalled his initial enrolment in CWF, “of a lifetime in Cambodia, actually, I don’t really have a chance to talk to foreigner, so just come to school and talk with them” (PC25, M21, 11.01.13). One student explained how important a particular past experience was on his desire to enrol and continue to participate in classes at CWF:

When I not yet to study English I was very shy to other people about speaking English, especially to foreigner like you. When I see the foreigner I stay away. For example in Toul Tum Pong Market [...] The first time I went to make the new clothes at high school there was one foreigner who came to prepare his clothes [...] the foreigner asked the manager about the clothes, he wants to get the green, but not just the green, dark green, but the manager cannot speak this and the foreigner asked me, can you speak English? But I just tell him, ‘No, I cannot speak English’ and when I was thinking about this happening I think maybe I spend more time to study. When I think about this I think I should study the English, from then until now, to study my English and not to waste my time (PC29, M22, 08.01.13).

The desire to communicate with foreigners in Cambodia for social purposes, with foreign friends, and for cultural exchanges, was a popular reason for learning English. Foreigners were reported to speak mostly in English, regardless of where they were from. As one respondent explained referring to 'Riverside', an area of Phnom Penh popular with foreign tourists, "When I meet with friends who come from another country and want to do business or anything and when I go to the Riverside and meet with other people and I speak to them, they always speak English" (PC34, M28, 22.01.13). Others used these social opportunities as a way to exchange information, as a sales supervisor explained, "I think that it is very important for people and communication [...] talk about business, culture, exchange culture or something" (PC36, M29, 23.01.13). Referring to his participation in this research, a senior officer in investor relations explained:

I think English is very good for making relations too, like you and me, if I cannot speak English, we have no chance to have dialogue like this. [...] I think when we have chance to know English, we have a chance to make friends and to exchange our ideas. People can improve and learn a lot from exchanging ideas (PC38, M31, 02.01.13).

The greater the presence of foreigners in Cambodia, the more apparent this need has become, "Now a lot of foreigner come to Cambodia so I need to make relationship, to communicate with other foreigner in Cambodia" (PC9, F23, 09.01.13). A housewife also observed that, "now a lot of foreigners come here and speak English here - at the supermarket, at the shop, a lot of foreigners" (PC19, F54, 14.02.13). Alongside his work with foreign customers as a sales supervisor, another explained that outside of work he needed English to, "improve my relationship and conversation with foreigners because in Cambodia now has more foreigners, a lot, and because foreigners in Cambodia always speak English, if I can't speak English, I can't contact with other foreigners" (PC33, M28, 07.01.13). Not knowing English was considered a disadvantage, as a receptionist explained:

I think that English is important for me to live in Cambodia and it is easier to communicate with the foreigner [...] it is difficult for people in Cambodia when they cannot speak English. [...]

Everywhere in Cambodia, all of the province in Cambodia, it is important for them and English is necessary for people to go abroad. Now people Chinese, Korean, they always speak English. English is very important for the future for communication (PC9, F23, 09.01.13).

Respondents reported their desire to learn English to help foreigners in Cambodia both directly, and by acting as interpreters. One way of helping foreigners was with directions, as one respondent working in tourism explained, "I used to talk with the foreigner who lost their way and I go and ask, 'Where would you like to go?' Or if they want to go somewhere I help them" (PC26, M21, 05.02.13). A university student gave the example of helping a *tuk-tuk* driver with a foreign passenger, "I ask him where he wants to go and he said the Russian Embassy, so I tell the *tuk-tuk* driver [...] he thanked me, and I'm very happy too, that I can speak English and can help them" (PC23, M20, 03.01.13). An art school student reported helping foreigners in the supermarket, "English is important because when I study English I am not shy about the foreigner or anything and sometimes I help people at the supermarket." He also acted as an interpreter at his school:

When I study the drawing sometimes the foreigners come to see, come to ask everything and sometimes to record and take photos about the people and the students and I can translate English to my friend because my friend cannot speak English, just speak Khmer (PC29, M22, 08.01.13).

A particular emphasis for participants was the desire to acquire the English language skills and confidence to be able to communicate with the growing number of foreigners in Cambodia. CWF (Conversations with Foreigners), with its entirely foreign volunteer teaching staff, was particularly popular for this reason.

4.2.7. To Visit, Live, or Communicate with Relatives and Friends Overseas

Many of the respondents reported having friends or relatives who live overseas and that acquiring English functionings afforded them the ability to visit, live, and communicate, with them. Respondents reported communicating with friends and relatives through various social media sites including Facebook and Twitter. As one high school student replied when asked if she talks to her relatives in Canada, “Yes, often, because they have Facebook, they have Twitter. Like my niece, she likes to play on Twitter a lot and she always re-tweets some very interesting funny jokes or she likes Justin Bieber so she always talks to him, but he never talks to her!” (PC1, F18, 31.01.13). Using Messenger to chat through typed messages and Skype to communicate verbally over the Internet with friends and relatives overseas was also common. As one respondent with relatives in Australia explained, “Sometimes when I am bored I play chat, I Skype with my cousins in Australia. I try to speak English conversation with them” (PC33, M28, 07.01.13).

English has become particularly important, as friends and relatives, who often moved overseas during, or immediately after, the Khmer Rouge era, have had children overseas who only speak limited, or are unable to speak, Khmer. When asked why he wants to learn English one respondent with relatives in America replied, “it is easier to communicate. [...] My relation, she is in America, so sometimes we call and we chat. [...] Some English, some Khmer. She has two children and they can only speak English so if I want to speak to them I have to speak English” (PC30, M22, 07.02.13). A beautician whose brother moved to America, “a long time ago, after Khmer Rouge” explained:

My nephew and niece, when they came to Cambodia, [...] their Khmer is not good [...] so sometimes we speak English. [...] My brother told me that when his son or his daughter talk they should talk Khmer, but he give me to speak in English to answer (PC14, F27, 23.01.13).

As well as speaking skills, respondents also explained the need to develop their listening skills to talk to native-English speaking relatives. One grandfather with family in America explained, “sometimes I speak English with my son and my grandson. I have one grandson, he is 7 years old. Sometimes I speak with him, but he speaks very fast because he was born in the USA. It is difficult to listen!” (PC39, M51, 15.02.13). Other older respondents talked about friends they had during their childhood in Phnom Penh who moved overseas during the Khmer Rouge and stayed there. As one doctor explained, “I want to speak, I want to learn because of my job and to speak with the child and with the friends in America. [...] They went to America because of the regime Pol Pot, also to France and to other countries” (PC20, F55, 14.02.13). Another has a nephew who was born in America and also wants to learn English to communicate with an American she met online:

It is easier to talk with other friends, with the teacher and because I have a friend who lives in Texas so I need to study English to talk with him [...] we met on Facebook. Also my nephew in Texas can speak English, he cannot speak Khmer, so I try to speak English (PC11, F26, 19.02.13).

Typically linked to having relatives or friends overseas, a significant number of respondents wanted to learn English to travel or live abroad. They explained that as English is the most common language spoken overseas, and foreigners are unlikely to speak Khmer, it was important for them to acquire that functioning. One university student who aspired to visit relatives abroad after graduation explained, “if I want to travel abroad other countries, they don’t understand Khmer, so it is easier for me if I want to communicate with others if I can speak English” (PC4, F19, 31.02.13). A university student who visits his father working in Thailand learned English because, “when I go on vacation to outside countries I can speak even when they don’t know my language” (PC21, M19, 20.02.13). A Japanese translator, who has worked in Japan, explained that English is particularly important because, “If you want to go to visit or want to go to travel, if you don’t know English it is very

difficult for communication” (PC32, M27, 09.01.13). Another university student with a lot of foreign friends in Phnom Penh explained:

Because I think maybe English is important around the world I will try to speak English in the future, because sometimes when I have some money I will go to visit some of these places, and I try to speak English because if I cannot speak English I cannot go to visit these places. When I speak Khmer I cannot speak, someone cannot listen (PC29, M22, 08.01.13).

A housewife whose son lives in America also learned English primarily because, “when I want to visit my son I have to speak English” (PC19, F54, 14.02.13). A market seller reported his desire to be able to speak English with foreigners when he visits his daughter in America, “When I go somewhere, when I go to visit abroad, yes. Because my daughter, she lives in the USA so when I want to visit, I can speak with the foreigner. I want to know” (PC39, M51, 15.02.13). A high school student with relatives in a number of different countries explained that she learns English because she has aspirations to travel the world:

I want to improve my speaking skill. I want to speak English that everyone can know what I say and easy to listen. I have a big dream – visit every country around the world. So I must study good English to make easy to talk with people when I travel (PC1, F18, 31.01.13).

English was an important skill for many respondents to communicate, visit or live with friends and relatives overseas. This was particularly marked for respondents who had friends or relatives that had emigrated overseas as a result of the Khmer Rouge, in order to communicate with their English-speaking children.

4.2.8. For Reassurance, Status and Pride

Respondents studied at CWF for a number of personal reasons, including for reassurance about their language skills, to develop their status relative to others, and to develop pride in themselves, or pride felt and expressed by others. One respondent working as a TV controller for an English language Christian television programme explained her need for reassurance:

I know in myself when I speak with foreigner, they always say your English is good, but I don't feel confident because I know that I cannot speak English well or fluently so I feel like that [...] I saw this school and then I thought, oh, Conversations with Foreigner! So I was interested and decided to study (PC15, F27, 18.01.13).

Pride developed through learning new skills was another purpose for participation, with learning achievements, or new functionings, shaping self-perception and helping develop confidence. A nurse explained his pride in having the ability to speak English, "It's kind of a talent also to speak this language, to study [...] I can say I'm proud of myself to know this language" (PC25, M21, 11.01.13). A university student who grew up with disabilities meaning she is unable to walk, talked about the change she feels in herself from learning:

I think, in myself, when I know education, when I get education, when I finish high school, I am not shy about my body. So I will try to study, then I don't care about this. I say to myself, I try and I try. When my teacher takes me to go somewhere people always look at me but I don't care because my purpose is to try to study, so I don't care about someone look at me (PC10, F24, 07.01.13).

Respondents also discussed their desire to learn English as a way of increasing or improving their status relative to others. The only respondent to express his specific desire to reinforce his status as a man, a sales supervisor explained that learning English with foreigners

improved his status in the eyes of others. This was partly to ensure his status would be higher than any future wife he might have:

I think that why I want to study English here is because I want to improve my knowledge, I want to communicate with the foreigner, because I think that when people around me look at me when I speak with a foreigner, I think that I am a man. I must try to study English [...] because if I have a wife and her job is more good than me, I think it is not good. [...] If we compare husband and wife, if husband more low than wife, everybody, or your wife, can look at that. Yes I think so (PC36, M29, 23.01.13).

Respondents also reported a desire to change their status relative to their status growing up. One respondent who graduated from university and became a sales and marketing supervisor, grew up in a poor, low-status household in his hometown. He discussed in detail his difficult childhood and about the happiness and pride he felt when he returned home as a student and then as a university graduate. He was motivated to study to improve his status, and he strongly associated his accomplishments with the higher status he has achieved as a result. The importance of past experiences is particularly marked here, as it continues to motivate his learning, including his studies at CWF:

Sometimes when I was a child and I go to visit my friends or do anything, they don't want to play with me. They said that, 'You are the poor people!' Yes, it is the pressure. Sometimes they would say that, 'You are so black your skin, you are not good!' Yes, their parents hate me when I play with their child, when I was a child. But when I come to think 'I hate these words', 'I hate the people who say the bad words to me', I try to study more. When I graduate university and I come back to high school, their children, they are the farmer and I am a student. When I finished high school and I went to visit my homeland they said that, 'You are very good' and I am very, very, I am so happy (PC34, M28, 22.01.13).

The intrinsic desire to be reassured and to develop one's pride and status were particularly important reasons for respondents to participate in learning activities. Respondents not only reported developing their own worth, but were influenced by those around them and their past experiences to continue learning.

Respondents reported a range of purposes for participation in the conversational English skills development programme at CWF that both went beyond the productivist orthodoxy, and that they valued, and had reason to value. The majority of respondents included wider purposes alongside those that were work related, and around a quarter gave no productivist purposes for participation. These purposes were of value both to the respondents themselves and to others, particularly household members, as discussed in Chapters 5 and 6. To ignore these is to present an incomplete picture of respondents' purposes for participating in lifelong learning activities. These findings illustrate a more complete picture of the range of purposes beyond the productivist orthodoxy that exist, why they exist, and how they have influenced learning participation in this skills development program.

4.3. Conclusion

In this chapter I have established that respondents' reasons for participation in an adult skills programme do indicate purposes beyond the productivist orthodoxy, and I have provided evidence of what these purposes are. Around a quarter of participants reported these wider human development purposes as their only reasons for participation, and so, following the capability approach, these were considered ends in themselves. In keeping with experiential learning it was also clear that respondents were strongly influenced by past experiences and spoke clearly about how these experiences shaped their ongoing

reasons for participating in lifelong learning activities. The prevalence and value of these wider purposes to respondents provide clear evidence of the importance of recognising and including them in addition to productivist purposes in any 'radical' new approach to lifelong learning and adult skills development.

The findings also corroborated the purposes for participation beyond the productivist orthodoxy suggested by McGrath (2012), namely cultural, leisure, caring, spiritual, communicative, and community development. This in itself indicates a degree of universality to these broad categories, as discussed in the introduction. As well as these existing purposes, however, I also identified a range of further ones that should be included to provide a more complete picture of learners' lives. While the original categories are broad, have a wide potential scope, and are open to interpretation, these further purposes are required either because they do not fit the existing categories, or they are significant enough for inclusion in and of themselves. The new categories I identify provide a more complete picture of the wider purposes for lifelong learning beyond the productivist orthodoxy and recognise the significance of the variety of reasons respondents have for participating in adult skills development programmes.

To the six original broad categories of cultural, leisure, caring, spiritual, communicative, and community development purposes (McGrath, 2012), my findings indicate the need to include a further twelve, which I have termed: social purposes (to socialise with others and meet new people); altruistic purposes (to help others); participative purposes (to participate in households and social groups); access purposes (to access information and opportunities); academic purposes (to assist with other studies); mobility purposes (to live, travel, study and visit friends and relatives overseas); intrinsic purposes (the enjoyment of learning in and of itself); escapism purposes (to relieve stress and study as a break from 'daily life'); confidence purposes (confidence, reassurance and pride in oneself and one's skills); empowerment purposes (the

agency to act and not rely on others); status purposes (relative to others) and household purposes (to follow the wishes and assist others in the household). Each of these categories have been highlighted and evidenced in this chapter. I discuss the need for the 'household purposes' category in Chapters 5 and 6, recognising respectively that some respondents were 'told' to attend CWF, and others attended to benefit other household members.

In this chapter I also highlighted further uses for English in Cambodia, which go beyond the previous ESL research with Cambodian respondents outlined in the introduction. These were using English for the television, radio, DVD movies, Internet, email, speaking to children, as a 'secret' language, for chatting socially, text messaging and singing karaoke, social interaction and to have 'time for themselves' (Moore and Bouchan, 2010; Skilton-Sylvester, 2002). Added to these, respondents in this research reported using English to help with other studies, to access information otherwise not available, to listen to music, read books, newspapers and spiritual texts, to visit, study and live abroad and to help others including foreigners in Cambodia. The range of social interactions included in 'chatting socially' are also important to highlight, with respondents reporting speaking English to other Cambodians and foreigners in Cambodia to provide assistance and to share information, as well as to communicate with friends and relatives abroad. The concept of having 'time for themselves' was put across by respondents who reported learning English for escapism from daily life, to relieve stress, for the enjoyment of learning in and of itself, and for status building, pride and reassurance. Recognising these wider uses is important to gain a full picture of the reasons why conversational English language skills are particularly valued in Phnom Penh, and why respondents have chosen to participate in classes.

Together these findings are significant for the development of a 'radical' new approach to lifelong learning and adult skills development. As well as productivist purposes, understanding both that these wider uses and purposes for participating in adult skills programmes exist, and the central importance they have on respondents propensity to study, are essential. To ignore these wider human development purposes and focus only on the economic productivist orthodoxy is to base a new construction of lifelong learning on an incomplete understanding of the very individuals these skills development programmes seek to assist. While this chapter has focused specifically on respondents' reasons for participation, I have indicated the influence of households by including the overall category of 'household purposes' for participation. To not include that category, which is the focus of the following two chapters, would have meant providing an incomplete list. There were no further purposes found in the following two chapters that would not fit the purposes I suggest here. In Chapter 5 I discuss the difficulty in identifying the degree to which the individual purposes outlined here are those of the individual, or those of their household members, as households are found to exert a significant influence. Chapter 5 focuses specifically on agency freedom and the influence of household members on individual learning participation, and Chapter 6 on the outcomes, or effective functionings, of learning participation for individuals and their households.

Chapter 5. Household Agency and Individual Learning

Participation: A Constructive Relationship?

To determine whether the influence of households should be incorporated in a 'radical' new approach to lifelong learning and adult skills development, as discussed in Chapter 1, it is important to understand what role, if any, household members play in the enrolment and participation of adults in skills development programmes. Building on the previous chapter, which focused on the individual, this chapter focuses on household influence and contributes to the work on 'group capabilities' which argues that "groups influence values and choices, and hence the extent to which individuals choose to pursue valuable capabilities for themselves and for others" (Stewart, 2005, p.190). In doing so I address the second research sub-question, "To what extent is enrolment and continued participation in adult skills programmes the result of individual and/or household agency?"

In this chapter I focus specifically on the 'agency freedom' of individuals relative to their households, to achieve valued and chosen functionings to expand their capability set and ultimately to "lead the kind of lives they value—and have reason to value" (Sen, 1999, p.18). In keeping with experiential learning and the need for freedom at each stage of the learning cycle (Kolb, 1984), an individual requires agency freedom to pursue a valued and chosen functioning. Central to the capability approach, a "person's 'agency freedom' refers to what the person is free to do and to achieve in pursuit of whatever goals or values he or she regards as important" (Sen, 1985, p.203). Agency in relation to others can be defined as the 'power to' pursue one's own goals or the 'power over' the agency of others (Kabeer, 1999). A household exerting their agency or 'power over' a household member to inhibit their learning participation is considered to be an 'unfreedom' (Sen, 1999).

In Section 5.1 I focus specifically on the adult skills development programme at CWF, the key elements required for access, and the extent to which participation was the result of individual and/or household agency. I explore whether, and how, household members might have influenced respondents' initial enrolment and continued participation, focusing on the need for permission, financial support and transportation. Following the discussion of access to CWF itself, I investigate enrolment and participation in formal and non-formal learning programmes more broadly throughout respondents' lives. In doing so I seek a better understanding of respondents' experiences of lifelong learning by examining the influence combined agencies and negotiated strategies have in what Sen (1990) refers to as 'cooperation-conflict' within households, as discussed in Chapter 1. Sen (1999, p.193) broadly refers to household strategies as "the important issue of *intrafamily* division of food, health care, and other provisions", following the argument that "Much depends on how the family's economic means are used to cater to the interests of different individuals in the household." I go beyond these economic distributional aspects to explore wider human aspects for learning participation, prominent in other aspects of the capability approach.

Following this, I continue to answer the call for more specificity in the capability approach by moving beyond 'intrafamily' strategies (Sen, 1999) to distinguish between two key household strategies noted by respondents to have influenced individual learning participation. The first, in Section 5.2, are the inter-generational household strategies for learning participation. As discussed in Chapter 1, much of the literature to date has focused specifically on inter-generational strategies, with a focus on parental support for children. I adopt a broader view, conceiving inter-generational strategies as two-way, including strategies that facilitate and inhibit learning from both older to younger, and younger to older, generations. I also examine cultural aspects and household roles, focusing on housework, building on the work of Brickell (2011b), and the influence that responsibility for

housework might have on learning participation. The second, in Section 5.3, are the intra-generational strategies between siblings. These strategies were specifically identified as a gap in the current literature in a review carried out by Bjorklund and Salvanes (2010). I aim to demonstrate that these intra-generational strategies, and the significance of birth-order in them, are key to understanding the influence of household agency on learning participation in Cambodia.

5.1. Agency Freedom for Access to CWF

Respondents highlighted a number of ways in which household members influenced their enrolment and continued participation in classes at CWF. These ranged from being directly 'told' to attend by household members, to respondents negotiating permission and access to attend. According to Sen (1985) and the capability approach, participants require agency freedom to be able to enrol and continue to participate in classes. Freedoms are also required in experiential learning, for an individual to move on to the next stage of the Experiential Learning Cycle (Kolb, 1985). The relationship between individual agency freedom and household agency is significant when household influence, permission, finances and transport are considered in terms of access to learning. Together these factors draw attention to what Lewin (2007) has called "Individual Characteristics and agency" and "Household Characteristics and agency", outlined in Chapter 1. Although Lewin (2007) focused specifically on access for children, I investigate whether this is still a factor for adult participants in skills development programmes. I begin the section by exploring the extent to which learning participation is the result of individual and/or household agency through the influence of household members on participants' initial enrolment. I then, in turn, explore the degree to which respondents required permission from household members, and rely on household members for financial support and physical access.

5.1.1. Household Influence on Enrolment at CWF

More than half of the respondents reported having been recommended or told to attend CWF. The role of household members was particularly significant in that, although a range of people recommended the centre, it was only immediate household members who 'told' respondents to attend. The exception was the manager of an administrator at an Australian-run Christian NGO, "My boss in Phnom Penh told me, 'I need you to speak English! You go to learn at CWF!'" Because before he learned here at CWF and he speaks a lot of English, he can translate when my boss comes from Australia [...] my boss told me, 'You learn, I support you!'" (PC16, F32, 21.02.13). Other respondents were told to attend CWF by their parents and siblings. For one university student it was her father who told her to study, "he goes to work on this road and he saw it then he came home and said, 'You can go to test it, yes, go!'" (PC5, F19, 21.02.13). Another student initially did not want to attend and only agreed after negotiations with her mother:

She told me to, and at that time I was a bit disagree, yes, we had a small fight, we argued, but then I agreed to come here. [...] She said that I never follow what she told me [...] that I am studying English at the university and if I don't speak, it is just... no point (PC7, F21, 05.02.13).

Siblings had often attended CWF themselves and then told respondents to study there, often negotiating attendance with their parents, or supporting their studies by paying their fees, or by bringing them to classes with them. As one university student explained, "my sister, she went to study here before me and then she told me to study here too" (PC26, M21, 05.02.13). Another university student was also told to attend by her sister, "My sister, she knows me, she knows I learn English, but I cannot speak, I cannot listen. She said, 'Ah, you must go to CWF!' my sister said it is good" (PC10, F24, 07.01.13).

Parents encouraged respondents to learn English by appealing to their confidence, pride or status both as an individual and as a member of the household. One student was encouraged by her father who had taught her English since she was born and appealed to her desire to be the 'best', "He told me that he knows I am good about listening and speaking so he recommended this school for me. He told me that, 'You are not good about writing, so you can improve your listening and speaking more than now, be not good, but the best!'" (PC5, F19, 21.02.13). Respondents also reported their role in raising the status of their whole household above other households, with increased education for children regularly linked to an increase in household status. As one student explained referring to her parents, "they think that they can support us to study and they don't want us to be like other people who could learn English but they keep the money to study and their children don't know English" (PC6, F20, 29.01.13). Another who was born on a refugee camp explained that his household moved a lot and now they are settled they feel pride talking to their neighbours about their children's educational success, "They told me, I think that my study can help me to be richer and everyone will be proud of me." Asked if they are proud of him now he replied, "Yes, because when I go to my hometown they always tell me something, or a neighbour who lives near them, they tell them" (PC26, M21, 05.02.13).

Household members also influenced participation by explaining that 'now' or 'nowadays' it is important to learn English to get a job, whereas in the past only Khmer or Khmer and French were needed. Referring to his parents, one respondent whose family are from Phnom Penh explained, "they know English is very important because they say everything is English now. My mother and her sisters, before they spoke French in Cambodia and now they change to English and English is the first language in Khmer. If you want a good job and to do everything, it is in English" (PC35, M28, 17.02.13). A respondent's brother echoed this view and influenced his household members' attitudes to learning English:

My brother always recommend to all member of my family to focus on English. Because English is a global language, an international language, so if we cannot speak English we face difficulty in getting a job. As you know in the recent years Cambodia has changed a lot, attracting new businessmen to invest in Cambodia, so it provides new job opportunities to people in Cambodia too. So, it is the global language of communication. English is my second language (PC38, M31, 02.01.13).

Explaining why her mother wanted her to learn English, a university student said, “she thinks that nowadays English is very important. Even when you go to work, if you know only Khmer you cannot get a job” (PC5, F19, 21.02.13). A respondent whose father passed away when she was young recalled him telling her that, “English is the second language that we can use for our work and everywhere. We call it a second language, everyone must learn it” (PC13, F26, 22.01.13). A student whose father works near the Thai border explained, “my father is working in a company, he uses English every day and he told me and told my sister too that we need to study English because a lot of information and what the company need, we have to use English” (PC23, M20, 03.01.13). Siblings were also persuasive, as one respondent whose sister works in finance and banking explained:

My sister she tells me to learn more English and to practise more English because about the world and another country we need English to talk with them and you can see when you find the job, the manager at the company or organisation will interview you in English only. Sometimes, some organisation interview in Khmer but when you apply, for your CV you do not write Khmer, only English (PC29, M22, 08.01.13).

Household members influenced learning participation by both telling respondents to attend and by encouraging them, appealing to their aspirations as an individual and as a member of the household. The

reasons were both productivist, related to the current requirement for English to find work in Phnom Penh, and went beyond this to appeal to their desire for increased confidence, pride and status.

5.1.2. Permission and Financial Support

The requirement for permission and financial support from household members to attend CWF provides a clear indicator of whether respondents 'agency freedom' is independent of, or constrained by, their household membership. Where an individual required permission or financial support from other household members to attend the programme, their agency freedom cannot be considered independent, but is instead reliant on the decision-making and facilitating agency of others. This is particularly important when focusing on adult participation, as the need for permission and reliance on household decision-making is typically associated with children (Lewin, 2007). As these findings show, however, most of the adult respondents at CWF needed to discuss attending CWF with a household member, and many required permission. An important aspect of this was the cultural requirement for permission in Cambodia. As one university student pointed out when asked if she needed permission to attend CWF, "Of course. Cambodian people always ask before they decide something!" (PC4, F19, 31.02.13).

The majority of respondents reported asking permission from their parents, "Yes, I had to discuss with them before I came to study here and they also allowed me to do so. I tried to convince them that my English was not good at that time so I have to study more otherwise I am not able to keep up with my university education" (PC8, F22, 15.01.13). There was a gendered trend here too, as respondents expressed preference for asking their mother, rather than their father. One student explained that she needed permission to attend CWF, and when asked who from she replied, "My mother. Because everybody closer to the mother than father" (PC4, F19, 31.02.13). Another who

worked in IT at a company in Phnom Penh explained, “I don’t tell my father, but my mother. Because they are very supportive because English is very good, they told me if you have the free time you should study” (PC35, M28, 17.02.13). However one student indicated that although she always asks her mother, her father is likely to be involved in the decision-making. When asked if she ever needs to ask her father she replied, “No, maybe I check with my mother and my mother checks with my father!” (PC6, F20, 29.01.13). In one case a respondent who worked as a nurse both had to persuade his mother for permission and finances to enrol, and had to negotiate his continued attendance:

With the money, yes sure. I asked my mum, I never ask my father for anything [...] She said, ‘Are sure you want to do this? Your English is OK now, you can speak it, not well but good and I believe your English is much better than your brother, so why do you want to come study at this school?’ So I say, ‘Mum I’ve got nothing to do, I just want to come and improve my English’ and my mum says, ‘You don’t have to improve your English because you speak it with your sister.’ [...] So I said, ‘Yeah mum I want to study here, I think I have business to finish here’ (PC25, M21, 11.01.13).

