

Australian and Chinese Scholarships to Cambodia: A Comparative Study

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is the product of my own independent research. It contains neither material that has been accepted for any degree or diploma, nor any copy or paraphrase of another person's material except where due acknowledgement is given.

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Date: 26 April 2019

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Abstract

This is the first comparative study of OECD and Chinese scholarships and breaks methodological ground in the study of scholarships by its innovative use of surveys. The study is of interest given (a) the interest in comparative analysis of OECD and Chinese development assistance; (b) the fact that scholarships are one of the few forms of aid favored by both OECD donors and China; and (c) the fact that the scholarship literature is relatively sparse, and dominated by retrospective alumni surveys.

The particular focus of the thesis is on scholarships in relation to governance. Scholarships influence governance differentially to the extent that (a) they target different elites; (b) their beneficial impact on the recipient differs; and (c) they influence the thinking of their recipients in different ways.

I explore these three issues through a range of quantitative and qualitative methods, including before and after surveys, and through use of a control group. All in all, the thesis collects quantitative and qualitative data from more than 500 Cambodian Australian and Chinese scholars, past, present and future.

The main findings can be summarized as follows. Chinese scholarships are growing rapidly, and now greatly outnumber Australian (OECD) scholarships offered to Cambodia. Chinese scholarship holders (Chinese scholars, for short) are six to seven years younger than Australian ones at the time of award.

Unlike Australia, China allows undergraduate scholarships and attracts students with an interest in engineering. China and Australia both attract students with similar social and academic backgrounds, and about half of both sets of scholars will end up working for the public sector. But Chinese scholars are much more likely to end up in the private sector than Australian scholars, who are in turn much more likely to end up in civil society. A minority of Chinese scholars are also politically well connected.

Australian scholarships are perceived to be considerably more useful by their recipients once back in Cambodia, mainly in relation to the utility of skills.

Chinese and Australian scholars have different views even prior to departure. Chinese scholarships seem to result in less support for democracy, and more support for cracking down on corruption and a strong role of government. Australian scholarships increase support for democracy. Post-departure, the main difference between the two groups is that Australian scholars look to Australia as a model for Cambodia, and Chinese scholars to China. Overall, Chinese scholarships seem to have more of an impact on attitudes, in part because the students going to China are younger and, in part, because China has more of an image problem to overcome.

Overall, the study suggests that Chinese and Australian (and presumably OECD) scholarships do wield different influences relevant to governance, benefiting different elites and shaping attitudes in different directions. From a policy perspective, the findings suggest that, although China needs to do more to increase the utility of its scholarships to their recipients, overall Chinese scholarships are exercising growing influence.

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Chapter 1: Aid, Cambodia and Scholarships

1.1. Introduction

There is significant interest in the similarities and differences between OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) and Chinese aid. Chinese aid has substantially increased in recent decades relative to OECD aid, and is given by a country whose political and economic regimes are vastly different from those of OECD countries. Moreover, the rise of China challenges the traditional international order. Despite the importance of the subject, there are very few comparative studies.

This dissertation examines one form of aid, scholarships, that is given by both OECD countries and by China. Cambodia was chosen as the recipient country for several reasons. Cambodia is a country where both OECD and Chinese aid are prevalent, and where OECD countries and China compete for influence. Also, I am from Cambodia and have the networks required to facilitate this research.

Australia was chosen as the OECD donor country because I was studying in Australia and it was thus relatively easy for me to contact Cambodian Australian scholarship holders. Also, Australia is a donor with a large scholarship program.

Finally, scholarships were selected as the form of aid to be examined because they are one of the few comparable forms of aid provided by both OECD countries and by China and because scholarships are an understudied part of foreign aid.

This thesis compares a range of aspects of Australian and Chinese scholarships to Cambodia. While prior studies focused on the impact of the scholarships on careers or on scholars' perceptions about the host country and/or its education system, this thesis expands the prior studies' focuses to include scholarship characteristics, scholar characteristics, scholarship utility and the impact of scholarships on attitudes. In addition, this is the first comparative study of scholarships and certainly the first to compare Chinese and OECD scholarships.