Permission was also required to make arrangements and coordinate with household members. Several respondents made arrangements to study at CWF with a sibling first then requested permission from their parents together. One student sought permission with his brother, “we study at the same time at university, so we need to study together here at the same time [...] we went to speak with my family. We tried to provide some reason to my family about this school” (PC24, M20, 20.02.13). When respondents lived with people they did not consider to be their ‘household’, they reported asking household members first and then making arrangements with the people they lived with. One respondent explained that he first sought approval from his father, then had to ask his uncle and aunt who he lived with in Phnom Penh in order to attend university, “Yes, I spoke to them about what time I study here

because when I study here, when I study at night, when I go there my house is closed, so there is no one to open for me, so I tell the time to them and arrange for them to open” (PC21, M19, 20.02.13).

Although the majority of respondents required permission, some explained they just discussed attending with another household member, or only needed to inform their household. One housewife discussed her attendance with her husband, “Yes, I discussed it with my husband. My husband says it is good for me to study here. [...] At night I try to learn, to read a book and wear glasses and my husband says, ‘Ah, a good student!’” (PC19, F54, 14.02.13). A receptionist explained, “I decided by myself and I support my own study. [...] I just tell them when I come to study that I come to study English in the evening and then it is OK” (PC12, F26, 22.02.13). A high school student said, “I talked to my mother, I told her about it. Because my mother is very busy so she doesn’t care so much about this and I just decided by myself” (PC1, F18, 31.01.13). Referring to her parents, a beautician reported, “If I want to study somewhere they say, ‘If you think it is good, you can go.’ They don’t choose the school for me, because they don’t know about the school. So if I want to study and I find some school that is good to study, I tell them” (PC14, F27, 23.01.13). Some were given permission because it was to study, but wouldn’t be given permission for other activities. As one student reported, “If I said, ‘Mum, today I go for a walk’ she would not allow me, but because it is to do with study, it is OK” (PC5, F19, 21.02.13). The same was true of another student, “Yes, when I do something I need to talk through with my parents. They said OK, just for study, you can study wherever you want” (PC24, M20, 20.02.13).

Alongside the need for permission was the need for financial support to pay the fees. These were often requested simultaneously. One student asked her parents with her sister, “I had to ask because they gave me the money. I told them about how I will study with foreigners or something and so they want me to learn in CWF too” (PC2, F18, 16.02.13). Most asked their mothers, including one farmer whose

mother lives in America, “Yes, I discussed it with my mum because she gives me the money. She said, ‘You must study English!’” (PC11, F26, 19.02.13). Another student said, “Yes I had to decide with my mother, because she gives me the money, she supports me” (PC28, M22, 13.02.13). Where respondents sought financial support from other household members, they asked their parents first. One university student who had two sisters who worked in agriculture in Korea to earn the higher salaries available there explained:

I asked my sister who still lives in Korea, I asked her to pay the money for the school here [...] the first one I asked them, ‘Mum, I want to study English’ and she said, ‘The first one, you have to find a school to study, then ask your sister for money for study’ (PC26, M21, 05.02.13).

The majority of respondents required permission or financial support from household members to attend CWF, or at least needed to discuss or negotiate their attendance, suggesting that individual agency freedom is constrained by the relative agency of others. Furthermore, at least in the Cambodian context, this relationship is shown to persist throughout learners’ lives and even when household members no longer live together.

5.1.3. Transportation

The final aspect in terms of access outlined by participants was their physical access to CWF. Once they had the permission and finances to attend they still need to get to classes at the same time for one hour a day, five days a week. This is another aspect influenced by the individual’s relative agency with other household members, particularly when negotiating access to shared resources such as motorbikes, and when safety concerns were raised. Almost all respondents reported getting to CWF by motorbike (referred to as ‘*motos*’ in Cambodia, and shown in Annex 1). Only a small number lived nearby and walked or cycled to CWF. One drove a car and one reported

using a motorbike taxi (*'motodop'*). The majority of respondents had their own *moto* and travelled to CWF independently. While some had purchased their own *motos*, others explained that a household member had bought it for them, including one high school student, "I have my own motorbike and a bicycle too. I have many things, because I am an only child! My mother can support me" (PC1, F18, 31.01.13).

Respondents often shared their *moto* with other household members, which had important implications when it came to daily access and negotiating a study time. Without the cooperation and coordination of household members this would not be possible. As one respondent who lived at home and shared his *moto* with other household members pointed out, "I needed a *moto* and to say when I would study" (PC32, M27, 09.01.13). A university student explained, "my family, we only have three *motos* for five people, so sometimes we have to share" (PC7, F21, 05.02.13).

Respondents also reported travelling to CWF with others and had to arrange their study time accordingly. Several travelled to CWF with siblings, including one university student with a twin brother, "I have a *moto* I share with my brother. I bring my brother here. We study at the same time" (PC24, M20, 20.02.13). Some travelled with extended family members. Referring to her younger sister, a beautician who had studied at CWF for over three years explained, "Now she comes here and we study at the same time. When we come sometimes we come on one *moto* and right now, my cousin's daughter, she studies here too and at the same time, so sometimes I go with her and sometimes my sister" (PC14, F27, 23.01.13). One university student, unable to walk due to childhood polio, explained that she is wholly reliant on household members to take her to her classroom at CWF and to collect her afterwards. If no one is able and willing to do so, she cannot attend. Decisions to enrol and participate in classes are therefore made with household members and depend on their schedules. At CWF she is taken to and from class and at university a friend now helps her move between classrooms, "My sister takes me to university in the morning

and to take me home after University, but when I study, my friend takes me. [...] Yes, it is difficult for me if nobody helps me because some of my classes are up or down stairs” (PC10, F24, 07.01.13).

Safety was another aspect respondents considered when it came to transportation to and from CWF. This is reminiscent of Walker (2006) outlined in Chapter 1, who discussed the ‘unfreedoms’ derived from not having safe environments for children at school. The findings here show that these ‘unfreedoms’ due to safety can extend to adult participants in skills programmes. This was particularly an issue for those travelling early in the morning or in the evening and often required negotiation with household members to agree on a suitable study time, or to devise a strategy whereby travel would be safer. As a respondent who lives in Kandal, a ferry ride from Phnom Penh, explained, “My brother, he takes me here every day. He doesn’t allow me to go alone or with friends, he takes care of me, protects me. [...] I told him when I will study and he said he will take me here” (PC11, F26, 19.02.13). Indicating a gendered aspect to these concerns, a university student explained it is easier and safer for him to travel to CWF because he is male, “Yes, it is easy for me to come here every day. It is easy because I am a boy” (PC21, M19, 20.02.13). However, when asked if he needed permission to study at CWF a male nurse replied, “Yeah sure, everything I have to ask my parents to approve. If I don’t come in on time they will call, they would be afraid something had happened to me” (PC25, M21, 11.01.13). Safety concerns also extended beyond the need for protection from others. One university student explained that her mother requested that she change her study time from early mornings because she often missed breakfast and once she moved to an evening class, her mother was still concerned, “She worries about my safety because it is dark. [...] She is worried about me on my *moto* because my eyesight is not good” (PC6, F20, 29.01.13).

Relying on household members for transportation and negotiating access to shared resources such as *motos* were found to constrain individual access to participation in classes at CWF. It was also evident that unfreedoms limiting access could arise if individuals were not able to negotiate safe transport to classes.

The evidence presented here supports the argument that household agency exerted significant influence over individual agency for enrolment and continued participation in the adult skills programme at CWF. This affirms my argument that there is a need to move beyond a focus on children (Lewin, 2007) to recognise the influence of households on adults participating in lifelong learning activities. I have shown that, as well as being 'told' to attend CWF by household members, adult participants also reported requiring permission from household members to attend. The ability of household members to grant or withhold permission and/or financial support from others provides significant evidence of the influence of household agency over individual agency freedom. Although in some cases respondents were able to negotiate permission, or were only required to inform household members of their attendance, the overarching need for permission indicates that household members were able to exert their relative agency to facilitate or inhibit learning participation. This was also evident when respondents sought physical access to CWF, particularly when negotiating access to shared transport. The requirement for safe access also builds on the finding by Walker (2006) showing that a lack of safe access also inhibits the freedoms of adults to participate in skills programmes. The evidence suggests that the influence of household agency on individual learning participation throughout learners' lives must be included in any 'radical' new approach to lifelong learning, at least in the Cambodian context. An individual might value a functioning and choose to pursue it, but still require the agency freedom to do so, which relies heavily on the agency of other household members.

5.2. Inter-generational Household Strategies for Learning

Participation

This section focuses on inter-generational household strategies and the degree to which the agency of household members across generations influences individual learning participation. To provide a context for these two-way strategies across generations, I begin by exploring aspects reported as being specific to the Cambodian culture. I then investigate household roles, with a particular focus on housework and the influence responsibility for these tasks might have on learning participation. I then investigate the lifelong aspect of learning participation and whether household strategies change over time. Finally I explore the influence of households on whether or not individual members continue their studies in to adulthood and if so, what influence households have over higher education subject selection and career choices.

5.2.1. *Cultural Aspects*

When I asked respondents' about learning participation throughout their lives, I gained a strong sense that household support strategies and the desire to support household and extended family members was central to the Cambodian culture. Reasons for participation were typically beyond their personal gain and their main aim was to ensure a 'good' or 'better' future for household members, discussed further in Chapter 6. Reminiscent of the argument put forward by Berkvens et al. (2012) to look beyond 'Western' learning theories, as discussed in Chapter 1, a doctor explained that she saw these household support strategies as contrary to her understanding of 'Western' households, perceiving them as being more individualistic in nature, "Cambodian families, they help in their family. If anyone is poor, the rich man helps among the family. I know this is quite different to the foreigner" (PC18, F40, 16.02.13). A high school graduate who had recently become unemployed having left his job as a Japanese translator, reinforced this:

Yes, they help, sisters, brothers, everyone. It is the culture of the Cambodian people before and now and in our future also. We help. For example if you have no money or you want money, your family can help you, especially your parents can help you kindly. If parents have no money you can borrow from another person in the household (PC32, M27, 09.01.13).

While typically reported to facilitate, or provide 'freedoms' for household members to participate in learning activities, inter-generational strategies were also found to inhibit, or lead to 'unfreedoms' for others. In some cases these strategies resulted in individuals giving up their studies to support other household members. This reflects Nussbaum's (2008, p.6) argument on behalf of herself and Sen and discussed in Chapter 1, that families "may be the site of great inequalities of opportunity: so it is crucial to ask not just how the household is doing, but how each and every person is doing." One respondent gave up his bachelor degree to sell car parts independently to support his household, "I stopped because I was busy for working and selling [...] It is more important now to earn money to support myself and my family" (PC31, M27, 23.02.13). Working as an administrator another explained that she had to stop working to support her household, but was able to start studying again years later alongside her work, "I worked and I went to high school, it was very difficult for me. I could not finish high school because my family is so poor I had to start work. I start work maybe 3 years and I continued to learn" (PC16, F32, 21.02.13). Another respondent explained that she stopped studying at Grade 9 when her father became ill:

Because my mum, she had a lot of work and she did not have someone to help my mum, and my father, he was very sick and so I must take care of my father. I helped my mum. Yes. Because my brother and my sister they had their families and my brother, he must go to study, so I decided to stop my study (PC11, F26, 19.02.13).

These inter-generational household strategies were furthermore found to be continuous, throughout learners' lives. Respondents reported having their freedoms to participate in learning activities constrained by their households both when they were young, during formal schooling, and in adulthood, when working or studying. A high school student explained that as an only child, her role is to take care of her mother in her old age. Although she would like to study abroad and live with her stepbrother in France to do so, her mother's health represents a potential 'unfreedom' to her ability to do so:

He wants me to go to France to study there and live there but I cannot leave my mother. [...] It depends on my mother. Because now she is not as young as before and maybe she will be sick, so maybe it depends on her, I have to take care of her because I am an only child (PC1, F18, 31.01.13).

Cultural traditions further dictate the gendered role of daughters in Cambodia to take care of their parents when they are older, unless other circumstances intervene. Working as an administrator at a Christian NGO, one respondent explained that it is her role as a daughter to return to her hometown and take care of her parents, something she would prefer not to do, as she wants to continue working and studying in Phnom Penh. Her attempts to negotiate with siblings was ultimately overridden by her personal circumstances:

My parents live alone, no children, and maybe I need to live in my hometown with my parents but I don't want to go back because maybe I work with my organisation [...] maybe if I have a family I don't want to live with my parents (laughs). I tried to tell my sister, 'You live with my parents, I don't live' but my sister said, 'No I don't live too!' Now she had a wedding already and she went to live in another province so now it is me!

AJ: Do you think any of your brothers will live with your parents?

In Cambodia, the brothers, when they have weddings they do not live with their parents. They live with his wife's parents (PC16, F32, 21.02.13).

Inter-generational strategies to support a household member's studies were particularly important when the household member who traditionally provided financial support was either unable or unwilling to do so. One housewife remarked that while she and her husband encouraged and wanted to support their son to study architecture in the USA, they were unable to do it alone, so her daughter helped him achieve his aspirations. When asked who financially supports her son she replied, "My husband, me and my daughter. My daughter likes architecture too and likes her brother so much!" (PC19, F54, 14.02.13). A financial controller who moved to Phnom Penh to study and worked in order to pay for her Masters course explained that her father passed away when she was young and it was mostly her sister who supported her, "My older sister and sometimes my mother. She went to work to get some small money, to earn some money to support me. Especially my sister. Actually, my sister supports all of us, I just stopped getting money from her when I came to Phnom Penh." Before moving to Phnom Penh she also helped support her household and explained that they found it hard when she moved:

My mother she said, 'Please return back home because when you live there you spend a lot of money and you never send money to me!' Because in Siem Reap when I got the salary I always give to her, one month, \$100 and buy something for her. But when I stay here I never send money to them (PC13, F26, 22.01.13).

The importance of shared support strategies was highlighted by one respondent who explained what happened when his sister, who traditionally supported her sibling's studies, was not willing to do so because she did not agree with his choice of university subject. When she refused to finance his art degree the rest of the household stepped in and financially supported him:

I took my objective for what I want to study to my sister and my sister don't accept me. She want to get me go to finance and banking. But when I want she tell me I pay by myself but if I

study finance, she will pay for me. But instead she pay for me only one year, my parents pay the first year and second year my sister, the next year my brother paid for me in year three and year four my youngest sister supports me. The family, they share to pay (PC29, M22, 08.01.13).

The collective cultural aspect of household members supporting each other's learning was central here, supporting the argument that a new approach to lifelong learning should move beyond 'Western' more individualistic theories of learning (Berkvens et al., 2012). It was also apparent that within households, while some members might be afforded greater 'freedoms' to learn, others might face 'unfreedoms' and are inhibited from participating in learning activities.

5.2.2. Household Roles

Housework, predominantly cooking, cleaning and childcare, were the household roles reported to have had the most influence over the learning participation of household members. By specifically focusing on the influence of housework on learning participation, this research goes beyond the work of Brickell (2011b, p.1357), discussed in Chapter 2, who found that housework in Cambodia was typically associated with women who spend "more than twice as much time as men on housework." Responses here indicated that the degree of responsibility each household member had for housework had a significant effect on their learning participation. Although housework was shared amongst household members in a variety of ways, the majority of respondents reported that it was the role of the 'housewife', usually the 'wife' or 'mother' in the household. In some cases, sole responsibility for housework was given as a reason why certain household members could not continue their studies. One husband who sells goods from his home at the edge of a popular tourist market, explained that his wife's role as housewife prevented her from continuing with her studies at CWF. Referring to her ability to speak English he explained, "my wife

only speaks a little because she studied only six months [...] but now she is busy so she has stopped to study [...] she has to come home to cook, to cook for the family” (PC39, M51, 15.02.13). A housewife also explained that she had to give up studying English when she had a baby, “I studied maybe 28 years old, but studied not a long time, a short time, I had a baby and I was busy. I studied for 3 months or 6 months and stopped. But I wanted to study” (PC19, F54, 14.02.13). Out of the forty respondents shown in Annex 4, only parents with no children, parents who lived away from their children, or had adult children, studied at CWF. This finding raises the possibility that marriage and children could have a more significant inhibiting influence on learning participation than even these responses suggest.

The role of ‘housewife’ appeared to be assigned to females upon marriage. This was particularly the case for older respondents and younger respondent’s reports of their mothers and grandmothers. Furthermore it was usually phrased in language suggesting it was not a choice, but was a consequence of their husbands exerting their relative agency over their wives. When asked what his mother studied at university one university student replied, “she finished at university and did a Masters, but when she got married, she has to stay at home to look after the children” (PC21, M19, 20.02.13). Some also considered it a ‘traditional’ role, which a ‘modern’ woman might avoid by earning money instead. One Masters graduate working as a financial controller explained that her father instructed her mother to stay at home and be a housewife once they got married, “my mother only speaks only Khmer. Because she is a housewife and when my father got married with her, he did not allow her to do anything, just to be a housewife and stay at home. He will support.” Signalling a change in attitude for younger women and her mother’s desire to break this tradition, she explained that her mother advised her not to become like her and to, “Just try to work and study. If you have money you can do anything you want. [...] Housewife, we must do, but not to focus on that because now I can be what we call a ‘modern woman’” (PC13, F26, 22.01.13).

Respondents explained that the traditional role of 'wife' and 'mother' has changed over time, and one reason for this was the Khmer Rouge regime. After the regime there was a shortage of educated Cambodians to teach, and many people became teachers at the request of the government, as discussed in Chapter 2. An administrator and university graduate explained that her parents were educated before the regime and in the post-Khmer Rouge rebuilding of the education system her mother started work as a teacher, against the wishes of her father. Having seen this change in traditional roles, the respondent reported that she now wants to continue to study and work for an NGO, rather than stay at home:

My mother is a teacher at primary school. When we had the Khmer Rouge, after in the government, they chose the people to be teachers. [...] My father, he does not like my mum to be a teacher, because she would be so busy and would not have the time to take care of his son and daughter, my father didn't like. But now, he likes because my mum likes the children and my mum takes care of her sons and daughters so good (PC16, F32, 21.02.13).

Having been assigned the role of 'housewife', the degree to which responsibility for housework was shared between household members strongly influenced the learning participation of that household member. In some cases household members actively supported the learning of other members by doing their share of the housework for them. For some this included telling or encouraging them to study instead. As one university student explained referring to her mother:

She always encouraged me to study because she thinks that she came from Pol Pot so she is low education, so she don't want me to get low education like her because it is very hard to earn the money by using her energy. She would like me to use my brain rather than use energy.

AJ: How would she encourage you?

When I go home, if she has a lot of things to do, she never want me to do anything, she just encourage me to do my homework.

AJ: *So she would not let you help with the housework?*

No (PC6, F20, 29.01.13).

When 'housewives' assigned roles to other household members, they were often described as being 'in charge' or the 'manager' of the house. One university student explained that she was responsible for bins, her sister for the water and her mother, "is like a manager, she says, 'Uh, your job is done or not?'" (PC5, F19, 21.02.13). By sharing out tasks like this, the 'housewife' could also study or have other jobs outside the home. When the household member who would typically be assigned the role of 'housewife' worked full time, a range of inter-generational household strategies were put in place for housework to be completed. In this way household members reduced what Sen (1999, p.196) refers to as women being "saddled with the 'double burden' of household work and outside employment." Similarly Nussbaum (2000) refers to this as a "double day" of taxing employment and responsibility for housework and childcare.

It was evident from the responses, however, that housework was still considered the role of the 'wife' or 'mother' and that others were doing the work in their place, as opposed to entirely breaking down these traditional gendered roles. As one student explained when asked who takes care of the house, "For cooking, my father and me because my mother is busy at the market. Yes, she sells. [...] Cleaning is me and my sister" (PC2, F18, 16.02.13). Through an interpreter one respondent who is a doctor, but also considers herself the 'housewife', explained that in her household, "The woman, she is in charge of the house, she helps with everything - the household, the money and the housework. But they cooperate together, with her husband as well" (PC20, F55, 14.02.13). When a 'housewife' worked from home, however, she appeared more likely to carry out all the household tasks alongside work. One NGO worker explained that alongside cooking and cleaning,

“My wife was a sales person at my house, selling groceries” (PC40, M70, 31.01.13). In another case a respondent explained that her father does the housework because he is retired and the rest of the household members are too busy:

Oh my house here, my father takes care of the house. He stays home 24 hours because he is retired so he doesn't go to work anywhere [...] because everyone goes out to work, some in the morning and some in the afternoon, so they go and he takes care (PC18, F40, 16.02.13).

When children helped with the housework it was typically the oldest siblings who did most of the work, however younger siblings did help as required. In almost all cases birth order and then availability were more dominant determinates of children helping with the housework than gender. One respondent who sells car parts explained it was his oldest brother and sister who helped with the housework and earned money to support the family but that, “right now they live outside and so they stopped and so I support and my brother supports” (PC31, M27, 23.02.13). A receptionist explained that her siblings had to share out the housework because her mother had too much to manage on her own. She and her sister helped with the housework in order for her oldest brother, who until then had done the majority of the housework, to continue with his schooling:

My mother is a housewife. She is so busy! (Laughs). Yes, she needs to look after my nephew [...] and she does the cooking, cleaning.

AJ: Did you help your mother with the house?

Yes, we need to clean the house, we need to launder our clothes by ourselves, clean the floor and wash the dishes [...] to clean the dishes it was me and my sister. [...] For my brother, he launders his clothes and cleans the house also, but when I was young he did all these things. He just stopped when he studied at Grade 8 or 9. My mother said he was so tired, because he had three sisters to look after (PC12, F26, 22.02.13).

In a few households, however, the gender of the children was more significant and housework was the explicit role of female household members. As one male respondent explained, "Oh, my sisters. You know I have five sisters, so when I lived at my hometown, sometimes, I did nothing. They all did everything in the house. Yes." When asked whether that was because he is a boy he replied, "Yes, yes! But sometimes I work hard, to carry something hard, like that (mimes lifting)" (PC26 M21, 05.02.13). Another explained that her brother does the housework, but that it is a role she traditionally associated with females, "because my second brother not strong, just poor health, so my brother do anything that the lady do, the housework" (PC10, F24, 07.01.13). There was only one household in the research in which the gendered role of housework was strictly enforced. Male household members were not allowed to help with the housework upon the instruction of the respondent's father, even though this was against the wishes of his mother. It was also apparent that these roles had persisted through the generations and that it was a tradition the respondent himself did not want to continue:

My mother is a housewife. [...] For me, my father is very strict about the woman's work. Like do laundry, he doesn't like me to do laundry by myself. He is very strict about men and women's work [...] he said the man who do the women's job is like a gay. He said like that, yes.

AJ: Do you agree with your father?

No, not at all!

AJ: Was it the same with his parents?

Yes, his parents were very strict with the men, with the boy.

AJ: What does your mother say?

My mother says why do I just stay upstairs and do nothing? She always shouts at me (PC24, M20, 20.02.13).

Another way in which housework was shared was for households to have extended family members live with them to help with the housework. In some cases they were relatives from rural areas. Referring to the family tree she drew during the interview, an English teacher explained, "The last one is my relative. She just comes to live with us in order to help us with cooking or housework. You see this a lot, we call the person a maid but some families they try to make that person feel like they are not far away from us, they are not isolated and they are one of our family members" (PC8, F22, 15.01.13). In some cases it was a close female relative. For one student it was her aunt, "my auntie has a lot of children but she wants to live with my mother and me and help with the housework" (PC1, F18, 31.01.13). For another student it was his grandmother:

My grandmother, she stays at home every day preparing the food for all members and she always cleans the house and takes care of the house. My father, he go away, go to the province to work and to find money to support the family. My mother is also busy with her job to work and to find money to support the family too. After she selling, she help my grandmother to prepare the food too (PC23, M20, 03.01.13).

Considered traditionally the domain of the 'wife' or 'mother' of the household, housework was found to inhibit learning participation particularly for 'housewives' with sole responsibility for it. The degree to which this 'unfreedom' was mediated depended on whether other household members, or an extended family member, shared responsibility for these tasks. The gender of those considered to be 'helping' with the housework was not as significant as their availability and, if children, their birth order. Older siblings were found to be more likely to take on housework responsibilities than younger siblings.

5.2.3. Inter-generational Strategies Over Time

The way households change overtime and the impact this can have on individual learning participation are important factors to consider when trying to understand the influence of households on lifelong learning. It was clear that inter-generational strategies typically stayed in place throughout respondents' lives, even when household members no longer lived together. In one case a doctor became the wealthiest of her household members and helped financially support other members and their children. The household support strategies began with her father and continued through and across the generations:

My father supported all of his children, but when each child got married and had children, they support their own small family.

AJ: Do any of your siblings help your other siblings or their children?

Yes. When one is richer than another, we can help support them and me also, now every year I support my niece and my nephew when their parents cannot support their study, I can share with them. I help them a lot (PC18, F40, 16.02.13).

One respondent drew the family trees shown in Figure 5.1 to help explain how her household had changed over time. The top left diagram represents her household before her father died, and bottom left is her household afterwards, "before when my father lived, my family tree was like this. But after my father died, my mother became in charge." The other diagrams represent her current household in Phnom Penh, which she moved to when her mother could no longer financially support their household in the provinces, "when I was 8 years old, I came to Phnom Penh to live with my cousin. It is my cousin and her husband's house, they support for all. My cousin has two children, one daughter and one son." As well as showing the difficulty in establishing household hierarchies and headship in newly created households and whether they should be financially or generationally ordered, her relative position in this hierarchy also influenced her learning

participation. In her current household she had to work after high school rather than study, and later became a beautician. She explained that her youngest sister on the other hand:

Continued to university, but me not. Because in my family we have two people who study at university, my cousin's daughter studies at university as well, so it is difficult to support, because at university we have to pay more money. So for me, I cannot go, I work. [...] My cousin supports all my family so before I helped her to support me, gave some money to support for when I go to school, or go somewhere, for clothes for everything, but right now I support too (PC14, F27, 23.01.13).

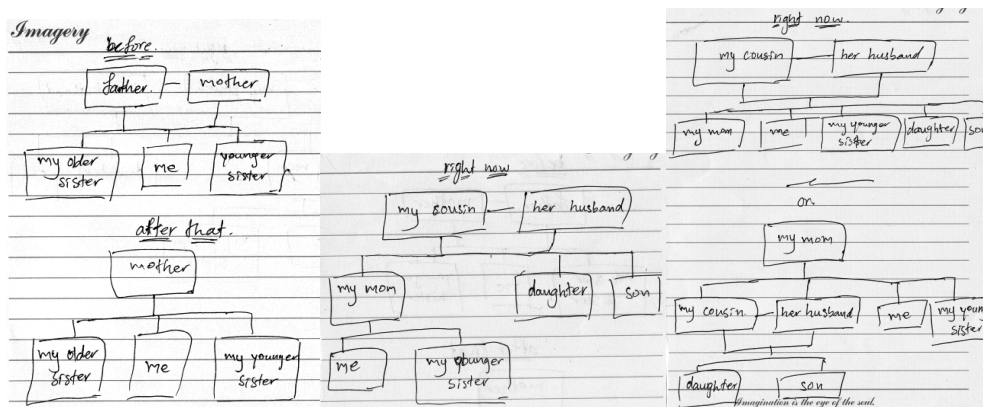


Figure 5.1: Dynamic Household (PC14, F27, 23.01.13)

A significant change for households over time was when one or all members migrated internally to Phnom Penh, typically for work or study. This was the case for the majority of respondents, as shown in Annex 4. A university graduate and sales and marketing supervisor explained that he came from a poor rural household and moved to Phnom Penh alone to study with only \$US5. He both worked alongside his studies to get in to university, and his household supported him. He explained that in his first year, “my mother and my father they sold the land to pay for my study. [...] Then at the third year, my mother and my father they have no money to pay for me, so I try to find it. [...] Everything I can do.” He explained his guilt about not being able to provide for his household, “sometimes I cried and I think so much about my parents, how they work hard and about how I don’t have the money

to help” (PC34, M28, 22.01.13). After university he got a job and started financially supporting his household, alongside paying for his younger sister to live with him and study at university in Phnom Penh.

The difference moving to Phnom Penh to study can make in the lives of household members was evident in one household that was divided when some siblings moved to Phnom Penh with their parents to study, and others stayed in the provinces. Referring to her father and then her parents, the respondent explained:

He always said it is important for education so they care that all of their daughters and all their sons will study. That is why my oldest sister did not go to school because after 1980 two children could not study. After 1980 my father went to Phnom Penh and told them he would take them to Phnom Penh to continue their study, but they don't want to go to Phnom Penh because they want to live in their hometown. But in their hometown the quality of education is lower than Phnom Penh. So, among seven children, they took five children to Phnom Penh to care for the study and so all five children, they can achieve a good job compared to the sisters who did not come with him (PC18, F40, 16.02.13).

Inter-generational strategies were found to persist in to adulthood, through the generations, and even when household members no longer lived together. While typically following birth order, with older siblings supporting younger siblings, changes in financial circumstances, or migration to urban areas, could result in wealthier household members supporting the learning of others.

5.2.4. Household Influence Over Higher Education and Future Careers

Another important indicator of the extent to which enrolment and continued learning participation is the result of individual and/or household agency is whether their choice of career and university subject was influenced by other household members. A World Bank (2012a, p.61) survey found that 70% of Cambodian university graduates chose their subject by following their parents' advice over other influences, a finding broadly supported by this research. Respondents gave a number of reasons for choosing their university subjects and explained that the decision was typically made with, or by, other household members, even when these choices were contrary to their own original wishes. Respondents who previously attended, or were attending, university studied a range of subjects. Female respondents studied economics, business administration, finance and banking, accounting, law, English and general medicine. Male respondents studied geology, computer science, economic rural development, medicine, architecture, law, information technology, business, marketing and sales, business management and electronics.

The choices made by other household members on respondents' behalfs were made for a range of reasons. These ranged from continuing the wishes of departed family members to choosing subjects that would lead to functionings that could be shared for the benefit of other household members, as discussed in Chapter 6. In one case the respondent became a nurse to continue the wishes of his uncle:

My father said I was his brother. Like last life or something, it kind of freaks me out sometimes, he said I have got a thing here (points to a mark along his neck) you see it? Like a scar, maybe a scar and he said, 'My brother was killed during Pol Pol regime by cutting his neck' [...] he thinks that I am his brother and being a doctor is his brother's dream and he said that he should make his brothers dreams come true or something, and he wants it

too, and so I said, 'OK I just study!' You know? But I could not do doctor, I go to nurse class because doctor is a little bit hard for me (PC25, M21, 11.01.13).

A number of respondents explained that they only continued their studies because their parents told them to. As one university student explained, "My parents told me to study. It is not my choice. Both this school and my university, both are my parent's decision. My mother." When asked if she was happy with the choice she replied, "At first, no! I really hate that school [...] but later I start to like it and enjoy studying there." She further explained that her younger sister wanted to stop studying after high school and when asked if her mother would allow this replied, "No!!! (Laughs). [...] Because I am studying English, so my mother seems to support her to study English" (PC7, F21, 05.02.13). A high school student referring to her mother also explained that, "she supports my study and she wants. Before, she is a good student too, but she did not have a chance to study so she wants me to study more and more and become a good, uh a good guy." Although her choice of subject was up to her, when asked what her mother would have said if she didn't go to university she replied, "Oh, maybe World War Three! (Laughs). Because in her mind I am a very good girl and I like to study, so if I say I must stop and I have to work, she will think it is strange" (PC1, F18, 31.01.13). Now studying finance and banking, one respondent explained she was at university because of her father and against her own wishes and aspirations. Both she and her younger sister would have preferred vocational training:

For me I don't like to study it much. I want to work as a tailor, I would like to study a skill, not accounting or something [...] because I think it is easier to find money but my father said that, 'You should study more to get a high level, not study only Grade 12 and then stop study!' [...] My sister she wanted to study to be a hairdresser or something, she likes so much, because she is not good at studying. [...] My father said she should study (PC12, F26, 22.02.13).

In some cases, however, parents dissuaded their children from continuing with their studies, or at least tried to dissuade them. In one case this was due to concerns over safety. The respondent, who himself graduated from university, reported that his sister was attracting too much male attention and so his mother decided she should stop studying and take care of the family business instead:

My oldest sister, she just finished high school because she had a lot of problems when she went to study at university. A lot of the men they always look at my sister, especially about they fall in love, so my mother always takes care of my sister. In the morning they have two or three boys who sit in front of my house [...] she is very beautiful! So my sister cannot go anywhere, she just has to stay at home. When she studied she would ride the *moto* but now she can't.

AJ: *So because she got so much attention she could not study?*

Yes because my mother, she thinks that in my family, we have a shop so she asked for my sister to control the shop instead (PC27, M22, 09.01.13).

Some respondents continued their studies despite objections from their household members. Working as a sales supervisor, one university graduate explained that his mother wanted him to stop studying after secondary school to provide financial support to the household. He, however, decided to continue to study and negotiated with his mother to be able to do so. After these negotiations his mother eventually agreed and even financed his trip to Phnom Penh, "she sold a cow for me, only one cow for me, for transportation, to buy the ticket." He further explained that it is not because they didn't want him to study, their desire for him to work was purely financial, and they had supported his earlier studies:

When I was a child, my parents always motivated me to study and when I finished at secondary school, my mother told me that, 'You must stop, because the family is so poor.' But I think that, I am small, but I think I want to improve for my knowledge

in the future. So, I try by myself. When I finished at secondary school and I went to study at high school, I always told my teacher about me and so he pitied me and so, I learned for free [...] when I finished at high school, I wanted to be a professional, so when I graduate I think how can I do? Then when I go to Phnom Penh, I tried to find the part time job [...] then I saved money to spend for university (PC36, M29, 23.01.13).

Although no respondents of Khmer ancestry reported pressure for themselves or their household members to stop studying in order to improve their prospects of getting married in the future, one respondent with Chinese ancestry explained that in her family this is common practice that has persisted through the generations. Now a university graduate and English teacher, she explained that her parents and grandmother wanted her to marry, so actively discouraged her:

My family give a lot of pressure to me, yes. I was born in a Chinese family so some of my relatives, especially my female relatives, they had to get married at a young age [...] but to me, I did not really want to do the same as them because I choose to spend my life happily and relaxingly with my education. Right now, a few months ago, they tried to suggest in the way that they force me to get married, but I'm not willing to do because I think that to me, education is more important than ending up my life getting married with a rich man. [...] I don't know why but the man who is my relative and wants to get married with me he always tells me that when people study a lot they have more reasons to refuse (PC8, F22, 15.01.13).

Households were found to exert a significant influence over their members' choice of university subject and future careers. Household choices were often contrary to the original aspirations of the individual, providing strong evidence of household members exerting their agency over others, rather than having the freedom to autonomously pursue the life they value, and have reason to value (Sen, 1999).

Inter-generational household support strategies were found to exert a significant influence over learning participation throughout respondents' lives. Strategies put in place early in life persisted even when household members no longer lived together. As well as influencing whether individual members continued their studies in to adulthood, households were found to have a significant influence over their members' choice of university subject and future careers. While predominantly reported by respondents to have facilitated their learning participation, it was clear that these strategies also inhibited learning for others, corroborating the need to recognise that households are not homogenous groups and are the site of cooperation-conflict and inequalities (Nussbaum, 2008; Sen, 1985). This is particularly clear when investigating the influence of housework on learning participation and how its inhibiting influence can be minimised through cooperation and negotiated strategies with other household members. The cultural significance of collective household strategies is strongly evident in Cambodia and corroborates the need to look beyond individualistic 'Western' educational theories (Berkvens et al., 2012). It is also clear that as well as the central role of households, the notion of inter-generational strategies being one-way from parents to children should be expanded to recognise the role children both can and do play in the lifelong learning participation of both their parents and their siblings.

5.3. Intra-generational Sibling Strategies for Learning Participation

The supportive role of older siblings, facilitating the learning participation of younger siblings, was consistent throughout the research and was a common intra-generational household strategy. The typical strategies were for older siblings to give up school to work and provide financial support for the household, or to directly support their younger siblings, making it significantly more likely for younger siblings to continue their studies. A number of respondents also

explained strategies where each sibling would help support the next youngest sibling until all of them were educated at least a basic level. These strategies not only helped household members achieve basic primary, secondary or high school education, but also meant that some could go to university or participate in other programmes. These findings move beyond Keng's (2004, p.560) finding that for children's schooling in rural Cambodia, the "chance of staying in school long enough to finish primary education and beyond increases if they are younger children in the family", discussed in Chapter 2, to find that this relationship persists into adulthood. Furthermore even when siblings complete primary or secondary formal education with similar outcomes, it is still the older siblings who are most likely to stop studying to provide support for others.

The significance of birth-order in Khmer society points again to the need to look beyond economic models such as the 'resource dilution hypothesis' and 'confluence model' (Jaeger, 2009) to human development and the role of cooperation-conflict within households (Sen, 1990), as discussed in Chapter 1. Both of these economic models see larger families as having a negative impact on learning participation and fail to recognise the significant role older siblings can play in supporting younger siblings financially, emotionally and intellectually. Providing this support was seen by many as a 'job' for older siblings in Cambodia, as one student explained, "Yes, oh yes. My brother and my sister, I have to do that job! [...] Because I am the oldest." When asked if she wants that to be her job she replied, "Oh not very much but it is, like, my job, I have to do it [...] I think that by myself and my mother and father told me too" (PC5, F19, 21.02.13).

5.3.1. Negotiated Intra-generational Household Strategies

A clear example of a negotiated intra-generational strategy established by a respondent's mother is shown in Figure 5.2. The premise of this strategy was that each sibling would support the next until they all had at least a primary school education. The arrows she drew while explaining the strategy show which siblings supported which. Aside from her two oldest brothers, as she explains in the quote below, each sibling was responsible for working to support each of their younger siblings education in turn. She wrote 'poor family' on the family tree to reinforce her verbal explanation that this negotiated strategy was carried out through financial necessity, differentiating it from households who would not need to rely on children for financial support. She further explained that these strategies have persisted in to adulthood, with each sibling supporting the other, altered only through changes in each sibling's relative financial position. The strategy is explained in the following quote, with reference to Figure 5.2:

My oldest brother, after the Pol Pot regime, he not yet go to school. Because he is the biggest in the family, he needs to support my family. When my second brother go to school and go to work, before he study only Grade 7 and can find a job. When my second brother get a job, my mother, she allow my first brother to go to school.

AJ: So someone had to earn money?

Yes, yes yes yes. So when my brother get a job, because my second brother not strong, just poor health, so my brother do anything that the lady do, the house work. Because after Pol Pot regime, have only four, and after my fifth sister is born, after Pol Pot regime. So, when he get a job my brother go to school. Then when he get a job, he get married. My second brother support my fifth brother and third sister, then she goes to get a job, but cannot get a job so she helps my mother with the house, then she goes to get married. Then, my second brother supports my fourth brother. Then when my fourth brother has the money, he

support the fifth. The structure of my mother and my mother she always support all of them. All the idea, come from my mum. Because she has the rule, she said that, 'We have so many siblings so we should help together, to build the house and have success in the family.' So, all my siblings support together (PC10, F24, 07.01.13).

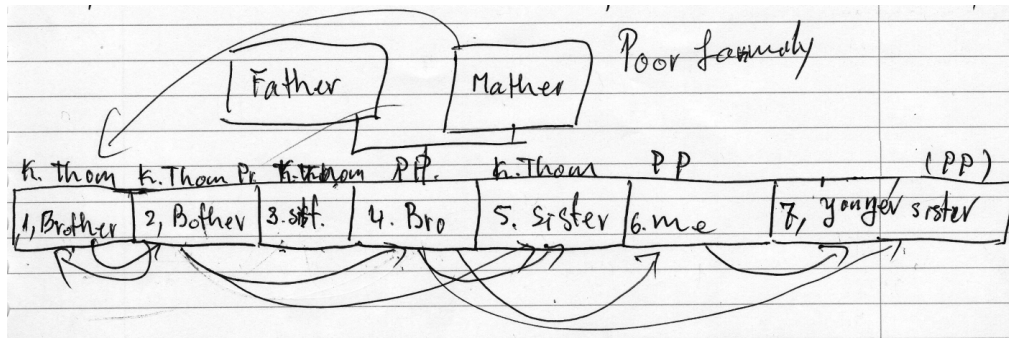


Figure 5.2: Sibling Support Strategy (PC10, F24, 07.01.13)

The persistence of these sibling support strategies into adulthood, and the finding that support by birth order was typically only altered through changes in siblings' relative financial positions, was reinforced by multiple respondents. These intra-generational sibling support strategies also continued when siblings no longer lived together and when siblings moved overseas. The strategies were also found in both generations of another household, shown in Figure 5.3. The respondent explained that her aunt supported her oldest two siblings, "My first and second sister, they lived with my aunt, because my aunt thinks that my family have a lot of children so she wanted to take my two sisters to live with her". In her generation, since her oldest sibling married and moved to Canada, she has supported all her siblings' studies. As each sibling gets a job, she passes the financial responsibility for younger siblings on to them, "now she does not support my third sister because she has her own job and now she just supports me to study [...] but the money for every month, now she stopped to support me because she give my third sister to support me." When asked if she will support anyone in the future she replied, "I will support myself and I have ambition to support my family, but for my sisters I can't support because I think that maybe

my first sister supports my second sister and my fourth sister. But for me, I want to support my grandmother, my father and my mother” (PC3, F18, 14.01.13).

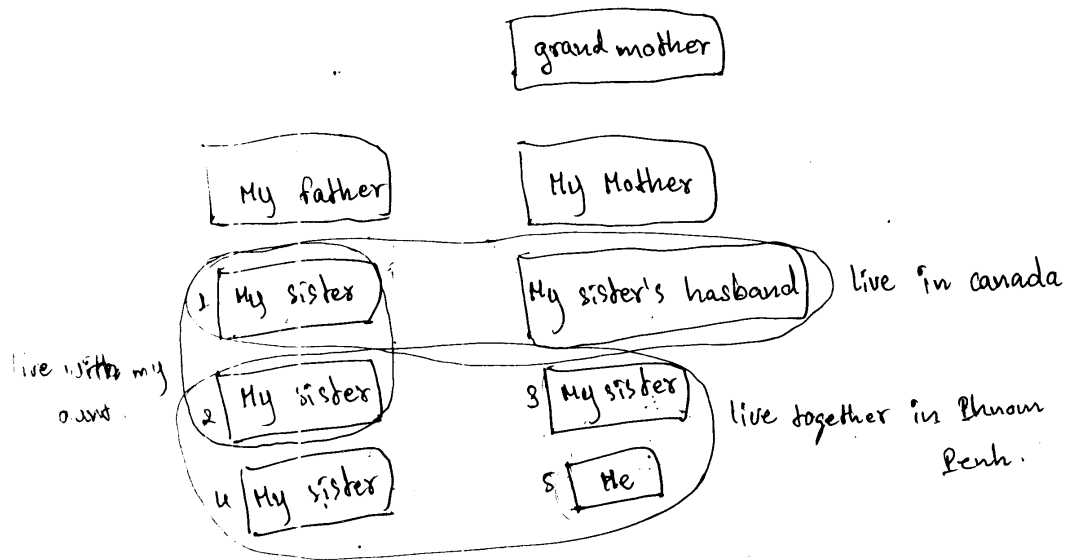


Figure 5.3: Enduring Household Relationships (PC3, F18, 14.01.13)

The often complex negotiated intra-generational sibling support strategies were consistent throughout the research, with the typical strategy of each sibling supporting the next youngest sibling’s learning participation, unless circumstances dictated otherwise. A change in the relative financial position of one sibling compared to others was the most common reason for a deviation from this strategy. Strategies established in childhood were also found to persist in to adulthood.

5.3.2. Intra-Generational Support Strategies Across Generations

As few respondents had parents with a university education, and many older siblings had stopped studying to work and support their households, younger siblings were often the first household members to go to university. A sales supervisor explained that as the youngest sibling he was the first they could afford to send to university. This was regardless of his academic abilities compared to his siblings, “My sister got grade A, very, very strong and my brother got grade C and for me, D. But me, I had opportunity for study at university but for them, they did

not have the chance to study because when she got 'outstanding', my mother was very poor, did not have money" (PC33, M28, 07.01.13). It was evident that these sibling strategies had persisted across generations, as a university student explained, referring to his mother:

She finished high school but that generation made her not continue to study [...] she had many jobs to do in the family. Like she supports me now, but before she supported her family, her mother and father, it is pitiful. She had to work to support her family [...] my father also finished high school but he did not continue to university.

AJ: So you are the first person in your family to study at university?

Yes I am the first person! I feel so lucky (PC28, M22, 13.02.13).

Reflecting the importance of past experiences in understanding the learning participation of others, a high school student explained a strategy put in place by her grandparents, which her parents followed. Referring to her aunt's education she explained, "She has not, because she is the biggest child in the family. She is the oldest sister of my mother. So, she was busy to take care of her little sisters and brothers also. So, she did not have a chance to study." Her role was to take care of the house so her younger siblings could study, "my mother she was the third so she could study some and my uncle, her younger brother, he studied a lot and he went to Singapore and studied" (PC1, F18, 31.01.13). A receptionist who herself finished high school, explained that both her parents had to stop studying earlier to provide financial support for their households, "My mother, she lived in the poor family and she just studied for 2 or 3 years maybe, in primary school, maybe Grade 2 or 3 she stopped studying to help her family. Because her family was so poor, she had to help them" (PC12, F26, 22.02.13). Some younger siblings relied on multiple older siblings for support. One respondent explained that out of seven siblings, only the three youngest continued their studies, with two already at university and one starting after high school. All four older siblings stopped studying to work and support them financially and continued to do so:

I have my oldest brother and three sisters who work and support my study. Nowadays we have only one sister, me and my younger sister who have higher education [...] they wanted to study but my family is so poor, so they cannot study [...] my mum and dad, they really wanted them to study but they thought that they should stop (PC26, M21, 05.02.13).

As older siblings, some respondents reported that they themselves had to stop studying to support younger siblings. As a university graduate and administrator explained, "My oldest sister, she stopped learning at high school, the same as me, because me and my sister are the oldest and we had to take care of our brothers." She, however, was able to study again because of her oldest sister, "But when she stopped learning, she took care of me and my brothers, she did not continue to learn. For me, I stopped at high school but when I start work I continue to learn. But my brothers, all, they continued to learn, did not stop. [...] Yes. Very lucky, more than me!" (PC16, F32, 21.02.13). A farmer who stopped studying in Grade 9 explained that it is only her youngest brother of five siblings who studied at university to become a doctor. Working as a farmer, although she would have liked to become a doctor herself, she encouraged her brother to do it in her place:

My oldest sister she stopped study maybe Grade 6 because you know, in the past, they did not have the school and she needed to work to support my mum and my father. [...] My brother, he finished high school and my sister, she cannot study, she must work and earn money, she studied primary level. My next brother, he finished Grade 9 and my other brother now he still studies, to be a doctor. [...] Yes, it is amazing. You know when he finished Grade 12 I wanted him to choose the doctor, because I love it. When I was young I wanted to be a doctor but I don't have time and so I chose my brother to study, I encouraged him to do it (PC11, F26, 19.02.13).

Several respondents referred to the role their older siblings had played in giving up their studies to support them. One student explained that his older sister gave up her studies to help with the family business so he could go to school then to university, “My sister just finished in Grade 12 [...] she stopped because my father, my father’s business need some help.” His sister helps by, “speaking English instead of me, when I go to school [...] it is OK for anyone to study, but my older sister was needed to help my parents for the business because she is the first born” (PC24, M20, 20.02.13). A university graduate explained his oldest sister stopped studying at Grade 4 to help all her younger siblings continue their studies. When asked why she stopped he replied, “Because of the family problem, to find a job to earn the money with my mother and father, to help support the family” (PC35, M28, 17.02.13). Another’s older brother stopped studying to work to support the household and waited until he had graduated and found work to get married:

My brother is a farmer too, because he studied only Grade 9 [...] because he looked at my mother and father, they are hard to work. He said that the family have the poverty, he wants to save my mother and father, he don’t want to study. When I know about that, I am very upset but I don’t care anything and I start to study. But he, he leaves school and he goes to help my mother. Two years ago, when I finished university, he got married (PC34, M28, 22.01.13).

The finding that older siblings had given up their studies to support their younger siblings throughout the generations, highlights the persistence of these intra-generational support strategies over time. The importance of past experience on individual learning participation is particularly evident here. Respondents reflected on strategies from the past to justify and explain those adopted in their own generation, and the likely persistence of these strategies in the future.

The significance of sibling birth order on learning participation throughout the lives of individuals in Cambodia emerged clearly in this research. Younger household members were both more likely to participate in learning due to the support of older siblings during their formal education in childhood, as found by Keng (2004), but, as I have shown, this also applies in adulthood. Furthermore, birth order was found to be the most significant factor in household members' learning participation, even when younger household members had equal or lower early educational attainments than older siblings. The negotiated sibling strategies put in place in some households to ensure basic educational attainment, provided examples of how, by combining agencies and cooperating together, household members were able to achieve the freedom to participate in learning, even when resources were scarce. These findings point to the need to move beyond homogeneous, economic models of learning participation to include these human factors, negotiated strategies and the relative agency of different household members in any 'radical' new approach to adult skills development and lifelong learning.

5.4. Conclusion

In this chapter I have identified a range of ways in which various aspects of household agency have influenced individual agency for enrolment and continued participation in lifelong learning. Throughout respondents' lives household members play central and significant roles, influencing the 'freedoms' and 'unfreedoms' for individuals to participate in learning activities. Alongside the need to put households at the centre of a 'radical' new approach to lifelong learning, this chapter has drawn attention to the need to consider each household member as an individual, but as an individual whose agency freedom is strongly constrained and influenced by their household membership. Households are not homogenous groups and, as Nussbaum (2008) and Sen (1985) argue, through a relationship of cooperation-conflict they

can be sites of significant inequalities. I found that older siblings in Cambodia, for example, were significantly more likely to give up their studies to work and support their households and younger siblings in childhood, as Keng (2004) found, but also throughout their lives. Intra-generational households strategies, identified as a particular gap in the current literature in a review by Bjorklund and Salvanes (2010), are firmly entrenched in Khmer society. By moving beyond 'Western' individualistic theories (Berkvens et al., 2012), I have demonstrated that any new approach to lifelong learning needs to include the role of households and to recognise that disparate cultural factors and strategies exist. I have argued and demonstrated that failing to recognise the role of households and focus only on individuals in a society with such collective household traditions would result in an incomplete picture of lifelong learning.

Where current research has focused particularly on children and their access to formal education (Keng, 2004; Lewin, 2007), influenced particularly by their parents during childhood, my investigation has moved beyond this to recognise that inter-generational strategies for learning participation are both two-way and lifelong. While older generations can facilitate and inhibit the learning participation of younger generations, they too both can and do play a role. Not only can children support their parents, particularly evidenced in the discussion on housework in Section 5.2.2, but the experiences of each generation were also found to influence the next. This finding indicates the need to not only consider the experiences of the individual learner, as in the experiential learning approach (Kolb, 1984; Vince, 1998), but to also consider the experiences of their household members and the impact these experiences can have. Furthermore, this research draws attention to the complexity of the influence one generation has in changing the learning cycles of others, by identifying household strategies that have been sustained, and those that have changed across generations.

In the specific instance of CWF, the ability of household members to facilitate and inhibit access to the adult skills development programme through encouraging or 'telling' other household members to attend, and by granting or withholding permission, financial support and transport, was also clear. If the focus remains on the values, choices and agency of individuals to acquire chosen functionings, without recognising the influence of households on each of these, any 'radical' new approach to lifelong learning would be flawed. The combination of productivist purposes and purposes beyond the productivist orthodoxy cited by household members also suggest their possible influence over respondents' purposes for attending, put forward in Chapter 4. This goes beyond Sen's (1999) argument of 'adaptive preference' discussed in Chapter 1, and raises important questions of whose values, choices and agency count, further supporting the importance of including 'household purposes' as a category for participation in lifelong learning. This is also reinforced in Chapter 6, focusing on the outcomes, or functionings, of lifelong learning participation for respondents and their household members.

Chapter 6. The Influence of Learning Outcomes on Individual Participants and their Households

In this chapter I focus on ‘effective functionings’ and ‘proximate functionings’, or the ways in which the actual outcomes from learning participation have benefitted the individual, and have been shared for the benefit of other household members. Adopting a lifelong learning perspective, I include functionings, or actual learning outcomes, from the adult skills programme at CWF as well as other lifelong learning activities including formal schooling. This focus builds on the argument I laid out in Chapter 1 for the adoption and adaptation of the central concepts of ‘effective literacy’ and ‘proximate illiteracy’ put forward by Basu and Foster (1998), which draw on, and contribute to, the work of Sen (1985) and the capability approach. Focusing on functionings, or actual learning outcomes, rather than literacy, I argue that ‘effective literacy’ should be referred to as ‘effective functionings’ to relate to the broader benefits from learning outcomes both for an individual and for their household members. Similarly ‘proximate illiteracy’ should be referred to as ‘proximate functionings’, to relate to the sharing of actual learning outcomes with household members who do not possess the functioning in question. I also follow the argument that an individual without a functioning, and with no household members who possess that functioning, would be considered ‘isolated’ from it, referred to as ‘isolated illiteracy’ by Basu and Foster (1998).

I begin the chapter by situating the debate on effective functionings and proximate functionings in the context of Cambodian households, in recognition of their socially embedded and context specific nature, as discussed in Chapter 1 (Iversen and Palmer-Jones, 2008; Street, 1995). In order to establish whether these concepts are applicable to the study of functionings, I focus first on respondents’ reports of participating in learning activities because of their desire for a ‘good’ or ‘better’ future

for their household. I then, in Section 6.2, focus on the effective functionings for the individual, or the ways in which actual learning outcomes were reported to have benefitted the participants themselves. Focusing on the conversational English adult skills development programme at CWF, these effective functionings are both productivist, or work related, and go beyond the productivist orthodoxy to include social skills, confidence, pride, recognition, new hobbies and knowledge of foreign cultures. In highlighting these effective functionings, I both corroborate and expand upon my argument in Chapter 4 that purposes beyond the productivist orthodoxy should be included in any 'radical' new approach to lifelong learning and skills development. Based on these findings I argue that these purposes should be included both as a reason for enrolment and continued participation, and as acquired functionings, or learning outcomes.

In Section 6.3 I explore the effective functionings for participants' household members and how the actual learning outcomes for one household member are shared for the benefit of other household members, through the concept of proximate functionings. I also highlight respondents who reported being the only member of their household with certain functionings, and being 'isolated' from developing them further without the assistance of other household members. Although not the same as being isolated from the functioning all together, this does demonstrate the wider benefits of having multiple household members with specific functionings, or having other household members with more developed functionings than one's own to learn from. To do so I identify who shares their learning outcomes, who benefits from this sharing, and how this takes place. This section reinforces the finding from Chapter 5 on the importance of including households in any 'radical' new approach to lifelong learning. It also builds on this argument to recognise that household members not only influence the access and participation of other members, but are also influenced by and are the potential beneficiaries of the functionings, or actual learning outcomes, of others.