Based on a literature review and identification of research gaps, this thesis addresses the following five research questions (derived from and elaborated in the next two chapters):

- (1) To what extent and in what ways do Cambodia's Australian and Chinese scholarships differ?
- (2) To what extent and in what ways do Cambodia's Australian and Chinese scholars differ?
- (3) How useful are Australian and Chinese scholarships for Cambodian recipients?
- (4) To what extent and in what ways do Cambodia's Australian and Chinese scholars in-country experiences differ?
- (5) What influence do Australian and Chinese scholarships have on scholars' political and economic attitudes?

This chapter provides the necessary background for the thesis in relation to aid, Cambodia and scholarships. Section 1.2 provides a broad overview of OECD and Chinese aid. Section 1.3 describes OECD and Chinese scholarships from a global perspective. Section 1.4 gives a brief introduction to Cambodia. Section 1.5 summarizes the history of aid to Cambodia and Section 1.6 starts to look at scholarships to Cambodia. Finally, Section 1.7 concludes.

The next chapter provides the literature review, and the following chapter derives the research questions and sets out the methods used to answer the questions. Subsequent chapters provide the results and the final chapter concludes. The full structure of the thesis by chapter is provided in the conclusion to this chapter.

1.2. An overview of OECD and Chinese aid

The modern history of Official Development Assistance (ODA or foreign aid) can be dated back to the period immediately after the end of the Second World War. The United States (US) Secretary of State George C. Marshall crafted a recovery program for Europe, the Marshall Plan, to reconstruct cities, industries and infrastructure devastated during the War. Since then, foreign aid has evolved in terms of focus, volume and varieties of donors.

In its early years, inspired partly by the successes in Europe under the Marshall Plan and supported by the ideas of mainstream development economists at the time, the aid effort was concentrated on building the productive sectors of developing countries by filling the three

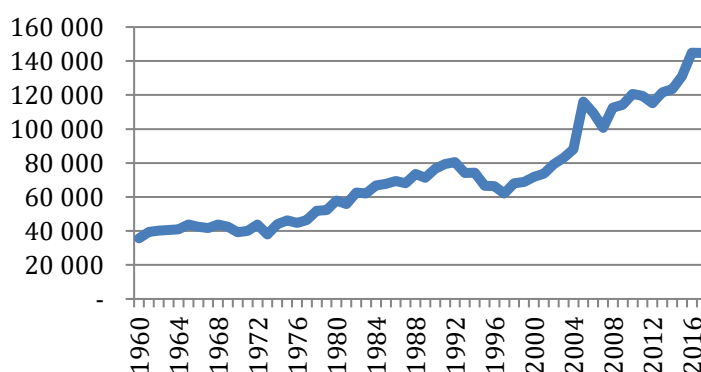
gaps of foreign exchange, domestic capital and skills (Chenery-Strout 1966). The main thinking at the time, and even by some comparatively recent scholars (Sachs 2005), was that developing countries were generally short of the capital needed for growth. Channeling foreign aid to education, production sectors and economic infrastructure was seen as necessary to lift developing countries out of the “poverty trap”.

Following the debt crisis of the 1980s and inspired by the Washington Consensus development orthodoxy (Williamson 1993), the OECD donors shifted their focus to policy conditionality aiming at reforming economic policies (Temple 2010, p.4423).

Since the 1990s, as the limits of such an approach became apparent, the focus was turned to fixing political institutions and improving the governance of developing countries (Molenaers, Dellepiane and Faust 2015). In recent decades, OECD countries have also included sustainable development as a part of their global development agenda.

OECD donors have traditionally accounted for the majority of the world’s aid to developing countries (Temple 2010, p.4425). In absolute terms, OECD aid is still significant and rising. Figure 1.1 below shows the volume of OECD countries’ net ODA since 1960, adjusted for inflation. Aid by the OECD countries rose during the Cold War period. Aid volumes fell immediately after the demise of the Cold War as geopolitical competition between the communist and capitalist donors diminished. Aid rose again in the 2000s, following increased advocacy (the Millennium Development Goals were agreed in 2000) and also new concerns around terrorism. Somewhat surprisingly, aid volumes continued to rise in the decade after the 2008 Global Financial Crisis.