It is important to recognise that by interviewing students during the adult skills development programme at CWF some, particularly first time students, had not yet had time to reflect on the wider outcomes of their participation. Many did, however, provide insights in to the outcomes of past learning experiences. Other respondents, and particularly those who had studied at CWF for some time, reflected on a range of outcomes both for themselves and their households. There were no reports from respondents that the acquisition of functionings by one household member had negatively affected another, although this is a possibility, as discussed in Chapter 1. The only negative aspects were related to participation in learning activities, as discussed in Chapter 5, where some household members stopped studying to support the learning of other, typically younger, household members. What individuals did with the functionings they did acquire, however, were not reported to have had a negative impact. Combined, these three sections respond to the final research sub-question, “In what ways are individuals and their households influenced by the outcomes of individual participation in adult skills programmes?”

6.1. Aspirations for a ‘Good’ or ‘Better’ Future for the Household

To situate the study of effective functioning and proximate functionings in the Cambodian context, and to begin to identify whether the central concepts originally focused on literacy can be adapted to the study of wider functionings, I focus here on the common desire reported by respondents for a ‘good’ or ‘better’ future for other household members. This had an impact on learning at every stage, as highlighted in Chapters 4 and 5, and was significant when it came to the desire of individual household members both to participate in learning activities and to share the outcomes of their participation. The perception that acquiring specific functionings would benefit the household by improving their ability to provide for other members was a common, and significant, reason given for participating in learning activities. This perception was shaped both by personal experiences, and by

witnessing the experiences of others. Furthermore by benefiting the household, effective functionings were seen to benefit both other members and the individual themselves as a member of that household.

Due to the unique history of Cambodia, discussed in Chapter 2, households since the Khmer Rouge era often have a younger generation who are more educated than the older generation. Not having had the opportunity to participate in certain formal and non-formal learning activities themselves was often cited as a reason for encouraging younger generations to learn. This finding is a departure from the literature discussed in Chapter 1, which found that the more educated parents are, the more likely they are to encourage the learning participation of their children. The capacity to aspire (Appadurai, 2004) in this sense is not developed from learning oneself, but from witnessing the effective functionings of others, or by experiencing the limitations of not having acquired these functionings oneself. Reflecting the analysis of Chapter 5, however, the household strategies for sharing learning outcomes were not only from parents to children, but were found to be two-way both across and between generations.

The desire for a 'good' or 'better' future for the next generation was often linked directly to the education respondents' parents did not experience themselves. Referring to his parents, who were both farmers, one university student explained, "they told me that if I have no education I will be like them, will be so poor. They told me that if I want to be rich, I should study" (PC26, M21, 05.02.13). Another, whose father was a policeman and mother worked in a local market, explained that her parents stopped studying because of the Khmer Rouge:

They advise me to try hard to study, don't be lazy or something and they tell me and my sister that we must try to study hard so our future is good [...] don't do like them because they can't study, they did not study, so they have to work hard to try to be richer. It is a difficult life because in the past they can't go to school so they must work hard (PC2, F18, 16.02.13).

When asked whether his mother supports his studies, a university student whose father passed away when he was young and whose mother worked as a seller in a market replied, “Oh, always! Since I was young. She hits me when I don’t listen to her advice. Her advice is always good for me. It is about my character, habit and my study also. [...] She said we stay in a poor, poor family so we must try to study to achieve everything” (PC28, M22, 13.02.13). For another her mother, who moved to America to help take care of her sister’s children, continued to encourage her to learn even though the respondent had to leave school in Grade 9 to work and support her household, “My mother, she would say, ‘You must go to school because you need to get the knowledge and when you are an adult you can make the work, because without the knowledge you are blind.’” Now at CWF, she reported that her mother, “always calls me, ‘Hello. Now what you study? How’s your studies? Can you speak English?’ She worries about my studies” (PC11, F26, 19.02.13).

A strong link was also made between learning English and the ability to get a job in Phnom Penh, as opposed to more physical jobs, referred to as ‘difficult’ or ‘hard work’. Office jobs or work in Phnom Penh were seen as ‘easy’ by comparison. One university student summed this up when asked about her future, “I dream that I will be working in the office, have a lot of salary and vacation and not too difficult, just easy things” (PC2, F18, 16.02.13). A student whose father was a policeman explained that working in an office is easier than his job and that he told her, “if you study English you can work in the office, with the air conditioner, something like that” (PC2, F18, 16.02.13). Another student explained that his mother, “works at the market and so her work makes her very, very tired, it is very difficult. So she would always tell me, ‘Son, go to study, have a good job, don’t be the same as me’” (PC27, M22, 09.01.13). Another explained that her parents were farmers and that:

My mum, she grew the rice and it was hard on her body, but she keeps the children from having the difficulties the same as her.

She said that all her children must get high education and get a job, not the same her (PC10, F24, 07.01.13).

Parents' past experiences also shaped their aspirations for the next generation when education was seen as all they could give. A Masters graduate explained the motivation her father, who passed away when she was young, gave her to learn and to continue learning, "my father, he said, 'I do not have much property for you, you just learn, this is what I can give you already.' So all my sisters and my brother, they always try to study" (PC13, F26, 22.01.13). Respondents also reported that their parents' past experiences of the Khmer Rouge shaped their desire for more for their children. Having lost almost all their family members during the regime, one graduate explained that his parents are still driven by their own will to survive and for their children to do the same. He described his mother's survival during the regime, which still shapes her outlook today, "she's fighting for everything. She's hungry, she grabbed something to eat, you know, if you don't eat, you will die." As a result of their histories he explained, "my parents always say, 'You have to study hard, you have to be on the top'" (PC25, M21, 11.01.13).

A father of three explained how his own experiences during the Khmer Rouge shaped the importance he placed on his own children's education, both when they were growing up and as adults. Reiterating his desire for his own children, "to not experience it" and to have the freedom and opportunities to pursue their education, he explained:

I studied primary school, not high school because I studied primary school in 1970, then in 1975 the Khmer Rouge regime controlled in Cambodia. So, the Khmer Rouge Regime, they forced me and my parents and my brothers and my sisters to go to the countryside to do serious work. [...] No one studied. No school, no money, do work every time. Sometimes start from 5am finish 11pm. Very, very difficult. I was thin, I had no fat, had long hair. I didn't have soap to clean my body, just take the fruit to clean your hair (PC39, M51, 15.02.13).

As well as the desire for a 'good' or 'better' future for the next generation, respondents also reported that this desire was two-way, with children also supporting their parents, and intra-generational, between siblings. These aspirations were reminiscent of the findings on household strategies for learning participation in Chapter 5. This desire was both referred to as an individual desire and explicitly as part of a household strategy. As one university student explained in reference to his studies at CWF and his family tree, shown in Figure 3.3:

When people in my family learn English they do it to help each other, the people in here (*family tree*). When they know more English and improve their English, they can find the work. When they don't know about English it is difficult to find the work and don't have the money to support everyone here (*family tree*). When people want to study English and don't have the money they cannot. Now my sister got the money she can help everyone to study and should give everyone to study English because English is very important now in the world and to prepare the work and everything (PC29, M22, 08.01.13).

The individual desire for a 'good' or 'better' future for other household members was often described as a 'dream' for the future, to support those who have supported them in the past, and to support siblings where parents cannot. As one university student explained, "If my dreams come true, I will give the happiness to my family, I will do what they want. The first thing I think about is my family" (PC5, F19, 21.02.13). A receptionist had dreams of working abroad, "if I can leave from Phnom Penh I want to go to USA to find money and then I will come back to support my family" (PC12, F26, 22.02.13). Another student, whose parents were farmers, explained, "I think when I graduate from university I will find a good job and I will support my mum and dad. Because nowadays they still work hard for me and my sisters and brother" (PC26, M21, 05.02.13).

Showing her desire to support both her parents and her younger sibling, one university student reported, “If I have a salary I will give some to my parents and give some to support my sister’s study” (PC2, F18, 16.02.13). A TV controller explained that she worked to support both her own studies and her household, “I take time to study, to complete my skills, complete my knowledge and improve myself and after work I go to study. I work to get a little bit of profit. I have some salary to support my sister, my brother and my daddy” (PC15, F27, 18.01.13). A sales supervisor studied at CWF, “To improve my English, Improve my ability. It improve work, my family” (PC33, M28, 07.01.13). For some the desire to help others also extended beyond the household, “If I speak more English maybe one day I will find a good job and a good salary and I can improve myself and my family and finally my country too” (PC23, M20, 03.01.13).

This desire to provide for household members is modelled through the generations and is considered part of Khmer culture. This is particularly evident in the traditional Khmer New Year ceremony where immediate and extended household members provide financial support for one another. This tradition is something one respondent wanted to emulate through learning English:

My dream is just a simple thing I just want to have money so I can do something and maybe so I can also help my relatives because they are poor. [...] Some of them are farmers and some of them, they can’t find a job. [...] You know in Khmer culture, in the special occasion like Khmer New Year, we will just give the money to the older relatives [...] it is my dream. I want to support my family and my relatives. It is the tradition here (PC30, M22, 07.02.13).

The difference an individual household member can make to their household was evident. This is exemplified by the experiences of one respondent who moved to Phnom Penh to work and study and now supports his household in his hometown and sister in Phnom Penh. His

continued desire to provide more led him to study at CWF, “I think that I try to study English here more here, because I want to have a big position in another company. I think that I can get a lot of money.” He explained, “I want to save my brother and my sister and my family. But I think that if my English is little, the same as today, I cannot find it because English is very important” (PC34, M28, 22.01.13).

The desire for a ‘good’ or ‘better’ future for the household and other household members shows that it is important to consider effective functionings not only after an individual has participated in learning activities, but also beforehand, due to their influence on initial enrolment and learning participation. If an individual participated in a learning activity for the benefit of their household, it seems likely that effective functionings would be shared proximately afterwards. Furthermore a sense of altruism was evident in the desire for a ‘good’ or ‘better’ future, suggesting that effective functionings for the benefit of an individual might include the intrinsic purpose of providing for others. This section also showed that the capacity to aspire goes beyond the conceptualisation in Chapter 1 that it is based on one’s own learning outcomes, to include the influence of witnessing the effective functionings of others. It also moved beyond the typical understanding of parents aspiring for their children, to include two-way aspirations between generations, and the capacity of siblings to aspire for one another, as well as for their parents. The collective cultural aspect of providing for one another was particularly important to establish here, as it shapes our understanding of both the effective functionings for the individual, and the effective and proximate functionings for the household explored in Sections 6.2 and 6.3 respectively.

6.2. Individual Effective Functionings

In this section I explore the effective functionings, or actual learning outcomes from participation in the conversational English skills development programme at CWF that were reported to have been beneficial for the individual participant themselves. Reminiscent of the purposes outlined in Chapter 4, these were both productivist and went beyond the productivist orthodoxy. These wider effective functionings, discussed in turn, include improved social skills, confidence, pride, recognition, new hobbies and knowledge of foreign cultures. While English language vocabulary, pronunciation, listening and speaking skills were specific to learning English, other effective functionings are likely to be applicable to skills development programmes more widely, as they include broader achieved functionings and the uses and benefits of these functionings. Some, such as improved confidence, transcend these boundaries and are both specific to developing confidence in English, and the confidence more widely gained from learning and developing new skills, recognising one's own learning ability and achievements, and having these abilities recognised by others.

Respondents reported a range of productivist effective functionings from participating in classes at CWF. This was particularly the case for respondents who had foreign colleagues, managers or customers and those who travelled abroad for work. As a sales supervisor at a foreign-owned business reported, "now, I listen more than before and [...] my boss, when he comes to Cambodia I can speak with him. [...] I am brave to speak English with other people. When I have meetings for work, I have a conference at a hotel I can speak English more than before" (PC33, M28, 07.01.13). A doctor and government worker who had taken a number of work trips abroad also explained:

Before I studied here I think my language is low because before I studied here, when I went abroad and I listened it was very difficult, because I felt afraid because some of it I didn't understand because my English was low. But when I studied

here two terms and had a mission to Japan, I could understand what they said and I can ask them and have conversations with them and understand them (PC18, F40, 16.02.13).

Improvements were often gauged through the reaction of others in the workplace to their newfound skills. In one case the respondent worked as an administrator in a foreign-run NGO and it was the manager who had encouraged her to study at CWF that noticed her English had improved, “I think when I learn at CWF I can speak very good and I can meet my boss and meet other people and I can speak English. [...] My boss now, he knows what I say when I talk English [...] I think I am better, more than before” (PC16, F32, 21.02.13). A market seller noticed the effect his new English language skills had on his foreign customers, changing his self-perception beyond his English language abilities, to refer to himself as ‘clever’ and no longer afraid:

Yes, I have changed. My English has improved. The English I think is important for me. Before when the foreign customer would come to buy something from me, I did not know, it was difficult because I was shy and I did not know English. [...] I am now not afraid, I am clever. I can speak English a little, I can speak with the foreigner (PC39, M51, 15.02.13).

A range of effective functionings beyond the productivist orthodoxy were reported, many of which respondents had expected and had given as their reasons for attending classes at CWF, as discussed in Chapter 4. Some purposes, however, were reported by respondents as being unexpected, but were no less important to them as effective functionings. In some cases it was the unexpected effective functionings that encouraged them to continue to participate in classes, or to enrol again the following semester. The most commonly reported effective functionings that went beyond the productivist orthodoxy were social outcomes including making new friends, improved social skills and the ability to speak confidently with foreigners in Cambodia. As one university student reported, “I am more brave than before. My English

is more fluent than before. [...] I know more people” (PC6, F20, 29.01.13). For some respondents making new friends was an unexpected outcome, including one who only attended CWF to encourage her brother:

I met some very close friends, some very, very good friends. Two good friends, so this school has made me meet my good friends too. [...] I did not expect to meet good friends like that. As I told you, I just came to encourage my brother (PC13, F26, 22.01.13).

Improvements in communication and social skills were not specific to respondents’ abilities to speak English. One university student explained he has become better at communicating more generally, “I think I have changed a lot, I can speak English more than before. I am better in communication with my friends and can make some friends. I can be a fun, a funny guy” (PC28, M22, 13.02.13). Another student argued that these improvements were because the foreign teachers at CWF acted as role models improving her confidence and social abilities:

Before I studied here I was too timid, too shy to talk with anybody, not only foreign teachers but also with friends. But then later I started to talk a lot, so I was a bit braver and more confident. [...] This school, the foreign teachers here, they not only help me to improve my English but also I know a lot about their culture, about their views on something and I see they are confident (PC7, F21, 05.02.13).

Confidence speaking to foreigners in Cambodia was a key effective functioning for respondents, some of whom had never spoken to foreigners before learning from them at CWF. As one such university student explained, “for speaking I have changed a lot because, you know, when I study in here I am brave to speak to someone, like foreigners, because when I study at home or at my school I just speak English also but it is with Khmer citizen” (PC24, M20, 20.02.13). Difficulties speaking with foreigners were reported by some respondents as a cultural phenomenon, as a nurse who had spent some

time studying overseas reflected, “The Cambodians have got something, they are shy when they meet the foreigner and I got the same thing. If a white skinned guy comes to talk to me, or a black skinned guy or Chinese guy talked to me, I was really shy and would say, ‘Hello’ (shyly) but now I am not, I am more confident” (PC25, M21, 11.01.13). As well as becoming more confident, others reported that they needed to learn ‘how’ to speak with foreigners, “I think the first thing that I changed is I have improved my ability to speak with the foreigner. I mean I learned a lot about how to speak to the foreigner” (PC13, F26, 22.01.13).

Overcoming the ‘fear’ of speaking with foreigners was also highlighted, “Before I study here, I am just afraid of the foreigner. I can’t speak with them and so now I like to speak with foreigner and I like to speak English too” (PC23, M20, 03.01.13). A student who also worked as a travel agent explained how he knew his skills had improved by the way he communicated with foreigners, “before, when I did not study here, I was scared to talk to the foreigner and sometimes I don’t know how to reply them but after I study here yes, I can” (PC26, M21, 05.02.13). Another, who had studied at CWF four times previously, explained how his confidence speaking with foreigners started with his teachers:

Yes I feel more confident right now, not like before. [...] Now I can speak directly with the foreigner like that, face-to-face, it is easier for me to learn like that. When I start to study in the first class, I was frightened, afraid of study, when the teacher asked me to talk I could not do it I was afraid, maybe that was the first time I did that. I am more confident now and I have learned more words (PC31, M27, 23.02.13).

Effective functionings connected to increased confidence, pride and recognition beyond the ability to talk to foreigners were also reported. Confidence in this sense was typically referred to as feeling ‘more brave’ or ‘less shy’. As one university student explained, “Before I study here I just cannot speak English, I know the word but I’m too shy to speak [...] now I am less shy about the speaking and can listen to the

pronunciation" (PC29, M22, 08.01.13). Another student reported that the nature of learning at CWF not only improved her confidence, but had wider outcomes, making her feel more responsible for her own learning, "I am more confident and I feel more responsible. [...] For learning - I do my homework and am more responsible for learning English" (PC2, F18, 16.02.13). Receiving praise and recognition from others for newly acquired functionings provided further benefits for many respondents. One student improved her language skills and confidence and at CWF and as well as recognising the benefits, felt proud of the praise she received as a result:

I got my ability for speaking from various teachers. They try to show me that although I am not good at speaking I have to be confident. Sometimes I want to show people I am confident and knowledgeable on a topic. I earn a lot of praise from this and I meet a lot of different people (PC8, F22, 15.01.13).

Household members were particularly cited as having both noticed improvements in respondents' language skills, and to have expressed their pride in respondents' learning outcomes. As one student, referring to her father, reported, "I told him that, 'Wow, Papa, I like that school, it has the foreigner and their pronunciation is different, my listening is the best in the class!' He told me that, 'Wow that is good!' [...] Yes he is very proud of me and he says, 'Oh, your pronunciation is better, very better'" (PC5, F19, 21.02.13). When asked whether anyone had noticed her English improve since studying at CWF, a housewife, whose household members had encouraged her to study, expressed her pride in her husband's response, "Yes (laughs). My husband, he told me before I came to study I did not speak English a lot, but now when I speak English with him there are a lot of words. 'Progress.' He tells me, 'You are progressing now!'" (PC19, F54, 14.02.13).

Recognition from friends and teachers were also important to respondents. In one case a university student reported that her mother may have noticed her English skills improve, but her friends on

Facebook definitely had, "my friends on Facebook have, because I play on Facebook, I chat with them and they say, 'Ah! Your English is now very good!'" Her sister had also noticed improvements in her speaking skills, "Because when I start studying here, I always encourage her to speak English with me. She also noticed my English is better than before" (PC6, F20, 29.01.13). As well as recognition of their improvements, respondents also reported the benefits their newly acquired functionings had for their other studies. One respondent received recognition from her university lecturers:

I find I am really different than before. Some words I could not pronounce and I was not confident so when I finish I find myself that most of my lecturers, they say my pronunciation is really good and then I feel really happy with myself, I think that I am lucky to study here (PC8, F22, 15.01.13).

Knowledge of foreign cultures and taking up new hobbies were two effective functionings respondents reported as being particularly unexpected. As one university student explained, "when I came to study here, I start to have a different awareness of people, I meet people and can share with them and can learn about foreign education, how people live at home. For example, I met one Australian teacher who introduced us about sport like tennis. I enjoy this" (PC8, F22, 15.01.13). When asked if she has noticed any changes in herself another student replied, "Yes, a lot. Because the teacher is foreigner, I can study a lot about culture and he always talks about his hometown and I think wow, wow, wow." She was introduced to the new hobby of watching English language films, "Seeing movies I found in here because the teacher always puts on the movie or talks about the movie." She then gauged her progress by how many times she had to re-watch the same film to understand it, "before I have to watch maybe five times [...] now I can watch maybe two times or one time and I can know the meaning" (PC1, F18, 31.01.13). A financial controller also explained how improvements in her comprehension have increased her interest in watching English language television, "before I came to this school, my listening was very

poor, but when I came to this school, now I am better and I listen a lot more to these channels” (PC13, F26, 22.01.13).

Unexpected effective functionings were particularly pronounced for respondents who were confident in their English language abilities before attending CWF. One who had grown up in a foreign-run orphanage and had a lot of contact with foreign volunteers and staff in the past, explained that he unexpectedly developed his language skills and cultural awareness at CWF, “Yes, I know more about the culture and how to use words correctly. I know more words and the differences in use, they have similar meaning but different use” (PC22, M20, 23.02.13). A university student reported noticing improvements in both her conversational skills and, unexpectedly, in her cultural knowledge:

When I go to Conversations with Foreigners, now I can speak English. But the last time I not speak, or I speak one word and slow so I cannot listen when the people speak to me very quickly. It is hard for me and when I have the conversation with the foreigner it was very difficult. But now, it is difficult for me but only a little bit. [...] I can understand the foreigner with different accent. I can listen, I can speak and sometimes I know the grammar and the new word. I also learn the new culture like the Australian culture, so I know this, before I did not know (PC10, F24, 07.01.13).

Respondents reported a range of effective functionings both in keeping with their expectations and reasons for participation, as reported in Chapter 4, and beyond their expectations. These effective functionings were both productivist, benefiting the participant at work, and went beyond the productivist orthodoxy. These wider functionings were of no less importance to respondents than the productivist outcomes typically associated with skills programmes. Importantly, identifying these wider functionings corroborates the importance of including

purposes beyond the productivist orthodoxy in any 'radical' new approach to lifelong learning, as argued in Chapter 4. Building on this, it also highlights the important wider benefits that can arise from participation, even beyond initial expectations.

6.3. Household Effective Functionings and Proximate Functionings

This section explores the impact that the learning participation of one household member can have on their households. I explore this by examining the proximate functionings, or ways in which acquired functionings are shared, and the effective functionings for households, or the benefits for household members that arise from this sharing. I begin in Section 6.3.1 with the way in which functionings, or actual learning outcomes, are shared within households including both productivist effective functionings and those beyond the productivist orthodoxy. These wider functionings include acquiring a specialisation or filling a 'skills gap' within the household, helping others access information, and acting both intentionally and unintentionally as role models, modelling and defining particular functionings and learning behaviours. The latter discussion contributes to the work of Crozier and Davies (2006) discussed in Chapter 1, reinforcing the need to look beyond the current focus on parents as role models, to include the possibility that any household member could influence others if given the freedom and opportunity to acquire specific valued functionings.

In Section 6.3.2 I explore the ways in which participants can use their effective functionings to teach and help other household members learn through practise, and acquire the functioning themselves. This includes effective functionings from CWF, where participants reported teaching and helping other household members to practise their English. It also extends to functionings acquired throughout life including formal schooling, with household members drawing on the specific functionings of others to assist with homework. Effective functionings

are distinguished here in their focus on teaching and learning, which in turn can lead to further effective functionings. Found to take place throughout learners' lives, household members become a source of lifelong learning for other members. To date, the literature on learning and teaching in households has focused particularly on parent to child teaching, or the top-down 'inter-generational transmission' of learning (Goodnow and Collins, 1990; Hausser-Cram, 2009), as discussed in Chapter 1. There is a paucity of literature on both child to parent teaching and teaching and learning between siblings. As highlighted when exploring household strategies for learning participation in Chapter 5, intra-generational strategies including teaching and learning were identified as a gap in a literature review carried out by Bjorklund and Salvanes (2010). In this section I aim to contribute to this literature by identifying which household members share their functionings with which other household members through teaching or practise.

6.3.1. Proximate Functionings and Household Role Models

Respondents highlighted a range of inter- and intra- generational strategies through which they shared their effective functionings, or actual learning outcomes for the benefit the household. Discussed here in turn, they include acquiring specific skills to fill a 'skills gap' in the household, assisting other household members with work, acting as interpreters, and helping others access information. Respondents also reported acting as, or being influenced by others who acted as role models, modelling and defining learning within households.

In Chapter 5 I outlined the common practice in Cambodia of household members being influenced in their choice of university subject by other household members. In one case, however, the respondent explained that the reason for this was to fill a specific perceived 'skills gap' in her household. The household could thus be perceived as having a particular 'capability set', or range of functionings, that members of that household could draw on. Reinforcing the concepts of proximate and

effective functionings, the respondent reported that her older siblings had become teachers, a career she had planned to pursue herself, but her father decided it would be useful for the household if one member became a doctor. As a doctor, she would be able to assist with any household medical problems. The respondent's father therefore decided that she should study medicine instead of being a teacher, "my father said that in this family there are a lot of teachers, so he said that he would prefer me to do the exam for medicine. [...] He said if anyone in the family has a problem with their health I can discuss and can give care in the family. So before we go to the hospital, we can discuss and if it is not heavy, I can prepare." She explained that her father's influence has persisted through the generations, influencing or dictating the educational choices and subsequent professions of his grandchildren. His relative agency over the next generation, however, is somewhat tempered by the increased agency of his children who are now adults and parents. Recounting a conversation she had with her father about her own daughter's education and future occupation she explained:

After she finished to graduate at level 10, she wanted to study to be an accountant, but my father, he wanted her to follow the same as me, but she didn't want. So, before my father was angry with her! [...] Yes because he wanted to persuade her to do this and so I explained to him, 'Don't do like this, if anyone does not want, don't force them, let her follow her mind!' (PC18, F40, 16.02.13).

Effective functionings in some cases were productivist in nature, either helping individual household members, or in the case of households with a family business, assisting the whole household by sharing their functionings. One respondent practised English with her sister, and together they helped their brother with his work as a translator, thus sharing their functionings, "we help our brother because he is not good at English. [...] Now he got a job but he has a lot of things he does not know so he always comes back and asks us" (PC6, F20, 29.01.13). Several respondents used the functionings they acquired at CWF to help

with the family business. A university student, whose family run a shop out of their house, explained that she is now able to act as an interpreter for foreign customers, “Like when the foreigner comes and buys the phone card, my mum cannot speak so I will be the one who speaks” (PC7, F21, 05.02.13). Another student gave an example of how he knows his English has improved since studying at CWF:

I can talk to another who come to my fathers business. [...] He is an iron seller, for building. So that’s why a lot of foreigners come to my father’s business so I need to, I have to practise English more with this [...] my parents do not speak English (PC24, M20, 20.02.13).

Helping other household members access information was another way respondents used their effective functionings. A receptionist at a bank explained that she often acts as an interpreter for her parents who also run a shop out of their house. She also uses her new English skills to help them access information from international news channels, which provide more information than the Khmer news channels. Referring to her parents she explained, “sometimes they want me to translate the CNN information [and] sometimes when the foreigner asks about the way or something they also call me and say to tell them!” (PC12, F26, 22.02.13). Another way participants accessed information on behalf of household members was through the Internet. A doctor explained that she did not have the language or computer skills to search for and access the medical information she required from the Internet. Through an interpreter she explained how she draws on the functionings of her daughter to access this information:

She does not know how to use the Internet but her children know how to use it. She said most of the time, like if there are updates about medicine, her daughter will do research and then copy it and make a book for her so she can read it (PC20, F55, 14.02.13).

The intentional or unintentional modelling and defining of acquired functionings and learning behaviours were also raised. Both past and current students of CWF were reported to have positively influenced other household members to learn in this way. A few respondents also reported their desire to emulate skills demonstrated by CWF students outside of their household, as one university student reported, “I know about here from my neighbour, he was studying here to level 10 and he finished from here and his speaking is very fluent, so that’s why I want to study here [...] it made me feel like I want to be like him” (PC24, M20, 20.02.13). Most respondents, however, were influenced by their siblings, as one student explained, “my youngest sister she finished study here, finished level 10 here at Conversations with Foreigners and when she finished I study here because I see her very improved for English speaking” (PC29, M22, 08.01.13).

The propensity to become a role model appeared to be dependent specifically on the functionings acquired from participating in learning activities. There was no evidence in my findings that the ability to become a role model was restricted by the generation to which the household member belonged, their age, birth order, gender or household role, all of which were found to influence learning participation in some way in Chapter 5. What was important was that they modelled or demonstrated their learning behaviours or acquired functionings. This contributes significantly to the research carried out by Crozier and Davies (2006), as discussed in Chapter 1, which argued for a wider view of role models than the traditional view of parent to child modelling or defining. These findings provide an important indicator that changes in the acquired functionings of any household member, at any stage in life, could intentionally or unintentionally influence the functionings or learning behaviours of any other household member.

In one case it was a respondent's oldest brother who learned English at a young age then explained the importance of learning English to his parents and siblings, none of whom could speak English themselves. He then both taught his siblings English and encouraged them to study further, "The first time [...] before I went to study at the Pagoda, my older brother, he taught me." He explained that his brother learned English when his family "lived at Site II Camp, at the border between Thai and Khmer. While Cambodia was at war, the people ran to escape to the border and they lived there." Having persuaded his parents that English was an important skill to learn, his parents then encouraged his other siblings to learn, "even they don't know English but they said if you know more language, it is the good way to find the work." When they moved from the camp, the three youngest children went on to study English at a Pagoda. None of their older siblings could learn there because, "before, in the Pagoda, they had no one to teach English. The monks, they were not yet to start to teach to the students, so they could not go" (PC26 M21, 05.02.13). The combination of being encouraged and supported to learn by their oldest brother then parents, and subsequently being able to learn at the Pagoda, meant the three youngest siblings were the first in their household to go to university.

While most role models were household members, where extended family members acted as role models they were typically considered to be experts in the field, either through their work or learning history, and were typically considered more qualified on the subject than anyone within the household. As one student explained when asked if she wants to continue studying after university, "Yes I want to study more because I have my uncle who told me that if I study English and it is perfect I can go and work in the organisation - because he works in an organisation" (PC2, F18, 16.02.13). In this instance her own parents and grandparents were farmers and her uncle was the most immediate and most knowledgeable individual whose success could be emulated by following his advice. Another student discussed the influence of his

uncle, who modelled and demonstrated his financial success at work, achieved by learning English. Referring to his parents he explained:

They know English is important because my uncle he is very, very strong in English and his position is auditor at a Japanese company and he gets more money. When he goes to the homeland, when he has car, he has more salary to expend on the family, he gets in one-month maybe \$2000. Very, very high in Cambodia, so my uncle says to me you must try study English, the same (PC30, M22, 07.02.13).

Effective functionings from participating in learning activities were found to be both productivist and beyond the productivist orthodoxy and both intended and unintended. The combined capability set of each household member appeared to result in a household capability set, which could be drawn on by other household members. This was both due to deliberate strategies, for example by arranging to study certain subjects to fill a 'skills gap' in the household, and a mixture of intentional and unintentional modelling and defining of functionings and learning behaviours. Each of these influenced and benefitted household members, both by facilitating proximate functionings, by allowing members to draw on the functionings of others so they did not have to acquire the functioning themselves, and by encouraging others to learn, as discussed in Section 6.3.2.

6.3.2. Proximate and Effective Functionings for Lifelong Learning

Another way effective functionings were shared with other household members was by the participant helping other household members to practise or learn the functioning themselves. Teaching was both a direct learning activity in and of itself, and participants also helped with homework related to the functioning. This section focuses on learning and teaching as a two-way process both across and within generations, expanding the traditional focus in the literature on parent to child teaching, or the 'inter-generational transmission' of skills, as discussed in Chapter 1. The propensity to assist others, or be sought out for help, depended primarily on the household member's own functionings or capability set. In one household, the only members who could speak English were the respondent and her father, who had himself learned English from the radio and taught it to her, "He told me that since when I was born he always spoke with me in English." They subsequently shared the role of teaching other household members, including her younger brother: "Yes, at home my father and I speak English with him" and her sister in high school, "she doesn't know about English. But we try to make her good in English, we buy a book for her to learn English" (PC5, F19, 21.02.13).

Respondents reported learning from their parents mostly in their childhood, before their own learning surpassed that of their parents. As discussed in Chapter 2, due to the unique history of Cambodia, children, and particularly the youngest siblings, are often the most educated household members. Parent's assistance with their children's learning was usually through helping them with their homework from formal schooling. When asked if anyone influenced her education growing up, one university student replied, "My father. He always teach me at home and he always encouraged me. My mother and my father, both of them encouraged me to study". She explained that because her father left school at a young age due to the Khmer Rouge he would teach her, "just only in the lower level like from Grade 1 to Grade 6" (PC4, F19,

31.02.13). Another university student was taught by her mother, “when I was very young, even before I started to go to primary school, she was the one who taught me at home. [...] Her education is not high, she only finished high school, but she used to be a teacher and so she was a bit skilful” (PC7, F21, 05.02.13). In one household the respondent reported that her mother helped her with her Chinese when she was growing up, but was not able to help her once she went to school and started learning in Khmer because her mother was not fluent in Khmer. When asked if her mother helped with her homework she replied, “When I was a child, a lot. Because she knew Chinese much better, but Khmer she is not good, so she could teach me about Chinese a lot. But now maybe I am better than her” (PC1, F18, 31.01.13).

As well as ability, the availability of parents to help with their children’s homework was another issue raised by respondents. One father of three stopped studying at primary level due to the Khmer Rouge regime, but explained that he wanted to help with his children’s homework, if only to check they had completed it. He found this difficult because of his work, “Their homework? Yes. I controlled them at the night, sometimes I controlled and sometimes I did not control because I am busy with my business and when I got home I was tired” (PC39, M51, 15.02.13). Another respondent achieved his diploma before the Khmer Rouge and upon graduation became an officer in the Khmer Rouge army. He reported, however, that even though it was against the policies of the Khmer Rouge regime, who closed down the schools, he continued to teach his children at home, “Yes. I taught my children every day. [...] Yes, also my wife, she instructed my children also.” Referring to his oldest daughter he explained, “After the Pol Pot Regime was finished we moved to Phnom Penh so she could study then at school. I would teach them at home during the Pol Pot Regime then brought them to Phnom Penh to study at school after the regime.” All seven children are now university educated and both his children and grandchildren speak English fluently. In retirement he worked for an educational NGO supporting “the poor children for study from the first

Grade to the high Grade” (PC40, M70, 31.01.13). Even as a member of the Khmer Rouge army, the high value he had placed on education throughout his life remained unchanged and he continued to share his own learning with others.

Children also helped to teach their parents in a number of ways. As the English skills of children were often higher than those of their parents, having, unlike their parents, grown up in a country with English as a second language, many reported helping their parents to learn English, or that their parents asked them for help. One respondent explained that her children and husband have all helped to teach her English. Talking through an interpreter she explained that it is particularly her children who help her learn when she is watching and listening to English-language films and music, “If she does not understand then her children help her” (PC20, F55, 14.02.13). Another respondent explained that he both uses his English to teach his wife, and asks his son to help teach him, “I discuss it with my wife, sometimes she doesn’t know a word or a sentence, I explain to her and sometimes if I don’t know, my son explains it to me” (PC39, M51, 15.02.13). Learning from child to parent also extended beyond learning English to incorporate a range of other functionings. In one case a housewife and mother of two reported that her son was good with technology, unlike the rest of her household members, and would teach her how to use it, “My son, he teaches me about technology, he is very good, my family are not good, but my son is good” (PC19, F54, 14.02.13).

Respondents also reported intra-generational strategies where siblings helped each other to learn. Referring to his aspirations for his younger sister to study at CWF, one older brother explained, “When I study here 7.15-8.15pm, I go back and teach her at home every day [...] I speak to her and explain to her about the grammar and do anything to explain to her. I think that I am not good, but I can teach her one by one” (PC34, M28, 22.01.13). Depending on their area of expertise, respondents sometimes taught or helped their siblings with their homework alone

or alongside their parents. As one university student reported, “sometimes my sister asks me to help with maths and biology. Yes she wants me to help [...] my father can help her with the math” (PC2, F18, 16.02.13). Another university student referring to her younger sister stated, “I will help her homework because I am the older sister, my education is the highest in the family” (PC5, F19, 21.02.13). Another university student, who was not able to attend primary school due to her disabilities, explained that her older brother went to school then taught her at home, “Yes, during primary school I cannot go to study, I study at home. My brother, he taught me” (PC10, F24, 07.01.13). Some also reported that siblings helped them with their homework when their parents were busy working. As one university graduate explained, referring to her younger sisters:

Yes sometimes I help them, for example I try to explain to them to do the mathematics, or to do exercises or sometimes I try to explain if she has some problems, if the teacher asks her to do homework that she doesn't understand, she asks me to explain and sometimes she asks me for some good advice in order to get some success to study. [...] My parents and my grandmother, they are busy, because they have their own business. So they do not have time to explain to my younger sisters for homework but they can do a recommendation or suggestion (PC8, F22, 15.01.13).

In adulthood respondents particularly reported English as a functioning they would learn from, or practise with, their siblings. In a number of cases, respondents specifically learned English in order to be able to share their skills. One university student explained that she learned English because her sister “wants to improve her English too so she wants to talk in English to me” (PC4, F19, 31.02.13). Another university student explained that she practises English with her siblings at home because her parents cannot speak English, “Yes, my brother and my sister, the other, they cannot speak English” (PC10, F24, 07.01.13). Another who lives with extended family members explained that

because she is the only household member who can speak English, she helps her niece with her homework, “When she does not understand how to do her homework she always asks me to help” (PC4, F19, 31.02.13).

A beautician who stopped studying at Grade 12 to help support her younger sister to study at university explained that because her sister’s English is superior to her own, she would often ask her for help and practise with her, “I tell her when I talk with her she needs to speak English with me because sometimes I forgot. Speak English, not speak Khmer. Sometimes when I don’t know the meaning of the English and can’t speak English, I speak Khmer and she tells me, because she knows about a lot of words more than me” (PC14, F27, 23.01.13). Similarly a university student asked her older sisters to help her with her grammar, as she believes their English skills are superior to her own:

Any grammar I don’t know, I ask my third sister and second sister because I think they maybe know English very well than me, because they study at Panyasat University. Before we study at that university we must study English for one year, then in the second year they allow them to choose their major. But for my school I chose the major already, not to study English for one year the same at Panyasat University, so I think that my sisters know English better than me (PC3, F18, 14.01.13).

The disadvantages of being the only household member who can speak English were also pointed out. Although not ‘isolated’ from the functioning, in the sense that she herself could speak English, one university student reported that she was isolated in the sense that she didn’t have another household member to help her learn, or to practise her English skills with. Having explained that she learns other skills with the help of other household members, when asked who can speak English in her household, she replied, “Just only me. So it is difficult for me to improve it” (PC4, F19, 31.02.13). Similarly, growing up ‘isolated’

from English language skills in her own household, a university graduate explained that she had to rely on her teacher and friends to learn English and to do her homework when she was young. After acquiring the functioning, however, she then passed her learning on to other household members:

Sometimes I help my younger sister, correct my younger sister, because she is not so good. Sometimes she fills the form and is not good to write something so I help her with how to write.

AJ: Did anyone help you with your homework from school?

No, I did myself and if I did not understand something I would ask my friends to help me. [...] My father could not help because he did not know English. [...] All the homework I did by myself and if it was not right my teacher would correct me and I would do it like him (PC12, F26, 22.02.13).

All household members were found to pass on their effective functionings to other household members through teaching and learning. This sharing was both two-way across generations, from parents to children and children to parents, and intra-generationally between siblings. Younger generations in Cambodian households are likely to have participated in more formal schooling than their parents, as previously discussed. The effect of this on learning in households was evident in these findings. Parents were most likely to teach their children by helping them with their homework, however once their learning surpassed their own, the children were then found to take on the role of teacher themselves, teaching both their parents and their siblings. It was also evident, however, that parents who acquired further functionings later in life also taught these functionings to other household members, including their children and partners.

These findings suggest that the propensity of a household member to share their effective functionings with others is based primarily on their capability set, or “alternative functioning vectors that she can choose from” (Sen, 1999, p.75) more than any other factor. There were no findings that suggested generation, age, gender, birth order, or any other factor found to influence learning participation in Chapter 5, influenced proximate functionings, or the way in which actual learning outcomes were shared. Furthermore the only apparent factor that influenced the propensity of other household members to benefit from this sharing was their need to utilise the functioning, or their desire to acquire the functioning themselves. These findings suggest that effective functionings, at least in this context, are likely to be shared proximately within households regardless of which household member acquired them. It was further evident that learning, and the propensity to share this learning, can take place at any stage in life, moving away from the conception that learning is somehow fixed and immutable and based on the completion of formal schooling. These findings indicate instead that learning is lifelong, with learning participation throughout life having the potential to both influence and benefit others. This is a significant expansion on the current literature, which focuses primarily on the level of formal education achieved by parents and the influence of parents on their children. In this wider conception, the role of lifelong learning is clear, both in the influence parents can have on their children, and the influence children can have on their parents and siblings. It is evident, therefore, that outcomes from adult skills development programmes both can, and do, benefit both the individual and their household members.

6.4. Conclusion

In this chapter I have provided evidence of a range of ways individuals and their households have been influenced by the outcomes of lifelong learning. Through the lens of 'proximate functionings' and 'effective functionings' I have both corroborated and built upon the findings from Chapters 4 and 5, which argue in turn for the importance of looking beyond the productivist orthodoxy and for including the role of households in any 'radical' new approach to lifelong learning. Effective functionings, or benefits from actual learning outcomes for the individual and their household, were found to be both productivist and to go beyond the productivist orthodoxy. Furthermore, households were found to be critically important, not only influencing participation, but also as recipients of the lifelong learning of household members. This chapter has also built on these findings to contribute to the literature on functionings, or learning outcomes, to show how and why they are shared, who shares them, and who benefits from that sharing.

The concepts of 'effective literacy' and 'proximate illiteracy' put forward by Basu and Foster (1998) provided a useful lens through which to investigate functionings, or actual learning outcomes. By expanding the reach to 'effective functionings', the concept demands an exploration of the benefits to the individual and their household, moving beyond traditional economic approaches that focus on outcomes for the individual. 'Proximate functionings' also focus attention on the household and the way in which functionings are shared within them. Additionally, the findings build on the concept of being an 'isolated illiterate' (Basu and Foster, 1998), where an individual would be 'isolated' from literacy if they were 'illiterate' and lived in an 'illiterate' household. While the research did not focus on full isolation from particular functionings, respondents did report the disadvantage of being the only member in the household with a specific functioning, as it meant they were in a sense 'isolated' from being able to practise with, or learn from, others. The advantages reported by respondents of

having a household member they could learn from further corroborated this. Although not isolated per se, this does highlight the advantage of being the member of a household with a capability set that can be effectively shared among its members.

Having drawn on the capability approach in their own work, the concepts put forward by Basu and Foster (1998) are both in keeping with, and expand upon, the work of Sen (1999, p.291) who points to the importance of examining the opportunity individuals have to, “achieve outcomes that they value and have reason to value.” Identifying effective functionings, and their value or benefits for individuals and their households, has been a useful way to achieve this. Respondents both identified the intrinsic value of working towards a ‘good’ or ‘better’ future for the household and provided evidence of a range of ways household members have benefitted from the effective functionings of others. These include deliberate strategies to fill a ‘skills gap’ in the household by pursuing particular functionings, helping other household members with their work, acting as interpreters and helping others access information. It also includes household members modelling and defining functionings and learning behaviours for others, teaching other household members to help them acquire the functioning themselves, and helping other household members practise and develop their existing capability sets. The latter benefit positions the household as a site of lifelong learning in and of itself, leading to further potential effective functionings, which can in turn benefit the individual, their households and future generations.

The collective nature of households is evident throughout these findings, moving away from the typical focus in the literature of parents aspiring, influencing, helping and teaching children, to recognise the role of all household members. Children, or the younger generation in the household, were also found to aspire for a ‘good’ or ‘better’ future for their parents and siblings and to share their effective functionings with them either directly, or by helping them acquire or develop the

functioning themselves. Furthermore their propensity to share their functionings appeared to be based on their capability set more than any other factor found to influence enrolment and learning participation. This builds on the two-way inter- and intra-generational influence identified in Chapter 5 for learning participation, and recognises that the effective functionings or outcomes from participation not only have the potential to benefit other household members, but to benefit any household member, regardless of which member participates in the learning activity. This both provides further support for the need to move beyond traditional individualistic conceptions of learning, and expands our focus beyond the level of parents' formal schooling to recognise that the functionings of any household member can be drawn upon, including those acquired later in life.

Chapter 7. Synthesis, Discussion and Conclusion

With the overall aim of contributing to the construction of a 'radical' new approach to lifelong learning and adult skills development, this research addressed the question, "Can the capability approach combined with experiential learning for adult skills development answer the emerging call for a 'radical' new approach to lifelong learning?" In doing so, I explored two key areas to take into account when considering adult participation in skills development programmes. The first was whether to broaden the current focus on participation for productivist purposes of 'skills for work' to include wider human development goals. The second was whether participation in lifelong learning for adults is the result of individual values, choices and agency, or whether, and to what extent, their households play a role. Conceptualising the latter as a two-way process, I also considered whether and how household members might be influenced by the functionings, or learning outcomes of individual learning participation. Drawing on the work of Amartya Sen and the capability approach, and in recognition of the central role of past experiences and the need for continuous experiential interaction with specific functionings to learn, I argued for the benefits of complementing the capability approach with experiential learning. As a result, the research moves the current largely individualistic and productivist focus of lifelong learning forward, to argue that any 'radical' new approach should include wider human development goals. In addition, the new approach should recognise the central influence of households on the enrolment and learning participation of other household members, and as beneficiaries from the outcomes of participation, throughout learners' lives.

7.1. Developing the Field

To date there has been a recognised ‘paucity’ of research both on adult skills development in the ‘global south’ (McGrath, 2012) and on Cambodia specifically. Cambodia’s own recent history has contributed to this both due to the impact the Khmer Rouge had on education, and the early stage Cambodia is currently at in developing its research capacity (Fujii and Ear, 2002; Tuon et al., 2012; World Bank, 2012a). With a few exceptions, what research has been produced is often focused on the Khmer Rouge, or has been referred to as ‘personal reflections’ written by interested foreigners (Ayres, 2000a; Berkvens et al, 2012). Taken in this light this thesis contributes both to the wider literature on skills development in the global south and to the limited understanding of modern day Cambodia.

To explore these research findings I have addressed three key themes. The first was how to operationalise the capability approach and experiential learning for lifelong learning. The second was the importance of moving beyond the productivist orthodoxy for the purposes and outcomes of learning participation. The third was the centrality of household members in both influencing the learning participation of others, and as potential beneficiaries of the outcomes from lifelong learning participation.

Together these themes address the overall research question, “Can the capability approach combined with experiential learning for adult skills development answer the emerging call for a ‘radical’ new approach to lifelong learning?” and the three research sub-questions:

1. Do respondents’ reasons for participation in adult skills programmes indicate purposes beyond the productivist orthodoxy, and if so, which?

2. To what extent is enrolment and continued participation in adult skills programmes the result of individual and/or household agency?
3. In what ways are individual and households influenced by the outcomes of individual participation in adult skills programmes?

7.1.1. Towards an Operational Approach to Lifelong Learning Participation

Throughout this thesis I have argued for the use of experiential learning to complement the capability approach and move towards an operational framework for lifelong learning. The importance of individuals and their household members reflecting and learning from past experiences has been a key theme throughout this thesis, reinforcing the importance of including this key tenet of experiential learning. Experiences were found to shape both learning participation for the acquisition of specific functionings, and the way outcomes from learning participation are shared within households. Learners defined their own learning in terms of engaging in a process of continual experience, interaction and practice. The cyclical pattern of continuously applying and reapplying learning, both based and building upon prior experience, is the foundation of Kolb's Experiential Learning Cycle (1984).

The findings from this thesis have furthermore drawn attention to the importance of including a broader understanding of learning participation situated within household membership. This develops the notion of an autonomous individual associated with experiential learning and the capability approach (Kolb, 1984; Sen, 1999; Stewart, 2005; Vince, 1998). Recognising the heterogeneity of households, and the need to view each member as an individual (Nussbaum, 2000), this approach highlights the central importance of understanding that each individual operates within the confines and context of their household.

It also recognises that individuals are both shaped by their own past experiences and the experiences of other household members two-ways and both inter- and intra-generationally. These findings both support and contribute to the literature on 'group capabilities' (Stewart, 2005; 2009).

The combination of these two approaches allows for the complex, multidimensional factors that make up an individual's propensity to participate and continue to participate in learning activities, based on past experiences and continually shaped by new experiences. Going forward, as discussed in Section 7.3, it would be advantageous to see if this framework is useful for other researchers in this field, including whether it continues to be applicable beyond this case study and context. It would also help to ascertain whether further adaptations are required to better conceptualise their combined advantages for understanding individual lifelong learning participation, and the central influence of households.

7.1.2. Widening the Focus: Beyond the Productivist Orthodoxy

Recognising the productivist orthodoxy of 'skills for work' and development for economic growth (Anderson, 2009; Duke and Hinzen, 2010; Sen, 1999), this research has answered calls to include human-centred development and wider human development goals in the construction of a 'radical' new approach to skills development and lifelong learning (McGrath, 2012; Tikly, 2014; UNESCO, 2012b). The research findings support the need for a wider, more inclusive view of TVET and lifelong learning, and provides evidence of both purposes and outcomes from a skills development programme that are valued by individuals and their households, in keeping with these wider goals. Both productivist and wider purposes for participation were cited by the majority of respondents, however productivist purposes were not given as reasons for participating, or as outcomes of participation, by around a quarter of respondents.

It is important to recognise, however, that the purposes outlined here were specific to a conversational English language programme, which is likely to lend itself to wider purposes beyond the 'skills for work' productivist orthodoxy than other TVET programmes might. Another skill focused specifically on a particular profession, for example, is likely to highlight different, and potentially more productivist purposes, than a conversational English language programme. This focus could, therefore, have provided an inflated number of participants who did not specify any productivist purposes, than other skills programmes might have. Further research is required, as outlined in Section 7.2, to ascertain the degree to which purposes for participation in other skills programmes also go beyond the productivist orthodoxy. It is likely, however, that many of the purposes identified here will also be found in other programmes, albeit to varying degrees of specificity. For example, the desire to socialise in English found here, if categorised as 'social purposes', is likely to be found in other skills programmes where an individual expresses their desire to meet new people by participating.

As Sen (1999, p.291) points out, "non-income variables point to opportunities that a person has excellent reasons to value that are not strictly linked with economic prosperity." Recognising these wider valued purposes for participation is essential if we are to avoid ascribing to learners an overly, and in some cases inaccurate, productivist economic view of their purposes for participation in adult skills development programmes. The inclusion of these goals, in keeping with the capability approach, is not a departure from recognising the productivist value of skills development, but rather widens this view, recognising that excluding these wider goals would be to base a new approach to lifelong learning and adult skills development on an incomplete picture of the reality of learners' lives.

Based on these research findings I expanded the six purposes for participation beyond the productivist orthodoxy suggested by McGrath (2012), namely: cultural, leisure, caring, spiritual, communicative and community development purposes. To this I added a further twelve categories: social, altruistic, participative, access, academic, mobility, intrinsic, escapism, confidence, empowerment, status and household purposes. Household purposes are discussed more in Section 7.1.3 and include participants' aspirations for a 'good' or 'better' future for their household. Further to this I also identified uses for English in Cambodia beyond those previously identified by Moore and Bouchan (2010), for the television, radio, DVD movies, Internet, email, speaking to children, as a "secret" language, for chatting socially, text messaging and singing karaoke. To these I include using English to assist with other studies, access information, listen to English language music, read books, newspapers and spiritual texts, visit, study and live abroad and help others including household members and foreigners in Cambodia. Overall the purposes and uses of English skills were in keeping with Sen's (1999) argument about education, that it is both instrumental, as a means to an end, and intrinsic, as an end in itself.

7.1.3. The Centrality of Households: Beyond Individualism

This research has progressed current research, which largely follows a 'Western' individualistic tradition (Berkvens et al., 2012), focusing on individual participants and underestimating the important influence of households, particularly for adults. In doing so I contribute to the literature on 'group capabilities' (Stewart, 2005; 2009) and draw attention to the less discussed aspects of the capability approach in which Sen (1990) and Nussbaum (2008) both argue that households are important, diverse and that individuals should be recognised within them. These findings provide evidence that any understanding of participation in, and outcomes from, skills development programmes are incomplete without including the potential influence of both individual and household agency. Far from the economic, human capital

approaches such as the 'unitary family model' (Becker, 1964) these research findings show the often-complex systems of cooperation-conflict (Sen, 1990) within households.

The household strategies identified build on existing literature by moving beyond the inter-generational strategies typically reported, whereby parents influence the learning participation of children. I provide evidence instead that household learning strategies are two-way and both inter- and intra-generational. Distinguishing between these strategies builds on what Sen (1999, p.193) broadly refers to as "the important issue of *intrafamily* division of food, health care, and other provisions." Investigating the 'personal politics' inside the 'black box' of the household in this way provides evidence of both the complex mechanisms in place, and the influence household membership can have both in, and potentially beyond, the Cambodian context.

Here I discuss four of the main ways this research contributes to the current literature on households, beginning with two key ways it moves beyond the typical focus on parents influencing the learning participation of their children. The first is the important role of intra-generational influence between siblings, highlighted as a gap in a literature review by Bjorklund and Salvanes (2010). The second is the influence of all household members throughout learners' lives, and particularly in adulthood, expanding concepts of 'access' beyond a focus on children (Lewin, 2007). The third builds on the current literature on the influence of housework (Brickell, 2011b) to focus specifically on how responsibility for it can influence individual learning participation. Finally I show how my adaptation of Basu and Foster's (1998) concepts of proximate and effective literacy expand the literature on the outcomes of the learning participation of all household members.

Through this research I have contributed to a paucity of research on intra-generational learning strategies between siblings, a gap identified in a literature review carried out by Bjorklund and Salvanes (2010).

Siblings, and particularly older siblings, were found to play a central role supporting each other's learning participation, in some cases beyond the support provided by parents. This support typically followed the birth-order of siblings, and builds on research conducted by Keng (2004) who focused on formal education in childhood, to provide evidence that this relationship persisted into adulthood and throughout learners' lives. Younger siblings were significantly more likely to have continued their studies than older siblings. This finding reinforces the need to recognise the role of cooperation-conflict within households (Sen, 1999). Neither Becker's (1964) 'unitary family model', which follows the productivist concept of an altruistic household head pursuing returns on investment, nor the 'resource dilution hypothesis' and 'confluence model', which both associate larger families with negative educational outcomes (Jaeger, 2009), were found in this context. Contradicting these economic models, I found that more siblings typically meant more support, particularly for younger siblings, to learn. I also found these strategies to be the result of negotiation between household members both across and within generations based on past experiences and dependent on the individual and household members' capacity to aspire (Appadurai, 2004; Kolb, 1984). It was evident, however, that substantial inequalities of opportunities exist and the increased opportunity for learning for some was at times a result of diminished learning opportunities for others. This reinforces the argument that households "may be the site of great inequalities of opportunity", as argued by Nussbaum (2008, p.6) on behalf of herself and Sen. By encouraging a multidimensional understanding of learning, including and going beyond economic factors, the capability approach was found to provide a more complete and accurate picture of the reality of learners' lives than these economic theories.