Figure 1.1: OECD donors’ net ODA, 1960-2017, constant 2016 US\$ million

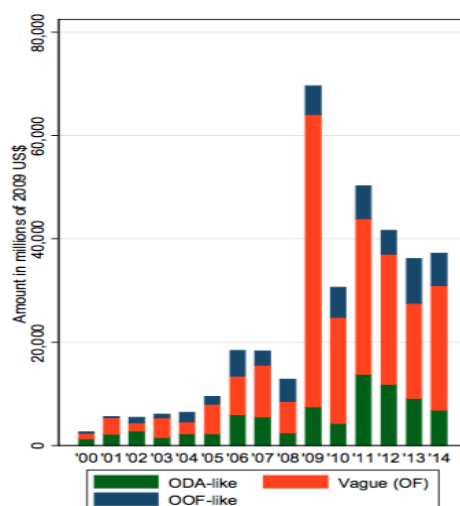


Source: *OECD Development Finance Data 2018a*

Aid from China has increased rapidly in recent years. China, which is often referred to as an emerging and/or non-traditional donor, has in fact aided other developing countries since the 1950s. In its early years, Chinese aid targeted its immediate neighbors and sympathetic countries such as Tanzania. In recent decades, China has expanded its aid, first to cover Africa, and then nearly all developing countries.

Although comprehensive time-series data on the volume of Chinese aid are currently unavailable because China does not report to the OECD Development Assistance Committee, and does not accept that the traditional aid definitions apply to it, Dreher, Fuchs, Parks, Strange and Tierney (2017) show that Chinese aid has soared since 2000 (see Figure 1.2 below): it increased from about US\$1 billion in 2000 to approximately US\$8 billion in 2014. Chinese aid could in fact have been significantly higher in 2014, as a significant proportion of Chinese official finance (more than 50 per cent) is in the form of other vague Official Finance (OF) projects, projects where it is unclear whether the financing qualifies as ODA or not. And it is not only aid from China that matters. Whereas more than 90 per cent of OECD official finance is in the form of aid (OECD International Development Statistics Online Database 2018), China's non-aid official finance is as important as its ODA (Figure 1.2)

Figure 1.2: Chinese official finance, 2000-2014



Source: Dreher, Fuchs, Parks, Strange & Tierney 2017, p.43

Note: Dreher, Fuchs, Parks, Strange & Tierney (2017, p.8) classify Chinese official finance into three categories: “ODA-like” projects, “Other-Official Flows (OOF)-like” projects and “Vague Official Finance (OF)” projects. ODA-like projects are comparable to ODA in that they are nominally intended to promote economic or social development and they are provided at levels of concessionality that are consistent with the ODA criteria established by the OECD-DAC. Other-Official Flows (OOF)-like projects are also financed by the Chinese government, but either have a non-developmental purpose or are insufficiently concessional to qualify as ODA. OF projects represent official financial flows where there is insufficient open-source information to make a clear determination as to whether the flows are more akin to ODA or OOF.

Unlike its OECD counterparts, China focuses its aid significantly more on the “hard” than it does on the “soft” aspects of development such as education, health and governance (ibid.). It spends billions of dollars throughout the developing world to build roads, dams, bridges, railways, airports, seaports, and electricity grids.

China also imposes few conditionalities on recipient countries, whether related to economic policy, governance or democracy. Chinese aid is often seen as having no “strings attached”. It does not seem to take into account the recipients’ records of human rights and governance when giving aid (though it will not aid countries who recognize Taiwan).

1.3. Scholarships

The history of scholarships is as old as the history of foreign aid (King 2011, p.10). The Fulbright Program has offered scholarships to study in the US since 1946. Australia and China have been providing scholarships since the early 1950s (Australian National Audit Office 2011 and State Council of the People’s Republic of China 2011, p.15). Scholarships are given for a variety of reasons, in particular: to promote development via advanced training and to expose potential leaders to the host country and thereby promote the host country’s values and soft power (see King 2011 and Cassity 2011). Like foreign aid, scholarships have evolved over time. The number of both scholarships and scholarship providers has increased and the nature of scholarship programs has changed.

OECD countries are still the largest providers of international scholarships. Germany is by far the largest single scholarship provider. In 2017 the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) awarded more than 60,000 scholarships to foreigners to study in Germany (German Academic Exchange Service 2018). France is the second largest scholarship provider after Germany among the OECD countries. It provided around 20,000 scholarships in 2006 (Hyden 2011, p.28). In Asia, Japan is also a significant scholarship provider. Japan awards at least 10,000 scholarships per year to study in Japan (Setoguchi 2011, p.26).