The lifelong aspect of learning participation and household influence was also evident in these findings. Where literature to date has focused largely on household agency over children's formal education (Lewin, 2007), this research found that, at least in Cambodia, household

influence persisted into adulthood, even when household members no longer lived together. Participants still reported requiring permission from household members to attend skills development programmes as adults. This potential constraint on individual agency has important implications for lifelong learning in Cambodia, and potentially in other contexts. It is not enough to ask whether the individual values and has chosen to attend a programme if their agency is constrained by their need for permission to attend. Strategies and policies aimed at encouraging lifelong learning participation must take this into account. This might mean including households in outreach strategies by providing information on programmes that can be taken home and shared with other household members, for example, which is a strategy adopted by CWF (Annex 2). The leaflet provided a way of engaging household members, and potentially helped to increase the likelihood of them both granting permission, and providing further support. Responsibility for housework and the way housework was shared between household members was found to have a significant impact on learning participation. This was particularly the case for the 'wife' or 'mother', identified by respondents as being traditionally responsible for housework. The influence of housework on learning participation builds particularly on previous work by Brickell (2011b) who researched the role of housework in Cambodia more broadly. By focusing specifically on learning participation, I found that the degree of sole responsibility household members had for housework had a significant influence over their propensity to participate in lifelong learning activities. Some household members were found to have stopped studying to fulfil these household 'duties'. I also found, however, that this inhibiting effect could be mediated through negotiated household strategies whereby other household members shared the load, in some cases specifically so other household members could study. Similar to the sibling strategies identified, this was in most cases dictated more by birth-order, with the oldest child being more likely to do housework, than any other factor including, except in a minority of cases, the gender of the children. Furthermore these

findings indicated that the role of 'housewife' was typically assigned in adulthood when an individual became a 'wife' or 'mother'. My findings also indicated that this role is changing, with younger generations referring to non-traditional or 'modern' women who would not become 'housewives'. Extended family members also played a role, in some cases living in the household to carry out the housework and give other household members more time to participate in learning activities, supporting the findings of Huisman and Smits (2009).

There is a paucity of research to date on how changes to the learning participation and outcomes for one household member might influence other household members. Past research has largely centred on changes in the learning participation of parents, particularly mothers, and how it enhanced the learning environment, or learning participation, of their children (Hauser-Cram, 2009; Magnuson et al., 2009). Widening this approach, I adopted a house-wide perspective both across and within generations and adapted the central concepts of Basu and Foster's (1998) proximate and effective literacy to focus on wider functionings, or learning outcomes. This is a new application of these concepts in relation to wider functionings, as opposed to specifically focusing on literacy, and although it would be valuable to explore these concepts further, as outlined in Section 7.2, my research findings were consistent these concepts.

While it was clear that conversational English language was a skill that lent itself particularly well to being shared with other household members, my findings showed how other lifelong learning outcomes were also shared, particularly from participation in formal schooling. It is likely, however, that different skills would be shared differently within households and to greater and lesser degrees. My findings showed a lifelong aspect to the proximate sharing of learning outcomes for the benefit of other household members. Furthermore the functionings, or learning outcomes, for younger generations were found to be shared with both parents and siblings, moving beyond current

literature focused on the influence of older generations, particularly parental influence on children. It was also evident that the propensity to share was based on knowledge and experience, as opposed to other hierarchical factors found previously such as birth order, meaning participation in, and outcomes from, learning participation is in some way changing the hierarchical culture of Cambodian households.

Functionings, or actual learning outcomes, were found to be both intentionally and unintentionally modelled and defined by household members, who became 'high status role models', building on the work of Crozier and Davies (2006). They were also shared through teaching and helping other members to acquire or practise new functionings, and by directly assisting other household members, in effect 'lending' their newly expanded capability sets to, for example, help others with their work, or to access information. In some cases households had intentionally arranged for certain household members to acquire certain skills in order to share their learning, sometimes influencing their careers. The implications of proximate and effective functionings within households, and strategies to promote learning, have significant implications for policy and practice to encourage learning participation, and to better target initiatives and evaluate outcomes and impact.

7.2. Future Research Agenda

Through these research findings, and from reflecting on my research methodology, I put forward six key areas for future research to further develop this field. I discuss each of these in turn here, beginning with the need to carry out similar research on other adult skills development programmes and in other contexts. The primary reason for this is to identify whether the combination of the capability approach and experiential learning is applicable beyond conversational English language learning in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. This includes identifying whether, how, and the extent to which purposes for, and outcomes

from, participation in other programmes also extend beyond the productivist orthodoxy. The second suggestion, which also includes research with wider learning programmes, is to further explore the concepts I put forward of 'effective' and 'proximate' functionings, and what other functionings, or learning outcomes, might be shared within households. The third suggestion, having identified the importance of households, is to carry out specific research on household outreach strategies. Finally, I make three key suggestions based on my research methodology to include a wider survey group, further socio-economic dimensions, and to do baseline surveys and research over time.

The first suggestion is to investigate whether my findings, particularly the combination of the capability approach and experiential learning, are also applicable for skills programmes and other learning activities beyond conversational English language skills. This includes exploring whether, how, and the extent to which the purposes for participation, and outcomes from it, extend beyond the productivist orthodoxy, as discussed in Section 7.1. Exploring other learning programmes and contexts would help establish whether this is a useful way of 'operationalising' the approach across contexts and if so why, how, and in which ways the concept might be developed further. As well as research in different countries, it would also be useful to explore differences within Cambodia, including urban to rural differences. It is likely that these findings would be influenced by different cultural norms, particularly if these findings in Cambodia are compared to 'Western' cultures.

The second suggestion is to carry out further research into the concept I put forward of proximate and effective functionings in order to develop the preliminary findings from this research. This includes identifying whether these household strategies exist for learning outcomes from other programmes, and in other contexts. It would be useful to further investigate which learning is shared, why, how, by whom, where and under what circumstances. Research focusing specifically on

functionings, or learning outcomes, and how they are shared with other household members could have significant applications. Would a policy, for example, of ensuring at least one household member has acquired a specific skill be effective? Are there wider applications of encouraging shared learning? Can the propensity to share learning be taught or encouraged, and can teaching resources be provided to assist with this?

The third suggestion is to carry out research specifically focused on outreach strategies for households. Given the significant agency of household members evidenced by this research, acting as 'gatekeepers' for permission, access and support throughout learners' lives, this is a potentially fertile field of research. The first step would be to establish the level of influence households have over adult access to skills development programmes in that context. This could be achieved by following the responses from participants in this research, who identified permission, finances and transport as three key requirements for access to learning. If households were found to be influential in that context, researching how to engage them effectively and increase their propensity to support the learning of other household members could have significant implications for policy and practice. As well as investigating the effectiveness of shareable leaflets, as I discussed in relation to CWF, it would be useful to identify whether other strategies, for example targeting content to households, and direct engagement such as invitations to question and answer sessions or open days, would be effective. This research could also help expand our broader understanding of lifelong learning participation and the influence of households in multiple contexts.

The fourth suggestion is to expand the research methodology to include a wider survey group. Although unfeasible for this research, there are significant benefits to carrying out research with participants' household members. This would move away from a reliance on the interpretation of an individual participant and would offer scope for wider perspectives, including reasons for non-participation.

Furthermore, in this study I focused on students in the top level classes and conducted my research in English. It could be useful to explore the purposes, agency and outcomes of participants in lower levels to include the perspectives of students who have not yet acquired the functioning in question. It might also be advantageous to include students who dropped out of the programme without acquiring English, to understand whether their reasons were individual or household, and whether it was due to 'unfreedoms' arising in their learning cycles. The inclusion of non-learners and non-learning households in future research would also be useful, as would comparing individuals and households with members who do participate in learning activities, with those who do not.

The fifth suggestion is to include further socio-economic dimensions in future research. These findings have indicated a number of areas worth investigating further including differences in socio-economic backgrounds, religion, ethnicity, marriage and parenthood. Socio-economic background and religion were not questions I asked of participants for this research, although responses did indicate their influence on learning participation. Some referred to how being Christian, for example, influenced their purposes for participating in English language classes. The socio-economic background of learners' households was also identified as a particular constraint on participation. Cultural differences based on ethnicity were also found to play a role, and although seldom written where requested on the Individual Questions Form (Annex 6), respondents did identify differences, for example, between Khmer and Chinese attitudes towards learning. Finally, the findings indicated the potentially significant role of marriage and parenthood on participation in adult skills programmes. The only respondents who were married or had children had adult children, or in one case a child who lived with the respondent's wife in his hometown while he worked in Phnom Penh. This suggests the potentially significant inhibiting influence of marriage and parenthood, which would be important to investigate further.

The sixth suggestion is to include baseline studies and studies over time to interview before, during and after learning participation in order to map individual and household purposes, agency and outcomes in greater depth, and to identify any changes in responses. It might also be beneficial to re-visit participants after a year or more to find out whether they achieved their short and long term goals, if so how, and if not why not. Re-visiting again after ten years could also identify changes as 'educated' parents, who are currently participants in their 30s, have children, to ascertain whether their learning participation changed their values, choices and the ways they enacted their agency to facilitate or inhibit the learning participation of other household members. Re-visiting and adopting the same research methodology, even with new participants, could be useful from a comparative perspective, to map how society has changed with this new 'educated' generation, and any influence this might have had on lifelong learning

7.3. Implications for Policy and Practice

To adopt a 'radical' new approach to lifelong learning following these research findings requires the inclusion of purposes and outcomes both within and beyond the productivist orthodoxy. It also requires recognition and inclusion of the central and significant influence of households on individual learning participation, and as potential beneficiaries from the learning participation of other members. In doing so, I make the following recommendations for future policy, research and practice.

Policy on lifelong learning should include the importance of going beyond the productivist orthodoxy and including the central role of households. Including lifelong learning and adult skills development in the global agenda including the new Education for All (EFA) and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) from 2015 is essential given their importance both for individuals and their households. While the

proposed SDGs include Goal 4, “Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote life-long learning opportunities for all” (UN, 2014), the sub-goals are still housed in the largely productivist ‘skills for work’ rhetoric. These research findings can be applied to the two sub-goals pertinent to adult skills development. The first is related to equal access, “By 2030 ensure equal access for all women and men to affordable quality technical, vocational and tertiary education, including university.” These research findings show that equal access is particularly dependent on the influence of households and circumstances of individuals. The gendered access to learning in Cambodia, for example, depends on how housework is shared within households. The second sub-goal is the actual attainment of skills, “By 2030, increase by x% the number of youth and adults who have relevant skills, including technical and vocational skills, for employment, decent jobs and entrepreneurship.” These research findings suggest the need to move beyond this ‘skills for work’ productivist rhetoric to include learners’ *own* reasons for participating, and outcomes from participation, shaped by the past experiences of individuals and household members, and inclusive of wider human development goals. In some cases these are the only purposes, or outcomes, identified or valued by learners. This does not mean that in the long term, and across learners’ lives, the learning outcomes will not have productivist uses, but in the short term, to encourage participation and benefit from outcomes beyond this narrow productivist outlook, these wider purposes should be included.

Recognising the important and central role of adult skills development and lifelong learning for development, and the current paucity of research in this area, further research should be carried out to address this knowledge gap, particularly in the global south. As outlined in Section 7.3, this research should be multidimensional, including the individual and their households, and the wide range of purposes and outcomes from learning participation for both themselves and their households. Central to any research should be recognition of the

particular facilitating and inhibiting influence households can have on learning participation, and that learning outcomes can be shared with household members. Household members both draw on others' capability sets, and teach or model learning and learning behaviours. Including these wider factors and following the six suggestions for the future research agenda I have identified in Section 7.3, would contribute to a more complete understanding of the lifelong learning process across contexts.

Based on these findings, it is important for practitioners and providers of skills development programmes to recognise and identify the wider purposes learners have for participating in their programmes that go beyond the productivist orthodoxy. It would also be valuable to establish whether, and the degree to which, participants are influenced by other household members. Consulting current and potential students and asking what their own aspirations and purposes for participation are would be an effective way to achieve this. Tailoring recruitment and curriculum based on in-depth research, as CWF have done based on the findings from this research, as raised in Section 3.5, is likely to lead to positive outcomes for both the students and the programme provider. CWF, for example, used the findings on why respondents chose CWF over other centres to recognise the central importance of practicing speaking and listening skills at CWF over any other skill, and not to follow the direction they were considering, to move more towards grammar, reading and writing skills.

Carrying out research and making changes based on the findings would mean the curriculum is more likely to meet learners' needs, and learners are more likely to continue to participate and encourage others to do so. Teachers are also likely to notice a positive response due to increased student engagement through tailored learning. It also means financial resources would be channelled more effectively to directly meet learners' needs, rather than perpetuate an overly economic focus following the existing productivist orthodoxy.

Recognising and tailoring programmes to these wider human development goals does not mean replacing economic purposes and outcomes; indeed this research has shown their importance to many, but importantly not all, learners. This wider understanding is instead in keeping with the capability approach and experiential learning, recognising that economic goals are but one means of achieving development and to focus exclusively on them could be detrimental to the learner, the organisation, teachers and donors. Identifying the influence households have on individual learning participation, and as beneficiaries from it, is also important for providers, as it may significantly influence student recruitment and retention strategies. It may also shape their understanding of the wider outcomes, impact and achievements of their adult skills development programmes.

References

- ADB. (2013), *Asian Development Bank and Cambodia: Fact Sheet*, Philippines: Asian Development Bank.
- Adetunji, P.G. (2004), An Evaluation Of David Kolb's Theory Of Learning Styles, *Ilorin Journal of Education*, 23: 1-9.
- Agarwal, B. (1997), "Bargaining" and Gender Relations: Within and Beyond the Household, *Feminist Economics*, 3: 1-51.
- Ahmed, M. (2009), *The state and development of adult learning and education in Asia and the Pacific Regional synthesis report*, Germany: UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning.
- Alexander, J.M. (2008), *Capabilities and Social Justice: The Political Philosophy of Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum*, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- Alexander, K.L., Entwisle, D.R., Bedinger, S.D. (1994), When Expectations Work: Race and Socioeconomic Differences in School Performance, *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 57: 283-299.
- Allen, N. (2012), Individual freedom and institutional frameworks in development, *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 42(3): 425-440.
- Anderson, D. (2009), Productivism and ecologism: changing dis/courses in TVET. In: Fien, J., Maclean, R., Park, M-G. (eds.), *Work, Learning and Sustainable Development: Opportunities and Challenges*, Dordrecht: Springer, 34-56.
- Andresen, L., Boud, D., Cohen, R. (2000), Experience-Based Learning. In: Foley, G. (ed.), *Understanding Adult Education and Training*, Second Edition, Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 225-239.
- Anh, T.S., Knodel, J., Lam, D., Friedman, J. (1998), Family Size and Children's Education in Vietnam, *Demography*, 35(1): 57-70.
- Appadurai, A. (2004), The Capacity to Aspire. In: Rao, V., Walton, M., *Culture and Public Action*, California: Stanford University Press.
- Axtell, G. (2009), *General Theory of Value 1909-2009: Reflections on the First Centennial of American Axiology*, Paper presented to

- University of Nevada, Reno, "Virtue and Value" Conference, Bled, June 2009.
- Ayres, D. (1999), The Khmer Rouge and education: beyond the discourse of destruction, *History of Education, Journal of the History of Education Society*, 28(2): 205-218.
- Ayres, D.M. (2000a), *Anatomy of a Crisis: Education, Development, and the State in Cambodia, 1953-1998*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Ayres, A.M. (2000b), Tradition, Modernity, and the development of education in Cambodia, *Comparative Education Review*, 44 (4): 440-463.
- Basu, K., Foster, J.E. (1998), On Measuring Literacy, *The Economic Journal*, 108: 1733-1749.
- Basu, K., Narayan, A., Ravallion, M. (2002), Is literacy shared within households? Theory and evidence for Bangladesh, *Labour Economics*, 8: 649-665.
- Becker, G.S. (1964), *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with Special Reference to Education*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Belle, T.J. (1982), Formal, nonformal and informal education: A holistic perspective on lifelong learning, *International Review of Education*, 28: 159-175.
- Berg, B.L. (1998), *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences* (4th edition), Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Berkvens, J.B.Y., Kalyanpur, M., Kuiper, W., Van den Akker, J. (2012), Improving adult learning and professional development in a post-conflict area: The case of Cambodia, *International Journal of Educational Development*, 32: 241-251.
- Bernard, A. (2002), Non-Formal Education for Inclusive Democracy: Enabling Systemic Development in Cambodia. In: Singh, M. (ed.), *Institutionalising Lifelong Learning: creating conducive environments for adult learning in the Asian context*, Hamburg, Germany: UNESCO Institute For Education, 78-97.

- Bernard, A. (2005), *East Asia regional analysis: Background paper prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2006 Literacy for Life*, Paris: UNESCO.
- Beutel, A.M., Axinn, W.G. (2002), Gender, Social Change, and Educational Attainment, *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 51: 109–134.
- Bhatty, K. (1998), Educational Deprivation in India: A Survey of Field Investigations, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 33: 1731–1740.
- Bird, K. (2007), *The intergenerational transmission of poverty: An overview*, CPRC Working Paper 99, London: Overseas Development Institute.
- Bjorklund, A., Salvanes, K.G. (2010), Education and Family Background: Mechanisms and Policies, Discussion Paper No. 5002, Bonn, Germany: The Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA).
- Block, D. (2010) Globalization and Language Teaching. In: Coupland, N., *The Handbook of Language and Globalization*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 287-304.
- Boström, A.K. (2003), *Lifelong learning, intergenerational learning, and social capital: from theory to practice*, Institute of International Education, Sweden: Stockholm University.
- Bray, M. (1999), *The private costs of public schooling: Household and Community Financing of Primary Education in Cambodia*, Paris: UNESCO IIEP Publications.
- Bray, M., Bunly, S. (2005), *Balancing the Books: Household Financing of Basic Education in Cambodia*, Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre.
- Bredenberg, K. (2003), *Gender and Education in Cambodia: Historical Review of Trends & the Way Forward*, Phnom Penh, Cambodia: Kampuchean Action for Primary Education.
- Brennan, B. (1997), Reconceptualizing non-formal education, *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 16: 185–200.
- Brickell, K. (2011a), “We don’t forget the old rice pot when we get the new one”: Discourses on Ideals and Practices of Women in Contemporary Cambodia, *Signs*, 36(2), 437-462.

- Brickell, K. (2011b), The 'Stubborn Stain' on Development: Gendered Meanings of Housework (Non-)Participation in Cambodia, *Journal of Development Studies*, 47(9): 1353-1370.
- Brodsky, A.E. (2001), More Than Epistemology: Relationships in Applied Research With Underserved Communities, *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(2): 323-335.
- Buchmann, C. (2000), Family Structure, Parental Perceptions, and Child Labor in Kenya: What Factors Determine Who Is Enrolled in School? *Social Forces*, 78: 1349 –1378.
- Burnett, N., Jayaram, S. (2012), *Skills for Employability in Africa and Asia, ISESE Skills Synthesis Paper*, Washington: Results for Development Institute.
- Burra, N. (2001), Cultural Stereotypes and Household Behaviour: Girl Child Labour in India, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 36: 481–488.
- Chalamwong, Y., Hongprayoon, K., Suebnusorn, W. (2012), *Skills for Employability: Southeast Asia Innovative Secondary Education For Skills Enhancement (ISESE)*, Washington DC: Results for Development Institute (R4D).
- Chandler, D.P. (1993), *A History of Cambodia*, (Second Edition), Chiang Mai, Thailand: Silkworm Books.
- Cheng, I.H. (2010), Case studies of integrated pedagogy in vocational education: A three-tier approach to empowering vulnerable youth in urban Cambodia, *International Journal of Educational Development*, 30: 438-446.
- Chernichovsky, D. (1985), Socioeconomic and Demographic Aspects of School Enrollment and Attendance in Rural Botswana, *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 33: 319–332.
- Clark, D.A. (2006), The Capability Approach: Its Development, Critiques and Recent Advances. In: Ghosh, R., Gupta, K.R., Maiti, P. (eds.), *Development Studies Volume 2*, Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributed Ltd, 105-127.

- Clark, D.A. (2013), Creating Capabilities, Lists and Thresholds: Whose Voices, Intuitions and Value Judgements Count?, *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 14(1): 172-184.
- Clayton, T. (2006), *Language Choice In A Nation Under Transition English Language Spread In Cambodia*, New York: Springer.
- Cock, A.R. (2010), External actors and the relative autonomy of the ruling elite in post-UNTAC Cambodia, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 41(2): 241–265.
- Cohen, J. (1987), Parents as Educational Models and Definers, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 49: 339–351.
- Coleman, H. (2010), *The English Language in Development*, London: British Council.
- Comim, F., Nussbaum, M.C. (2014), *Capabilities, Gender, Equality*, Cambridge University Press.
- Cooley, C.H. (1902) *Human Nature and the Social Order*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Coombs, P. H., Ahmed, M. (1974), *Attacking Rural Poverty: How Nonformal Education Can Help*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Crespo, R. (2008), *On Sen and Aristotle*, Working Paper Series, Argentina: IAE Business School, Austral University and CONICET.
- Crocker, D.A. (1992), Functioning and Capability: The Foundations of Sen's and Nussbaum's Development Ethic, *Political Theory*, 20: 584–612.
- Crotty, M. (2005), *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process*, London: Sage Publications.
- Crowley-Thorogood, K. (2010), Cambodian National Education Policy: Global Wants or/and Local Needs?, *Canadian and International Education*, 39(1): 4.
- Crozier, G., Davies, J. (2006), Family matters: a discussion of the Bangladeshi and Pakistani extended family and community in supporting the children's education, *The Sociological Review*, 54: 678–695.

- CWF. (2013), *CWF 'Volunteer in Cambodia' Website*, Available at:
<http://www.volunteerincambodia.org> [last accessed 13 March 2013]
- DeCesare, T. (2011), Two Versions of the Capability Approach and Their Respective Implications for Democratic Education, *Philosophy of Education*, 226-234.
- de Walque, D. (2005), Selective Mortality During the Khmer Rouge Period in Cambodia, *Population and Development Review*, 31(2): 351-368.
- de Walque, D. (2006), The socio-demographic legacy of the Khmer Rouge period in Cambodia, *Population Studies: A Journal of Demography*, 60(2): 223-231.
- Dewey, J. (1916), *Democracy and Education*, New York: Macmillan.
- Dewey, J. (1938), *Experience and Education*, New York: Macmillan.
- Dewey, J., Tufts, J.H. (1932), *Ethics*, New York: Holt.
- Dobbs, R., Madgavkar, A., Barton, D., Labaye, E., Manyika, J., Roxburgh, C., Lund, S., Madhav, S. (2012), *The world at work: Jobs, pay, and skills for 3.5 billion people*, USA: The McKinsey Global Institute.
- Duke, C., Hinzen, H. (2010), Youth and Adult Education within Lifelong Learning: Claims and challenges, *Development*, 53: 465-470.
- Dy, S.S. (2004), Strategies and Policies for Basic Education in Cambodia: Historical Perspectives, *International Education Journal*, 5(1): 90-97.
- Elliot, J. (2006), Educational Research as a Form of Democratic Rationality, *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 40(2): 169-185.
- Erling, E.J., Seargeant, P. (eds.) (2013), *English and Development: Policy, Pedagogy and Globalization*, Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Ermisch, J., Francesconi, M. (2001), Family Matters: Impacts of Family Background on Educational Attainments, *Economica*, 68: 137-156.
- Feinstein, L., Duckworth, K., Sabates, R. (2008), *Education and the Family: Passing Success Across the Generations*, Oxon: Routledge.

- Fennell, S. (2013), Linking Capabilities to Social Justice: Moving towards a Framework for Making Public Policy, *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 14(1): 166-171.
- Fergusson, L.C., Le Masson, G. (1997), A culture under siege: post-colonial higher education and teacher education in Cambodia from 1953 to 1979, *History of Education: Journal of the History of Education Society*, 26(1): 91-112.
- Fitzpatrick, T. (2003), *A Post-Productivist Future for Social Democracy?*, Research Networks No. 21, Social Theory, 6th European Sociological Association (ESA) Conference, September 23-26 2003, Murcia, Spain.
- Fleming, T. (2011), Models of Lifelong Learning: An Overview. In: London, M. (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Lifelong Learning*, Oxford University Press, 29-39.
- Freire, P. (1968), *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, New York: Continuum.
- Fujii, T., Ear, S. (2002), How Does Spousal Education Matter? Some Evidence from Cambodia, *Asian Development Review*, 19(1): 117-138.
- Fukuda-Parr, S. (2003), The Human Development Paradigm: Operationalizing Sen's Ideas on Capabilities, *Feminist Economics*, 9: 301-317.
- Fuse, K. (2008), *Cross-national Variation in Attitudinal Measures of Gender Preference for Children: An Examination of Demographic and Health Surveys from 40 Countries*, DHS Working Paper No. 44, Calverton, Maryland: Macro International Inc.
- Gaspar, D. (2007a), *Problem- And Policy- Analysis For Human Development: Sen In The Light Of Dewey, Myrdal, Streeten, Stretton And Haq*, Working Paper No. 451, The Netherlands: Institute of Social Studies.
- Gaspar, D. (2007b), What is the capability approach?: Its core, rationale, partners and dangers, *Journal of Socio-Economics*, 36: 335-359.
- Gehrke, E. (2012), *Short-term effects of the global economic and financial crisis on households in three developing countries: The cases of El*

- Salvador, Tajikistan and Cambodia*, Bonn: German Development Institute.
- Gibson, J. (2001), Literacy and Intrahousehold Externalities, *World Development*, 29: 155–166.
- Glassman, M., Patton, R. (2014), Capability Through Participatory Democracy: Sen, Freire, and Dewey, *Educational Philosophy and Theory: Incorporating ACCESS*, 46(12): 1353-1365.
- Glesne, C. (2006), *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction (3rd edition)*, Boston: Pearson, Allyn & Bacon.
- Goodnow, J.J., Collins, W.A. (1990), *Development According to Parents: The Nature, Sources, and Consequences of Parents' Ideas*, London: Psychology Press.
- Gough, I. (2004), Human Well-Being and Social Structures: Relating the Universal and the Local, *Global Social Policy*, 4: 289–311.
- Guimbert, S. (2010), *Cambodia 1998-2008: An Episode of Rapid Growth*, Policy Research Working Paper 5271, Washington: The World Bank.
- Gravelle, M. (2010), Dilemmas in Development Raised by a Teacher Training Project in Cambodia, *Compass: The Journal of Learning and Teaching at the University of Greenwich*, 2: 37-42.
- Greene, M., Joshi, S., Robles, O. (2012), *By Choice, Not By Chance: Family Planning, Human Rights and Development*, New York: United Nations Population Fund.
- Hang, S.C. (2011), *Searching for Binding Constraints on Growth Using Growth Diagnostic Approach: The Case of Cambodia*, Phnom Penh, Cambodia: Cambodia Development Resource Institute.
- Hardman, J.C. (1999), A community of learners: Cambodians in an adult ESL classroom, *Language Teaching Research*, 3(2): 145-166.
- Hart, C.S. (2012) The capability approach and education, *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 42(3): 275-282.
- Hart, C, S. (2013), *Aspirations, Education and Social Justice: Applying Sen and Bourdieu*, London: Bloomsbury.
- Hartas, D. (2008), Practices of parental participation: a case study, *Educational Psychology in Practice*, 24: 139–153.

- Hattori, H. (2009), Enhancing aid effectiveness in education through a sector-wide approach in Cambodia, UNESCO, *Prospects*, 39: 185-199.
- Hauser-Cram, P. (2009), Education from One Generation to the Next: Mechanisms of Mediation, *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, 55 (3), 351-360.
- Henn, M., Weinstein, M., Foard, N. (2009), *A Critical Introduction to Social Research* (2nd edition), London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Hesse-Biber, S.N., Leavy, P. (2008), *Handbook of Emergent Methods*, New York: The Guildford Press.
- Hitlin, S. (2006), Parental Influences on Children's Values and Aspirations: Bridging Two Theories of Social Class and Socialization, *Sociological Perspectives*, 49: 25-46.
- Holman, D., Pavlica, K., Thorpe, R. (1997), Rethinking Kolb's Theory of Experiential Learning in Management Education: The Contribution of Social Constructionism and Activity Theory, *Management Learning*, 28(2): 135-148.
- Honey, P., Mumford, A. (1986), *The Manual of Learning Styles*, Maidenhead: Peter Honey.
- Hor, D., Tung, R., Loun, M., Hong, R., Barrère, B., Fishel, J., Reinis, K., Wilson-Williams, L., Mao, B. (2010), *Cambodia Demographic and Health Survey 2010*, Phnom Penh, Cambodia and Maryland, USA: National Institute of Statistics, Directorate General for Health, and ICF Macro.
- Hughes, C. (2008), Cambodia in 2007: Development and Dispossession, *Asian Survey*, 48(1): 69-74.
- Huisman, J., Smits, J. (2009), Effects of Household- and District-Level Factors on Primary School Enrolment in 30 Developing Countries, *World Development*, 37: 179-193.
- ICC. (2003), *An Investment Guide to Cambodia: Opportunities and Conditions*, New York: United Nations, International Chamber of Commerce.
- IIEP. (2011), *Education and Fragility in Cambodia*, Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning.

- Illeris, K. (2007), What Do We Actually Mean by Experiential Learning? *Human Resource Development Review*, 6(1): 84-95.
- ILO (2014) *Global Wage Report 2014/15, Asia and the Pacific Supplement*, Bangkok, Thailand: International Labour Organisation Regional Office for Asia and the Pacific.
- Iversen, V. (2003), Intra-Household Inequality: A Challenge For The Capability Approach? *Feminist Economics*, 9: 93–115.
- Iversen, V., Palmer-Jones, R. (2008), Literacy Sharing, Assortative Mating, or What? Labour Market Advantages and Proximate Illiteracy Revisited, *Journal of Development Studies*, 44 (6): 797–838.
- Jacobsen, R.B. (1971), An Exploration of Parental Encouragement as an Intervening Variable in Occupational-Educational Learning of Children, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 33: 174–182.
- Jaeger, M.M. (2009), Sibship size and educational attainment: A joint test of the Confluence Model and the Resource Dilution Hypothesis, *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, 27: 1-12.
- Jeffrey, C. (2014), Decoding aspirations: social theory, the capability approach, and the multiple modalities of education. In: Unterhalter, E., Ladwig, J.G., Jeffrey, C. (2014), Aspirations, education and social justice: applying Sen and Bourdieu, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 35(1): 142-145.
- Jeffrey, C., Jeffery, P., Jeffery, R. (2004), Degrees without Freedom: The Impact of Formal Education on Dalit Young Men in North India, *Development and Change*, 35(5): 963–986.
- Jeffrey, C., Jeffery, P., Jeffery, R. (2005), Reproducing Difference? Schooling, Jobs, and Empowerment in Uttar Pradesh, India, *World Development*, 33(12): 2085–2101.
- Jeffrey, C., Jeffery, P., Jeffery, R. (2008), *Degrees without Freedom? Education, Masculinities, and Unemployment in North India*, California: Stanford University Press.

- Kabeer, N. (1999), Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment, *Development and Change*, 30: 435–464.
- Keane, J., Lemma, A., Kennan, J., Cali, M., Massa, I., te Velde, D.W. (2010), *Cambodia Case Study for the MDG Gap Task Force Report*, London: Overseas Development Institute (ODI).
- Keng, C. (2004), Household Determinants of Schooling Progression Among Rural Children in Cambodia, *International Education Journal*, 5: 552–561.
- Kerckhoff, A. C. (1986), Family position, peer influences, and schooling. In: Richardson, J.G., *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, USA: Greenwood Press.
- Kiernan, B. (2002), Introduction: Conflict in Cambodia, 1945-2002, *Critical Asian Studies*, 34(4): 483-495.
- Kiernan, B. (2008), *The Pol Pot regime race, power, and genocide in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, 1975-79*, New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press.
- Kim, C-Y. (2011a), Child labour, education policy and governance in Cambodia, *International Journal of Educational Development*, 31: 496-504.
- Kim, C-Y. (2011b), Children's work and the life skills education policy in Cambodia, *Journal of International Development*, 23: 262–273.
- King, K. (2012), *Youth, Skills Development and Work in the GMR 2012: A Research Agenda*, Occasional Paper #2, Geneva, Switzerland: Network for Policy Research Review and Advice on Education and Training (NORRAG).
- Kolb, A.Y., Kolb, D.A. (2005), Learning Styles and Learning Spaces: Enhancing Experiential Learning in Higher Education, *Academy of Management Learning & Education*, 4(2): 193–212.
- Kolb, D.A. (1981), *Learning Styles and Disciplinary Differences*, California: Jossey-Bass Inc., Publishers.
- Kolb, D.A. (1984), *Experiential learning: experience as the source of learning and development*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

- Lall, A., Sakellariou, C. (2010), Evolution of Education Premiums in Cambodia: 1997–2007, *Asian Economic Journal*, 24(4): 333-354.
- Lawson-Tancred, H. (ed.) (1998), *Aristotle: The Metaphysics*, London: Penguin Books.
- Lewin, K.M. (2007), Improving Access, Equity and Transitions in Education: Creating a Research Agenda, Create Pathways to Access, Research Monograph No. 1, UK: Consortium for Research on Educational Access, Transitions and Equity (CREATE).
- Lloyd, C.B., Gage-Brandon, A.J. (1994), High Fertility and Children's Schooling in Ghana: Sex Differences in Parental Contributions and Educational Outcomes, *Population Studies*, 48: 293–306.
- López-Fogués, A. (2012), *Theorising Further Education through a capability lens: vulnerability and freedoms*, University of Nottingham Jubilee Press Working Papers: The Nottingham Jubilee Press.
- Maddox, B. (2007), Worlds Apart? Ethnographic Reflections on 'Effective Literacy' and Intrahousehold Externalities, *World Development*, 35(3): 532–541.
- Magnuson, K., Sexton, H., Davis-Kean, P., Huston, A. (2009), Increases in Maternal Education and Young Children's Language Skills, *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, 55(3): 319-349.
- Martin, M.A. (1994), *Cambodia: A Shattered Society*, Berkeley, California: University of California Press.
- Martinez-Fernandez, C., Powell, M. (2009), *Employment and Skills Strategies in Southeast Asia Setting the Scene*, UK: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).
- McGrath, S. (2012), Vocational education and training for development: A policy in need of a theory? *International Journal of Educational Development*, 32: 623–631.
- Melamed, C. (2012), *Post-2015: the road ahead*, London, UK: Overseas Development Institute (ODI).
- Miller, J.E., Rodgers, Y.V. (2009), Mother's Education and Children's Nutritional Status: New Evidence from Cambodia, *Asian Development Review*, 26(1): 131-165.

- MoEYS. (2004a), *Action Research on the Gender Dimension of Skills Development in Cambodia*, Kingdom of Cambodia: Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport (MoEYS) and Geneva: International Labour Organization (ILO).
- MoEYS. (2004b), *Policy for Curriculum Development 2005-2009*, Kingdom of Cambodia: Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport (MoEYS).
- MoEYS. (2008), *Summary Findings of the Survey on Youth and Employment: Bridging the Gap*, Youth Employment and Social Dialogue Project, Kingdom of Cambodia: Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport (MoEYS).
- Mollica, R.F., Donelan, K., Tor, S., Lavelle, J., Elias, C., Frankel, M., Blendon, R.J. (1993), The effect of trauma and confinement on functional health and mental health status of Cambodians living in Thailand-Cambodia border camps, *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 270(5): 581-586.
- Moore, S.H., Bounchan, S. (2010), English in Cambodia: changes and challenges, *World Englishes*, 29: 114-126.
- Morris, E. (2007), *Promoting employment in Cambodia*, Bangkok, Thailand: International Labour Organization.
- MOT. (2012), *Cambodia Tourism Statistics Tourism Statistics Report October 2012*, Phnom Penh, Cambodia: Ministry of Tourism, Statistics and Tourism Information Department.
- Mukhopadhyay, C.C., Seymour, S., Chanana, K., Karlekar, M., Ullrich, H. (1994), *Women, Education, And Family Structure In India*, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Mullins, L.J. (1999), *Management and Organisational Behaviour 5th Edition*, London: Financial Times Prentice Hall.
- Nathan, D. (2005), Capabilities and Aspirations, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 40: 36-40.
- Nelson, J.A. (2001), Value as Relationality: Feminist, Pragmatist, and Process Thought Meet Economics, *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, 15(20): 137-151.

- No, F., Hirakawa, Y. (2012), Identifying causes of dropout through longitudinal quantitative analysis in rural Cambodian basic schools, *Journal of International Development and Cooperation*, 19(1): 25-39.
- Nonoyama-Tarumi, Y., Bredenberg, K. (2009), Impact of school readiness program interventions on children's learning in Cambodia, *International Journal of Educational Development*, 29: 39-45.
- Northcutt, N., McCoy, D. (2004), *Interactive Qualitative Analysis: A Systems Method for Qualitative Research*, California: SAGE Publications Inc.
- Northey, D., MacKinnon, A. (2010), *Adult Education for Economic Development Participatory Action Research Report: An Addendum to the Final Report*, Quebec, Canada: Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).
- Nussbaum, M.C. (1988), Nature, Function and Capability: Aristotle on Political Distribution. In: Annas, J., Grimm, R.H., *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy: Supplementary Volume*, Oxford University Press, 145-184.
- Nussbaum, M.C. (2000), *Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach*, Cambridge University Press.
- Nussbaum, M.C. (2003), Women's Education: A Global Challenge, *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 29(2): 325-355.
- Nussbaum, M.C. (2008), *Education for Profit and Freedom*, Opening Plenary Address, Association of American Colleges and Universities, Washington D.C., January 24 2008.
- Nussbaum, M.C. (2011), *Creating Capabilities: The Human Development Approach*, Massachusetts and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Nussbaum, M.C., Sen, A. (1993), *The Quality of life*, Oxford University Press.
- Okagaki, L., Sternberg, R.J., (1993), Parental Beliefs and Children's School Performance, *Child Development*, 64: 36-56.

- Ovesen, J., Trankell, B., Öjendal, J. (1996), *When Every Household Is An Island: Social Organization and Power Structures in Rural Cambodia*, Uppsala Research Reports in Cultural Anthropology, No.15, Stockholm, Sweden: Uppsala University Department of Cultural Anthropology and Sida.
- Pact. (2008), *Youth in Cambodia: A Force for Change*, Phnom Penh, Cambodia: Pact Cambodia.
- Palmer, R. (2006), Beyond the Basics: Balancing Education and Training Systems in Developing Countries, *Journal for Education in International Development*, 2(1): 1-14.
- Papanek, H. (1985), Class and Gender in Education-Employment Linkages, *Comparative Education Review*, 29: 317–46.
- Papanek, J. (1990), To Each Less Than She Needs, From Each More Than She Can Do: Allocations, Entitlements, and Value. In: Tinker, I. (ed.), *Persistent Inequalities: Women and World Development*, New Edition, Oxford University Press.
- Powell, L. (2012), Reimagining the purpose of VET - Expanding the capability to aspire in South African Further Education and Training students, *International Journal of Educational Development*, 32(5): 643–653.
- Powell, L., McGrath, S. (2014a), Exploring the Value of the Capability Approach for Vocational Education and Training Evaluation: Reflections from South Africa. In: *Education, Learning, Training: Critical Issues for Development, International Development*, Geneva: Graduate Institute Publications, 126–148.
- Powell, L., McGrath, S. (2014b), Advancing Life Projects: South African Students Explain Why They Come to FET Colleges, *Journal of International and Comparative Education*, 3(2): 213-226.
- Prasertsri, S.S. (2008), *Cambodia Case Study of Government and Donor Efforts for Improved Aid Effectiveness in the Education Sector (2000-2008)*, Background paper prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2009, Paris: UNESCO.
- Prescott, D. (2009), *English in Southeast Asia: Varieties, Literacies and Literatures*, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

- Prosser, J., Loxley, A. (2008), *Introducing visual methods*, ESRC National Centre for Research Methods Review Paper, Swindon: The Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC).
- Purcell, R., Riddell, A., Taylor, G., Vicheanon, K. (2010), *Mid-Term Evaluation of the EFA Fast Track Initiative, Country Case Study: Cambodia*, Cambridge Education and Oxford Policy Management.
- Qizilbash, M. (2008). Amartya Sen's capability view: Insightful sketch or distorted picture? In: Comim, F., Qizilbash, M., Alkire, S. (Eds.), *The capability approach: Concepts, measures and applications*, Cambridge University Press, 53-81.
- Rany, S., Zain, A.N.M., Jamil, H. (2012), Cambodia's Higher Education Development in Historical Perspectives (1863-2012), *International Journal of Learning and Development*, 2(2): 224-241.
- Realmuto, G.M., Masten, A., Carole, L.F., Hubbard, J., Groteluschen, A., Chhun, B. (1992), Adolescent survivors of massive childhood trauma in Cambodia: Life events and current symptoms, *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 5(4): 589-599.
- Roberts, B., Kanaley, T. (eds.) (2006), *Urbanization and Sustainability in Asia Case Studies of Good Practice*, Philippines: Asian Development Bank (ADB).
- Robeyns, I. (2003), Sen's Capability Approach and Gender Inequality: Selecting Relevant Capabilities, *Feminist Economics*, 9: 61-92.
- Robeyns, I. (2005), The Capability Approach: a theoretical survey, *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 6(1): 93-117.
- Robeyns, I. (2006), Three models of education, *Theory and Research in Education*, 4(1): 69-84.
- Roby, J.L., Lambert, M.J., Lambert, J. (2008), Barriers to girls' education in Mozambique at household and community levels: an exploratory study, *International Journal of Social Welfare*, 18: 342-353.
- Roland, L. (1997), *Adult Education in Asia and the Pacific: Policies, Issues, and Trends*, Bangkok, Thailand: UNESCO and USAID through the Advancing Basic Education and Literacy (ABEL) Project.

- Saito, M. (2003), Amartya Sen's Capability Approach to Education: A Critical Exploration, *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 37(1): 17-33.
- Saltmarsh, J. (1996), Education for Critical Citizenship: John Dewey's Contribution to the Pedagogy of Community Service Learning, *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning*, 13-21.
- Satz, D. (2003), Child Labor: A Normative Perspective, *The World Bank Economic Review*, 17: 297-309.
- Schön, D. (1983), *The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think in Action*, USA: Basic Books.
- Schatz, M., Walker, R. (1995), *Research as Social Change: New Opportunities for Qualitative Research*, London: Routledge.
- Sen, A.K. (1966), Education, Vintage, and Learning by Doing, *The Journal of Human Resources*, 1(2): 3-21.
- Sen, A.K. (1985), Well-Being, Agency and Freedom: The Dewey Lectures 1984, *The Journal of Philosophy*, 82: 169-221.
- Sen, A.K. (1987), *Freedom of Choice: Concept and Content*, Alfred Marshall Lecture at the annual meeting of the European Economic Association Copenhagen, 22 August 1987, WIDER Working Papers, World Institute for Development Economics Research of The United Nations University.
- Sen, A.K. (1990), Gender and Cooperative Conflicts. In: Tinker, I. (ed.), *Persistent Inequalities: Women and World Development*, New Edition, Oxford University Press.
- Sen, A.K. (1997), *Resources, Values, and Development*, Harvard University Press.
- Sen, A.K. (1999), *Development As Freedom*, Oxford University Press.
- Sen, A.K. (2002), To Build A Country, Build A Schoolhouse, UNICEF: Quality Education, *Education Update*, 6(2).
- Sen, A.K. (2004a), Elements of a Theory of Human Rights, *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 32: 315-356.
- Sen, A.K. (2004b), Capabilities, Lists, and Public Reason: Continuing the Conversation, *Feminist Economics*, 10(3): 77-80.

- Skilton-Sylvester, E. (2002), Should I Stay or Should I Go? Investigating Cambodian Women's Participation and Investment in Adult ESL Programs, *Adult Education Quarterly*, 53(9): 9-26.
- Slocomb, M. (2006), The Nature and Role of Ideology in the Modern Cambodian State, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 37(3):375-395.
- Soeung, S.C., Grundy, J., Sokhom, H., Blanc, D.C., Thor, R. (2012), The social determinants of health and health service access: an in depth study in four poor communities in Phnom Penh Cambodia, *International Journal for Equity in Health*, 11-46.
- Sokhom, H. (2004), Education in Cambodia: highland minorities in the present context of development, *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 5(1): 137-149.
- Sophal, C., Kato, T., Piseth, L.V., Kaplan, J., Nhem, K., Robertson, J., Pohoresky, H. (1998), *Cambodia: Challenges and Options of Regional Economic Integration*, Conference Papers October 1998, Phnom Penh: Cambodia Development Resource Institute.
- Springer, S. (2011), Articulated neoliberalism: the specificity of patronage, kleptocracy, and violence in Cambodia's neoliberalization, *Environment and Planning*, 43: 2554-2570.
- Stewart, D.W., Shamdasani, P.N., Rook, D.W. (2007), *Focus Groups: Theory and Practice*, California: SAGE Publications.
- Stewart, F. (2005), Groups and Capabilities, *Journal of Human Development*, 6(2): 185-204.
- Stewart, F. (2009), Horizontal Inequality: Two Types of Trap, *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities: A Multi-Disciplinary Journal for People-Centered Development*, 10(3): 315-340.
- Stewart, F. (2013), Nussbaum on the Capabilities Approach, *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 14(1): 156-160.
- Stewart, F., Deneulin, S. (2002), Amartya Sen's Contribution to Development Thinking, *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 37(2): 61-70.
- Street, B.V. (1995), *Social Literacies*, London: Longman.

- Subramanian, S. (2004), Measuring literacy: some extensions of the Basu–Foster framework, *Journal of Development Economics*, 73, 453-464.
- Sumner, A., Tiwari, M. (2009), After 2015: What Are The Ingredients Of An ‘MDG-Plus’ Agenda For Poverty Reduction?, *Journal of International Development*, 21: 834-843.
- Tan, C. (2008), Two views of education: Promoting civic and moral values in Cambodia schools, *International Journal of Educational Development*, 28: 560-570.
- Teachman, J.D., Paasch, K. (1998), The Family and Educational Aspirations, *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 60: 704–714.
- Terzi, L. (2007), The Capability to Be Educated. In: Walker, M., Unterhalter, E., *Amartya Sen’s Capability Approach and Social Justice in Education*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 25-44.
- Thomas, C.J. (2002), *Achieving Education for All in Post-Conflict Cambodia*, Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- Thomas, P. (2005), *Poverty reduction and development in Cambodia: Enabling disabled people to play a role*, Japan: Disability Knowledge and Research.
- Tikly, L. (2014), Reconceptualising TVET and development: a human capability and social justice approach. In: UNESCO-UNEVOC, *Revisiting global trends in TVET: Reflections on theory and practice*, Germany: UNESCO-UNEVOC, 1-39.
- Tuon, T., Than, S.S., Sovannady, P., Kheam, T., Lundy, S. (2012), *Migration in Cambodia: Report of the Cambodian Rural Urban Migration Project*, Phnom Penh, Cambodia: Ministry of Planning.
- Tully J. (2005), *A short history of Cambodia: from empire to survival*, Sydney, Australia: Allen & Unwin.
- Un, K. (2011), Cambodia: Moving away from democracy? *International Political Science Review*, 32: 546-562.
- UN. (2014), *Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform Outcome Document*, Available at: <http://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/focussdgs.html> [last accessed 12 July 2014].

- UNDP. (2011), *Human Capital Implications of Future Economic Growth in Cambodia: Elements of a Suggested Roadmap*, Discussion Paper No. 8, New York: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).
- UNDP. (2013), *Human Development Report 2013, The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World*, New York: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).
- UNESCO. (2010a), *Global Education Digest: Comparing Education Statistics Across the World*, Montreal, Canada: UNESCO Institute for Statistics.
- UNESCO. (2010b), *UNESCO National Education Support Strategy, UNESS Cambodia 2010-2013*, Phnom Penh, Cambodia: UNESCO.
- UNESCO. (2010c), *Education for All Global Monitoring Report: Reaching the marginalized*, Paris: UNESCO and Oxford University Press.
- UNESCO. (2011a), *Education for All Global Monitoring Report: Regional overview East Asia and the Pacific*, Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO (2011b), *World Data on Education: Cambodia, 2010/11*, Paris: UNESCO International Bureau of Education.
- UNESCO. (2012a), *Note outlining key themes to be covered in the EFA Global Monitoring Report, Youth and skills: Putting education to work*, Available at: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/leading-the-international-agenda/efareport/reports/2012-skills/> [last accessed 12 September 2012].
- UNESCO. (2012b), *Shanghai Consensus: Recommendations of the Third International Congress on Technical and Vocational Education and Training, Transforming TVET: Building skills for work and life*, Shanghai, People's Republic of China: 14 to 16 May 2012, Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO. (2012c), *Towards EFA 2015 and Beyond – Shaping a new Vision of Education*, Regional High-Level Expert Meeting, Bangkok, Thailand: 9-11 May 2012, Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO. (2012d), *Education for All Global Monitoring Report, Youth and skills: Putting education to work*, Paris: UNESCO.

- UNESCO. (2012e), *Education for All Global Monitoring Report, Asia-Pacific End Of A Decade Notes On Education For All, EFA Goal 6: Quality Education*, Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO. (2014), *Education for All Global Monitoring Report: Teaching and Learning: Achieving Quality For All*, Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO. (2015), *Education for All Global Monitoring Report: 2000-2015 Achievements and Challenges*, Paris: UNESCO.
- UNEVOC. (2014), *Cambodia: TVET mission, legislation and national policy or strategy*, World TVET Database, UNEVOC and UNESCO, Available at: <http://www.unevoc.unesco.org/go.php?q=World+TVET+Database&ct=KHM> [last accessed 20 September 2014].
- UNICEF. (2009), *An analysis of the Situation of Children & Women in Cambodia*, Phnom Penh, Cambodia: UNICEF.
- Unterhalter, E. (2003a), Crossing Disciplinary Boundaries: the potential of Sen's capability approach for sociologists of education, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 24(5): 665–669.
- Unterhalter, E. (2003b), The Capabilities Approach and Gendered Education, *Theory and Research in Education*, 1(1), 7–22.
- Unterhalter, E., Vaughan, R., Walker, M. (2007), The capability approach and education, *Prospero*, 13(3): 13–21.
- Unterhalter, E. (2012), Inequality, capabilities and poverty in four African countries: girls' voice, schooling, and strategies for institutional change, *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 42(3): 307-325.
- Unterhalter, E. (2013), Educating Capabilities, *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 14(1): 185-188.
- Unterhalter, E. (2014), Decoding aspirations: social theory, the capability approach, and the multiple modalities of education. In: Unterhalter, E., Ladwig, J.G., Jeffrey, C. (2014), Aspirations, education and social justice: applying Sen and Bourdieu, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 35(1): 133-137.
- Unterhalter, E. (2014), Measuring Education for the Millennium Development Goals: Reflections on Targets, Indicators, and a

- Post-2015 Framework, *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 15(2-3): 176-187.
- Unterhalter, E., Ladwig, J.G., Jeffrey, C. (2014), Aspirations, education and social justice: applying Sen and Bourdieu, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 35(1): 133-137.
- Valenti, P. M. (2002), *Should we be concerned about the distribution of literacy across households? An axiomatic investigation*, CAE Working Paper, New York: Cornell University.
- Vince, R. (1998), Behind and Beyond Kolb's Learning Cycle, *Journal of Management Education*, 22(3): 304–319.
- Viriya, C. (2011), *Does it Work? Community Development Through Empowerment: A Case of Cambodia*, New York: Social Science Research Network.
- Vogt, P.W., Gardner, D.C., Haeffele, L. (2012), *When to Use What Research Design*, New York: The Guildford Press.
- Walker, M. (2004), *Insights from and for education: the capability approach and South African girls' lives and learning*, Paper presented at the 4th International Capability Approach conference, University of Pavia, 4-7th September 2004.
- Walker, M. (2005), Amartya Sen's capability approach and education, *Educational Action Research*, 13(1): 103–110.
- Walker, M. (2006), Towards a capability-based theory of social justice for education policy-making, *Journal of Education Policy*, 21(2): 163-185.
- Walker, M. (2007), Selecting Capabilities for Gender Equality in Education. In: Walker, M., Unterhalter, E., *Amartya Sen's Capability Approach and Social Justice in Education*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 177-196.
- Walker, M. (2008), A human capabilities framework for evaluating student learning, *Teaching in Higher Education*, 13: 477-487.
- Walker, M. (2012a), A capital or capabilities education narrative in a world of staggering inequalities? *International Journal of Educational Development*, 32: 384-393.

- Walker, M. (2012b), Introduction, *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 13(3): 331-334.
- Walker, M. (2014), Educational transformation, gender justice and Nussbaum's capabilities. In: Comim, F., Nussbaum, M.C., *Capabilities, Gender, Equality*, Cambridge University Press, 322-340.
- Walker, M., Unterhalter, E. (2007), *Amartya Sen's Capability Approach and Social Justice in Education*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Watson, C., Harding, J.H., Harper, C. (2013), *Adolescent girls, capabilities and gender justice: Review of the literature for East Africa, South Asia and South-East Asia*, ODI Background Note, UK: The Overseas Development Institute (ODI).
- WHO. (2011), *Cambodia Country Cooperation Strategy at a Glance*, Geneva, Switzerland: World Health Organisation (WHO).
- WHO (2014), *Country Cooperation strategy: Cambodia*, Switzerland, Geneva: World Health Organisation.
- Wilson-Strydom, M. (2014), A Capabilities List for Equitable Transitions to University: A Top-down and Bottom-up Approach, *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 1-16.
- Wolff, J., de-Shalit, A. (2013), On Fertile Functionings: A Response to Martha Nussbaum, *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 14(1): 161-165.
- World Bank. (2012a), *Putting Higher Education To Work Skills And Research For Growth In East Asia: World Bank East Asia And Pacific Regional Report*, Washington DC: The World Bank.
- World Bank. (2012b), *Matching Aspirations: Skills for Implementing Cambodia's Growth Strategy*, Phnom Penh, Cambodia: The World Bank.
- Wright, H.R. (2012), Childcare, children and capability, *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 42(3): 409-424.
- Young, M. (2009), Basic Capabilities, Basic Learning Outcomes and Thresholds of Learning, *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 10(2): 259-277.

Annexes

Annex 1: CWF Building



កម្មវិធីសម្រាប់អ្នកបរទេស Conversations with Foreigners

**ជំនួយដ៏ទូលំទូលាយក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវភាសាអង់គ្លេស
អ្នកសិក្សា គួរតែអនុវត្តការនិយាយ និង ការស្តាប់ភាសា
អង់គ្លេសជាមួយប្រទេស ។**

**ដូចម្តេចមួយប្រឈមនូវការបរទេស (CWF) នឹងផ្តល់ជូនភ្នំក្រវា
ភាសាអង់គ្លេសក្នុងការប្រើប្រាស់ប្រទេសជាមួយប្រទេស។**

CWF នឹងផ្តល់នូវការបរទេស៖

- ការស្តាប់ និង ការនិយាយភាសាអង់គ្លេសរបស់លោកអ្នកជាមួយអ្នកសិក្សា
- ព្រឹត្តិបត្រភាសាក្នុងការសម្របសម្រួលផ្សេងៗ ការងារជាមួយប្រទេស
- អភិវឌ្ឍន៍ទំនាក់ទំនង និង ជួយក្នុងការការពារភារកិច្ច
- ផ្តល់ជូននូវការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ភាសាអង់គ្លេសក្នុងប្រទេសជាមួយប្រទេស

**Speaking and listening with
English speaking foreigners is the
most effective means of learning
to communicate in English.**

Conversations with Foreigners (CWF) is an education centre providing quality conversational English courses leading to:

- Greatly improved speaking and listening skills.
- Experience in establishing professional and social relationships with foreigners.
- Greater career opportunities.
- Increased access to English language learning materials.