The Colombo Plan was the first large-scale scheme for sponsoring the education of Asian and Pacific students in Australia (Auletta 2000). The two objectives of the Colombo Plan were to stabilize the region through economic development and to halt the spread of communism in the region through education (Auletta 2000 and Oakman 2002). The Plan supported an

average of 400 students per year from South and Southeast Asia between 1950 and 1964 (Oakman 2010). Colombo Plan awards were replaced by Australian Development Scholarships in 1998, which in turn were renamed as Australia Awards Scholarships in 2013 (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2013). In 2018, the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) offered 3,994 Australia Awards scholarships, fellowships and short courses to individuals from over 55 developing countries at an estimated budget of AU\$300 million (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2018).

Non-OECD countries have also become more important scholarship providers. The Chinese Government Scholarship Program commenced in the early 1950s, with scholars mainly from communist countries in Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa. The number of Chinese scholarships have since increased exponentially. Between 1958 and 1960, 2,000 students from over 40 countries studied in China on Chinese government scholarships (Chen 1965). In 2014 alone, 37,000 foreign nationals from 180 countries received scholarships (China Scholarship Council 2016), making China the second largest provider of scholarships in the world, after Germany. India provides approximately 2,000 scholarships to foreign nationals (Grover 2011), while Brazil offered more than 700 scholarships in 2010 (Barros 2011).

1.4. Cambodia

Cambodia is situated in Southeast Asia. It borders Lao People's Democratic Republic (PDR) to the north, the Gulf of Thailand to the south, Vietnam to the east and Thailand to the west. Cambodia has a total area of 181,035 sq. kms. It has a *de facto* population of 15.3 million,¹ 51.5 per cent of whom are females (Ministry of Planning 2019). Cambodia has 24 provinces. Phnom Penh is the Capital City.

¹ These figures exclude 1.24 million migrants working abroad.

Figure 1.3: Map of Cambodia



Source: CartoGIS Services, College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University

This section gives a brief recapitulation of Cambodia's history, its economic development and its political set-up.

1.4.1. History

Cambodia's history has been turbulent. Since the collapse of the Khmer empire in the early 15th century, peace and political stability have been rare. The country has been mired in internal political conflicts, foreign invasions and occupations. Thailand and Vietnam, Cambodia's two biggest neighbors, have invaded Cambodia more than once and, until recently, have posed an ongoing threat to the country. The French came in 1863 on the pretext of protecting Cambodia from Thai and Vietnamese encroachments but then colonized the country until 1953. Temporary peace ensued from 1953 until the late 1960s when internal wars, fueled by US involvement in the Vietnam War, plunged the country into one of the darkest periods of its history: the Khmer Rouge regime, from 1975 to 1979. Cambodia's social, economic and political institutions were destroyed during this period. Approximately 1.7 million of the country's eight million inhabitants (Kiernan 2002), most from the middle class and educated, perished during this period as a result of arbitrary killings, starvation and preventable disease. With the support of Vietnam, the Khmer Rouge regime was toppled in

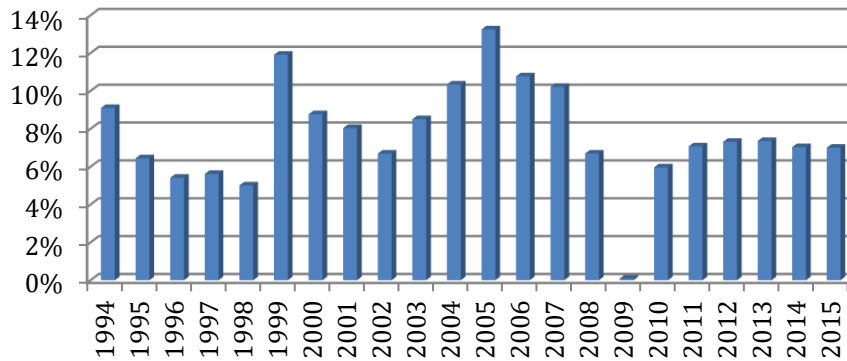
January 1979. Cambodia began its reconstruction under Vietnamese occupation, adopting a socialist economic system and an authoritarian one-party political regime. It was isolated economically and diplomatically by the West and China until the late 1980s. Vietnam's withdrawal from Cambodia in 1989 led to peace negotiations among Cambodia's warring factions. The Paris Peace Agreement signed on 23 October 1991 brought a formal end to the decade-long conflict among Cambodian warring factions, though the fighting did not completely end until 1998 after Prime Minister Hun Sen launched a coup and defeated Prince Norodom Ranariddh in a military showdown in July 1997. The last groups of the Khmer Rouge guerrillas were integrated into the Royal Cambodian Armed Forces in late 1998.