- ជំនួយ និង អនុវត្តជាមួយប្រទេស
- ៤៥ ម៉ោង ក្នុងមួយ ១០ ប្រទេស
- ការសិក្សាអង់គ្លេសជាមួយប្រទេស និង វិធានការ
- រចនាសម្ព័ន្ធការសិក្សាអង់គ្លេសជាមួយប្រទេស
- រៀនជាមួយប្រទេស

- Learn with foreign teachers
- 45 for 10 week course
- Flexible learning times
- Focus on listening and speaking skills
- Learn in small groups

Visit our new website: <http://www.cwfcambodia.org>

ជំនួយដ៏ទូលំទូលាយក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវភាសាអង់គ្លេស

ក្នុងការសិក្សាភាសាអង់គ្លេសជាមួយប្រទេស ។

| តំបន់ | តម្លៃ | កម្រិត |
|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| ក្រុងភ្នំពេញ | 500-700\$ | Level 5 - 10 |
| សៀមរាប | 700-800\$ | Level 1 - 5 |
| ប៉ោយប៉ែន | 1100-1200\$ | Level 1 - 5 |
| ក្រុងសៀមរាប | 1200-1500\$ | Level 1 - 5 |
| ក្រុងសៀមរាប | 400-500\$ | Level 1 - 5 |
| ក្រុងសៀមរាប | 500-600\$ | Level 5 - 10 |
| ក្រុងសៀមរាប | 550-700\$ | Level 1 - 5 |
| ក្រុងសៀមរាប | 700-800\$ | Level 5 - 10 |

• តម្លៃប្រទេសស្រុកស្រីសោភ័ណភាពសម្រាប់ការសិក្សាភាសាអង់គ្លេសជាមួយប្រទេស ។

ជំនួយដ៏ទូលំទូលាយក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវភាសាអង់គ្លេស

ក្នុងការសិក្សាភាសាអង់គ្លេសជាមួយប្រទេស ។

ជំនួយដ៏ទូលំទូលាយក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវភាសាអង់គ្លេស ។

ជំនួយដ៏ទូលំទូលាយក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវភាសាអង់គ្លេស ។

Visit our new website: <http://www.cwfcambodia.org>

Annex 3: Field Research Timeline

| Activity | Fieldwork Period (Weeks) | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|--------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
| CWF Course Dates | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Preparation Explain Research to Staff and Teachers Translate & Photocopy Questions | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Key Staff Discussions Pilot Questions Check and Amend Detail | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Participant Recruitment Go to Level 8, AD and AC classes | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Focus Groups 4 x Focus Groups 2 Morning (1 Male 1 Female) 2 Evening (1 Male 1 Female) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Semi-Structured Interviews Including Family Trees and Timelines (40: 10 x Male 18-24/25+ and 10 x Female 18-24/25+) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Review Data & Assess Further Research Requirements Carry out further research as required | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Annex 4: Synopsis of Respondents

| Code | Age | Sex | Home-town | Time/Lives with in PP | Date of interview | Focus Group | Level at CWF | Study Time | Past courses at CWF | Occupation | Level of formal education | No. in household | Marital status | No. children |
|------|-----|-----|--------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|---------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|------------------|----------------|--------------|
| PC1 | 18 | F | Phnom Penh-P | Since Birth Family | 31.01.13 | 4 | 9 | 6-7am | 3 | Student | Grade 11 | 3 | Single | 0 |
| PC2 | 18 | F | Phnom Penh-K | Since Birth Family | 16.02.13 | No | 8 | 5.05-6.05pm | 1 | Uni. Student | Bachelor Degree | 4 | Single | 0 |
| PC3 | 18 | F | Takeo | 4m Relatives | 14.01.13 | 2 | 8 | 7.15-8.15pm | 0 | Uni. student | Bachelor Degree | 7 | Single | 0 |
| PC4 | 19 | F | Phnom Penh | Since Birth Family | 31.02.13 | 4 | 8 | 6-7am | 2 | Uni. Student | Bachelor Degree | 4 | Single | 0 |
| PC5 | 19 | F | Stung Treng | 11y Family | 21.02.13 | No | 8 | 5-6pm | 3 | Uni. Student | Bachelor Degree | 6 | Single | 0 |
| PC6 | 20 | F | Phnom Penh | Since Birth Family | 29.01.13 | 2 | 9 | 5.05-6.05pm | 2 | Uni. Student | Bachelor Degree | 5 | Single | 0 |
| PC7 | 21 | F | Phnom Penh | Since Birth Family | 05.02.13 | 2 | 10 | 7.15-8.15pm | 4 | Uni. Student | Bachelor Degree | 5 | Single | 0 |
| PC8 | 22 | F | Phnom Penh | Since Birth Family | 15.01.13 | No | 8 | 5-6pm | 5 | English Teacher | Bachelor Degree | 7 | Single | 0 |
| PC9 | 23 | F | Kampong Cham | 4y Family | 09.01.13 | No | 9 | 7.15-8.15pm | 4 | Reception-ist | High School | 8 | Single | 0 |
| PC10 | 24 | F | Kampong Thom | 4m Family | 07.01.13 | 2 | 8 | 5.05-6.05pm | 1 | Uni. Student | Bachelor Degree | 7 | Single | 0 |
| PC11 | 26 | F | Kandal | Kandal Family | 19.02.13 | No | 8 | 5-6pm | 1 | Farmer | Grade 9 | 11 | Single | 0 |

| Code | Age | Sex | Home-town | Time/Lives with in PP | Date of interview | Focus Group | Level at CWF | Study Time | Past courses at CWF | Occupation | Level of formal education | No. in household | Marital status | No. children |
|------|-----|-----|------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|------------------|----------------|--------------|
| PC12 | 26 | F | Prey Veng | 22 Family | 22.02.13 | No | 8 | 6-7am | 3 | Reception-ist | Bachelor Degree | 6 | Single | 0 |
| PC13 | 26 | F | Siem Reap | 4 Alone | 22.01.13 | 4 | 9 | 6-7am | 1 | Financial Controller | Masters Degree | 6 | Single | 0 |
| PC14 | 27 | F | Banteay Meanchey | 13 Relatives | 23.01.13 | 4 | 10 | 6-7am | 3+ years | Beautician | High School | 7 | Single | 0 |
| PC15 | 27 | F | Kampong Cham | 5 Relatives | 18.01.13 | 1 | 9 | 6-7am | 1 | TV controller | Bachelor Degree | 5 | Single | 0 |
| PC16 | 32 | F | Kampong Chhnang | 1y 4m Friends | 21.02.13 | No | 6 | 6-7am | 4 | Admin Christian NGO | Bachelor Degree | 8 | Single | 0 |
| PC17 | 40 | F | Battambang | 10y Family | 06.02.13 | 2 | 10 | 5.05-6.05pm | 10 | Housewife | Grade 7 | 7 | Married | 3 |
| PC18 | 40 | F | Prey Veng | 33y Family | 16.02.13 | No | 8 | 6-7am | 2 | Doctor / Gov. Officer | Bachelor Degree | 10 | Single | 1 |
| PC19 | 54 | F | Phnom Penh | Since Birth Family | 14.02.13 | No | 6 | 7-8am | 3 | Housewife | High School | 6 | Married | 2 |
| PC20 | 55 | F | Phnom Penh | Since Birth Family | 14.02.13 | No | 6 | 7-8am | 3 | Doctor | Bachelor Degree | 5 | Married | 2 |
| PC21 | 19 | M | Battambang | 5m Relatives | 20.02.13 | No | 9 | 7.15-8.15pm | 0 | Uni. Student | Bachelor Degree | 5 | Single | 0 |
| PC22 | 20 | M | Kampong Cham | 2y NGO/Orphanage | 23.02.13 | No | 9 | 7.15-8.15pm | 2 | Uni. Student | Bachelor Degree | 2 | Single | 0 |
| PC23 | 20 | M | Phnom Penh-V | Since Birth Family | 03.01.13 | 1 | 8 | 7.15-8.15pm | 3 | Uni. Student | Bachelor Degree | 6 | Single | 0 |
| PC24 | 20 | M | Phnom Penh-H | Since Birth Family | 20.02.13 | No | 9 | 5.05-6.05pm | 5 | Uni. Student | Bachelor Degree | 7 | Single | 0 |

| Code | Age | Sex | Home-town | Time/Lives with in PP | Date of interview | Focus Group | Level at CWF | Study Time | Past courses at CWF | Occupation | Level of formal education | No. in household | Marital status | No. children |
|------|-----|-----|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------|----------------|--------------|
| PC25 | 21 | M | Phnom Penh | Since Birth Family | 11.01.13 | No | 9 | 7.15-8.15pm | 3 | Nurse | Bachelor Degree | 4 | Single | 0 |
| PC26 | 21 | M | Site II Refugee Camp | 4y Relatives | 05.02.13 | 3 | 8 | 6-7am | 5 | Travel Agent and Student | Bachelor Degree | 10 | Single | 0 |
| PC27 | 22 | M | Kampot | 4y Family | 09.01.13 | 3 | 8 | 6-7am | 0 | Goods Controller | Bachelor Degree | 5 | Single | 0 |
| PC28 | 22 | M | Phnom Penh | 20 Family | 13.02.13 | No | 8 | 5.05-6.05pm | 3 | Uni. student | Bachelor Degree | 3 | Single | 0 |
| PC29 | 22 | M | Prey Veng | 9 Relatives | 04.01.13 08.01.13 | 1 | 8 | 7.15-8.15pm | 3 | Uni. Student | Bachelor Degree | 9 | Single | 0 |
| PC30 | 22 | M | Takeo | 5y Relatives | 07.02.13 | No | 5 | 5-6pm | 0 | Uni. Student | Bachelor Degree | 6 | Single | 0 |
| PC31 | 27 | M | Kampong Cham | 20+y | 23.02.13 | No | 9 | 7.15-8.15pm | 4 | Seller of car parts | High School | 8 | Single | 0 |
| PC32 | 27 | M | Phnom Penh | Since birth Family | 09.01.13 | No | 7 | 7.15-8.15pm | 1 | Unemployed Japanese Translator | High School | 6 | Single | 0 |
| PC33 | 28 | M | Kampot | 6y Friends | 07.01.13 | 1 | 10 | 7.15-8.15pm | 3 | Sales Supervisor | Bachelor Degree | 7 | Single | 0 |
| PC34 | 28 | M | Kratie | 7y Friends | 22.01.13 | 1 | 7 | 7.15-8.15pm | 0 | Sales and Marketing Supervisor | Bachelor Degree | 5 | Single | 0 |
| PC35 | 28 | M | Phnom Penh | Since Birth Family | 17.02.13 | No | 7 | 7.10-8.10pm | 0 | IT Staff | Bachelor Degree | 10 | Single | 0 |

| Code | Age | Sex | Home-town | Time/Lives with in PP | Date of interview | Focus Group | Level at CWF | Study Time | Past courses at CWF | Occupation | Level of formal education | No. in house-hold | Marital status | No. child-ren |
|------|-----|-----|------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------|----------------|---------------|
| PC36 | 29 | M | Banteay Meanchey | 10 Relatives | 23.01.13 | 1 | 6 | 7.15-8.15pm | 0 | Sales Supervisor | Bachelor Degree | 9 | Single | 0 |
| PC37 | 30 | M | Kratie | 13y Temple | 03.01.13 | 3 | 9 | 6-7am | Since 2006 | Monk | Bachelor Degree | 6 | Single | 0 |
| PC38 | 31 | M | Takeo | 1m Friends | 02.01.13 | 1 | 6 | 7.15-8.15pm | None | Investor Relation Senior Officer | Bachelor Degree | 12 (now 3) | Married | 1 |
| PC39 | 51 | M | Battam-bang | 22y Family | 15.02.13 | 3 | 10 | 6-7am | Since 2006 | Market Seller | High School | 5 | Married | 3 |
| PC40 | 70 | M | Prey Veng | 30+ y | 31.01.13 | No | 9 | 5-6pm | 3 years | NGO worker | High School | 9 (now 4) | Married | 7 |

Annex 5: Focus Group / Semi-Structured Interview Prompts

| Activities | Topics | Questions |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|--|
| Family Tree | Household Structure | Who is part of your 'household'? (Draw a family tree) Who makes decisions about education? Skills development (like CWF)? University? Same person or different? Who enforces the decisions about education? Do they make all household decisions or only about education? Why? How? What? Who is household head? How are they identified? What is your household position? (Mother/father/son/daughter, 1 st , 2 nd etc.) |
| | Learning | Household roles: who does what to contribute? Difference by position? Age? Birth order? Gender? What is your occupation? What are your household members occupations? (May be personal) |
| | Facilitation | Who has learned/is learning English in your household (Family/House)? Why? How? Where? Who in your household considers English important? Not important? In what way is that shown? Is learning shared in your household? With others? Do you teach others? Help others? Different? |
| Timeline/ Schedule | Individual | Did anyone encourage/discourage you to attend this CWF course? Who? How? E.g. Logistical, Emotional, Financial? Does anyone facilitate/encourage/influence/discourage participation here? Who? How? Who makes decisions about learning in the household? Anyone outside the household? |
| Migration | Household Schedules | What is your typical daily schedule am-pm? (Draw a timeline) Why did you choose this class time? For yourself? To fit in with work/household/other? Do you receive any assistance/have any difficulties with your schedule? What? Why? Who? |
| | Phnom Penh | Do schedules of other household members make it easier or more difficult to participate? Any difficult or easier times of day? Who helps you attend? Makes it difficult to attend? How? Why? Yourself? Your household? Friends? Work? Other? |
| Interview | Enrolment | How long have you been in Phnom Penh? Why? How long will you stay? Why? Who with? What learning have you been involved in before? Where? Why? Future plans to learn? |
| | Participation | Why and how did you decide to enrol at CWF? What are your reasons for enrolling? Jobs? Other? Your own goals? Your household's goals? Expectations? Desires? Did you have to negotiate with anyone to attend? Your household? Are you enrolled for yourself? Influenced by your household? How? Why? Who made or influenced the decision for you to enrol? You? Your household? Other? |
| Outcomes (Groups) | Expected/ Previous | Why do you continue to participate? How? Influenced by: Yourself only? Your Household? Other? Do you have any difficulties participating? Any periods of time you could not attend? Why? Do you do any studies at home? Where? Who with? Alone or helped? By who? Any difficulties? |
| | | Do you expect/have you noticed any changes from attending the course in: Yourself? Household? Other? Your status? Influence? On who? How? Why? In what ways? Relative to others? Who? How long until you noticed these changes? |

Annex 6: Individual Questions – Khmer and English

សំណួរសម្រាប់បុគ្គលម្នាក់ៗ
Focus Group Individual Questions

ឈ្មោះ វី(ឈ្មោះក្រៅ) Name (or nickname): ភេទ Gender:.....

កម្រិតនៃការសិក្សា(១-១០) Level of Study (1-10):ម៉ោងសិក្សា Class Time:

ជនជាតិ Ethnic Group អាយុ Age ស្រុកកំរើត Hometown:

ស្ថានភាពគ្រួសារ Marital status: ចំនួនកូន Number of children:.....

ចំនួនសមាជិកក្នុងគ្រួសារ Total number of household members:

កម្រិតនៃការសិក្សា Level of formal education:

មុខរបរ Employment status: តួនាទី Position:

រយៈពេលនៃការរស់នៅទីក្រុងភ្នំពេញ How long have you lived in Phnom Penh?:

នៅទីក្រុងភ្នំពេញរស់នៅជាមួយ In Phnom Penh do you live with your: គ្រួសារ Family
 មិត្តភក្តិ Friends បងប្អូនRelatives ផ្សេងៗ Other (បញ្ជាក់ please specify).....

តើកត្តាសំខាន់ៗអ្វីខ្លះដែលធ្វើឲ្យអ្នកជ្រើសរើសការសិក្សានៅសាលា CWF ?
 What are your main reasons for participating in classes at CWF ?

តើអ្នកធ្លាប់រៀននៅ CWF ដែររឺទេកាលពីមុន Have you attended CWF before ? បាទ Yes / មិនបាទ No

បើបាទ តើបានរៀនចំនួនប៉ុន្មានវគ្គ ? សូមសរសេរ កម្រិត និងថ្ងៃចូល រៀនខាងក្រោម៖
 If yes, how many course(s) ? please write the level(s) and dates below:

Annex 7a: Information Sheet – English

Information Sheet

| |
|---|
| <p>Name of Project: Adult Skills Development</p> <p>Lead researcher: Alice Jowett, University of Leeds, United Kingdom</p> <p>E-mail contact: pt09aj@leeds.ac.uk</p> |
|---|

This information sheet is intended to help you understand the research project you are being invited to participate in. Please take your time to understand this information and ask any questions you might have. Please feel free to discuss whether you would like to participate in this research with anyone else prior to deciding whether to participate. Participation is entirely optional.

What is the purpose of this research?

This is a 3-year PhD research project that started in October 2011 and is being carried out in conjunction with the University of Leeds in the UK and the school Conversations with Foreigners (CWF) in Cambodia. The aim of this research is to better understand the reasons why individuals participate in conversational English classes at CWF, the role of the individual and their household for participation and the outcomes from attending the course. The research will be carried out in Phnom Penh from November 2012 to March 2013.

Why is this research needed?

The research is intended to provide information for academic and practice purposes on why and how people participate in adult skills programmes, including the role their households play in the process. It also seeks to understand whether any changes occur for the individual or their households during or after participation in the programme.

Who will be involved in the research and where will the research take place?

The research will be carried out at the school Conversations with Foreigners in Cambodia and in other locations in Phnom Penh as required. The research will be carried out with a local translator.

How will the research be carried out?

Research will include short surveys and focus groups, which will be carried out at the school. 10-20 students will then be asked if they would like to participate in further research along with at least one adult member of their household. This research will include interviews and exercises such as drawing a family tree and a timeline of their day. The research methods will be discussed and explained in full beforehand.

What will the research produce?

The research will produce a PhD thesis, which is a book-sized document of both academic research and findings from this field research. There will also be a presentation at the school to talk through some preliminary findings. It is also likely that papers will be published based on these findings in international academic journals. All participants would be made anonymous throughout.

Annex 7b: Information Sheet – Khmer

ព័ត៌មានអំពីការសិក្សាស្រាវជ្រាវ

- ប្រធានបទ: ការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ជំនាញរបស់យុវជន
- អ្នកស្រាវជ្រាវ: អាណិត ជូរិត មកពីសាកលវិទ្យាល័យលីតនៃប្រទេសអង់គ្លេស
- អ៊ីមែល: pt09aj@leeds.ac.uk

ព័ត៌មាននេះនឹងជួយអ្នកដែលនឹងត្រូវបានអញ្ជើញឲ្យចូលរួមក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវកាន់តែយល់ច្បាស់អំពីគំរោងនៃការសិក្សាស្រាវជ្រាវ។ សូមធ្វើការស្វែងយល់និងសាកសួរព័ត៌មានបន្ថែមប្រសិនបើចាំបាច់។ លោកអ្នកក៏អាចធ្វើការពិភាក្សា ជាមួយមិត្តភក្តិ ឬបងប្អូនមុននឹងសម្រេចចិត្តចូលរួម ។ ការចូលរួម គឺអាស្រ័យទៅលើការស្ម័គ្រចិត្ត។

តើអ្វីទៅជាគោលបំណងនៃការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះ?

នេះគឺជាគំរោងនៃការសិក្សាបញ្ចប់ថ្នាក់បណ្ឌិត (PhD) មានរយៈពេល៣ឆ្នាំដែលបានចាប់ផ្តើមនៅ ខែ តុលា ឆ្នាំ ២០១១ នៅសាកលវិទ្យាល័យ លីត ចក្រភពអង់គ្លេស រួមជាមួយនិង សាលាសន្តានាជាមួយជនបរទេសនៅក្នុងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា ។ គោលបំណងសំខាន់ក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះគឺ ចង់ស្វែងយល់បន្ថែម អំពី មូលហេតុដែលធ្វើឲ្យយុវជនសម្រេចចិត្តជ្រើសរើសយក ថ្នាក់សន្តានាសាស្ត្រអង់គ្លេសនៅសាលាសន្តានាជាមួយជនបរទេស(CWF) គួនាទីសម្រេចចិត្តចូលរៀនរបស់បុគ្គលម្នាក់ៗ និងការជំរុញពីក្រុម គ្រួសារនិង អំពីលទ្ធផលទទួលបានក្រោយការសិក្សា។ ការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះនឹងធ្វើឡើងនៅរាជធានីភ្នំពេញ ពី ខែ វិច្ឆិកា ដល់ ខែ មីនា ឆ្នាំ២០១៣។

ហេតុអ្វីបានជាចាំបាច់ធ្វើការស្រាវជ្រាវលើគំរោងនេះ?

ការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះនឹងផ្តល់ព័ត៌មានបន្ថែមដល់ផ្នែកសិក្សានិងបង្ហាញពីគោលបំណងជាក់ស្តែងអំពីហេតុផលនិងវិធីផ្សេងៗដែលមនុស្សសម្រេចចិត្តចូលរួមក្នុងការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ជំនាញរបស់យុវជនរាប់បញ្ចូលទាំងគួនាទីរបស់គ្រួសារផងដែរ។ ហើយនិងរកអោយឃើញនៅការផ្លាស់ប្តូររបស់យុវជនម្នាក់ៗនិងគ្រួសាររបស់ពួកគេបន្ទាប់ពីបានចូលរួមក្នុងកម្មវិធីសិក្សានេះ។

តើអ្នកណាខ្លះនឹងចូលរួមក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះ ហើយការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះនឹងប្រព្រឹត្តទៅនៅកន្លែងណាខ្លះ?

ការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះនឹងធ្វើឡើងនៅសាលាសន្តានាជាមួយបរទេស និងកន្លែងផ្សេងៗទៀតក្នុងភ្នំពេញតាមការគ្រោងទុក។ ដំណើរការនេះក៏នឹងមានអ្នកបកប្រែខ្មែរម្នាក់ផងដែរ។

តើដំណើរការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះនឹងប្រព្រឹត្តទៅយ៉ាងដូចម្តេច?

ការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះរួមមានការសួរមតិ រួមជាមួយនិងក្រុមគោលដៅផ្សេងៗដែលនឹងត្រូវប្រព្រឹត្តទៅនៅក្នុងសាលា។ ហើយសិស្សពី១០ ទៅ ២០ នាក់នឹងត្រូវធ្វើការសាកសួរប្រសិនបើពួកគេចង់ចូលរួមក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះរាប់បញ្ចូលទាំងសមាជិកម្នាក់ក្នុងគ្រួសាររបស់ពួកគេផងដែរ។ ការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះរាប់បញ្ចូលទាំងការធ្វើសំភាសន៍ និង ការអនុវត្តផ្សេងៗទៀតដូចជាការគូសរចនាសម្ព័ន្ធនៃក្រុមគ្រួសារទាំងមូល និងការប្រព្រឹត្តទៅប្រចាំថ្ងៃរបស់ពួកគេ។ វិធីសាស្ត្រក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះនឹងត្រូវបានបង្ហាញនិងពន្យល់អោយបានក្បាច់យុទ្ធនិងធ្វើការសាកសួរ។

តើការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះនឹងផ្តល់អ្វីខ្លះ?

ការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះនឹងផ្តល់និរូបបទមួយដែលជាឯកសារសិក្សានិងរបាយការណ៍ផ្សេងៗដែលបានមកពីការចុះសិក្សាស្រាវជ្រាវ។ ក៏នឹងមានបទបង្ហាញមួយនៅសាលានិយាយអំពីរបកគំហើញមួយចំនួនផងដែរ។ ហើយឯកសារនេះក៏នឹងអាចត្រូវបានបោះពុម្ពផ្សាយនូវការឃើញទាំងនេះក្នុងការសតសិក្សាជាអន្តរជាតិ។ អ្នកចូលរួម ក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវទាំងអស់នឹងមិនត្រូវបានបង្ហាញអត្តសញ្ញាណឡើយ ។

Annex 8a: Participant Consent Form – English

Participant Consent Form

Title of research project: Adult Skills Development

Lead researcher: Alice Jowett, University of Leeds, UK

Initial the box if you agree with the statement to the left

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the research project information sheet. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. Should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline.
3. I agree to keep the responses of all other students and research participants strictly confidential.
4. I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential by the research team. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses, and to directly quote me. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research.
5. I agree for my responses to be recorded to assist with research collection and understand that these recordings will be kept strictly confidential and will not be linked with my name.
6. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research.
7. I agree to take part in the above research project.

Name of participant

Date

Signature

Lead researcher

Date

Signature

Annex 8b: Participant Consent Form – Khmer

លក្ខខណ្ឌរបស់អ្នកចូលរួម

ប្រធានបទ: **ការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ជំនាញយុវជន**

អ្នកដឹកនាំការស្រាវជ្រាវ: **អាស៊ីស ជូរិត មកពីសាកលវិទ្យាល័យលីតនៃប្រទេសអង់គ្លេស**

១. សូមគូស ២ នៅខាងឆ្វេងនៃលក្ខខណ្ឌនីមួយៗ

1. ខ្ញុំសូមធ្វើការបញ្ជាក់ថាខ្ញុំបានអាន និងយល់នូវដំណើរការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះ ហើយខ្ញុំក៏មានឪកាសសួរសំនួរ អំពីដំណើរការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះផងដែរ។
2. ខ្ញុំដឹងថាការចូលរួមរបស់ខ្ញុំគឺជាការស្ម័គ្រចិត្ត និងធ្វើឡើងគ្រប់ពេលដែលខ្ញុំចង់ ហើយខ្ញុំ មានសិទ្ធិបដិសេធក្នុងការសួរសំនួរ ឬឆ្លើយសំនួរដែលខ្ញុំមិនចង់ឆ្លើយ ហើយក៏មានសិទ្ធិបដិសេធក្នុងការ ចូលរួមផងដែរ។
3. ខ្ញុំសូមសន្យាថាវាពិតមានដែលខ្ញុំទទួលបានពីអ្នកដទៃទៀត នឹងរក្សាទុកជាសម្ងាត់។
4. ខ្ញុំបានដឹងថាវាពិតមានរបស់ខ្ញុំនឹងត្រូវបានរក្សាជាការសំងាត់។ ខ្ញុំអនុញ្ញាតិអោយក្រុមស្រាវជ្រាវអាច ទទួលនិងប្រើប្រាស់ព័ត៌មានរបស់ខ្ញុំ។ ខ្ញុំបានដឹងថាឈ្មោះរបស់ខ្ញុំនឹងមិនជាប់ទាក់ទិននៅក្នុងឯកសារស្រាវ ជ្រាវផ្សេងៗក៏នឹង មិនមាននៅក្នុងរបាយការណ៍ ឬខ្ញុំនឹងមិនត្រូវបានទុកជាការកំណត់សំគាល់លើរបាយ ការណ៍ឡើយ។
5. ខ្ញុំអនុញ្ញាតិឲ្យថតសំលេងរបស់ខ្ញុំសំរាប់ជំនួយយកក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវហើយបានដឹងថាសំលេងទាំងនោះ នឹងត្រូវបានរក្សាការសម្ងាត់និងមិនត្រូវបានបង្ហាញ ឈ្មោះរបស់ខ្ញុំ។
6. ខ្ញុំយល់ព្រមឲ្យប្រើប្រាស់ព័ត៌មានរបស់ខ្ញុំដែលប្រមូលបានសំរាប់ពេលអនាគត។
7. ខ្ញុំយល់ព្រមចូលរួមក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះ។

ឈ្មោះអ្នកចូលរួម ថ្ងៃខែ ហត្ថលេខា

ឈ្មោះអ្នកដឹកនាំស្រាវជ្រាវ ថ្ងៃខែ ហត្ថលេខា