1.4.2. Cambodia's economy

Cambodia has liberalized its economic system. Like Vietnam and the Lao PDR, Cambodia abandoned the socialist, planned economy model and started moving to a market economy in the late 1980s at the time of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. Over time, many state-owned enterprises were privatized and very few enterprises remain owned by the state. In agriculture, collectivized farming through production solidarity groups was abandoned in favor of individual production. Private property rights in relation to land and businesses were re-established, and cross-border trade was once again promoted. Price controls were abandoned. The government secured membership in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 1999 and the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2003.

As a result of these reforms, as well as a supportive regional and global environment, the Cambodian economy has performed remarkably well over the past two decades. Since 1994, Cambodia has sustained an annual average economic growth of 7.7 per cent (World Bank 2016). Figure 1.4 shows that, from 2004 to 2007, the economy grew at a double-digit rate, making Cambodia one of the fastest growing economies in the world after China and Vietnam. Growth slipped to near zero in 2008-2009 during the Global Financial Crisis, after which the economy rebounded.

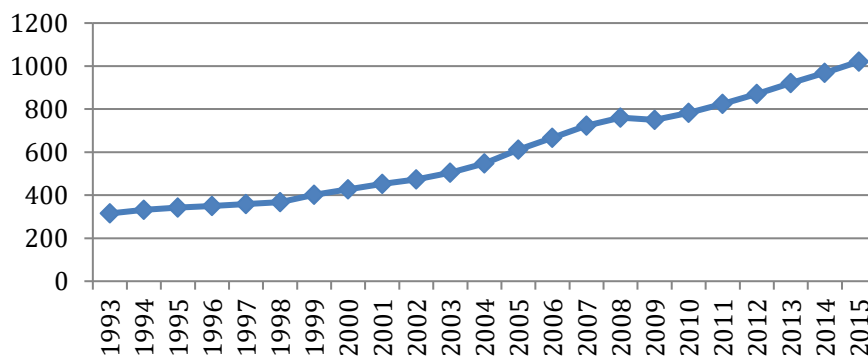
Figure 1.4: Cambodia's real GDP growth, 1994-2015



Source: World Bank 2016

This remarkable economic growth has more than tripled Cambodian incomes (World Bank 2016). Cambodia's GDP per capita in constant 2010 US\$ increased from a mere US\$315 in 1993 to US\$1,021 in 2015, the year in which the country graduated from low to middle income status (Figure 1.5).

Figure 1.5: Cambodia's GDP per capita (constant 2010 US\$), 1993-2015

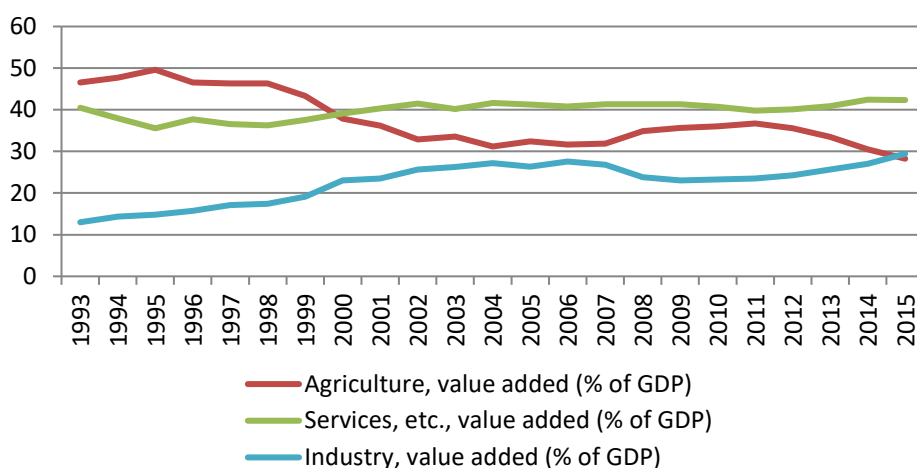


Source: World Bank 2016

As a result, poverty declined from 50.2 per cent in 2003 to 17.7 per cent in 2012 (ibid.). Contrary to the trend in many countries, income inequality showed a gradual fall: the country's Gini Coefficient declined from 0.411 in 2007 to 0.308 in 2012 (ibid.).

The Cambodian economy has undergone major structural changes over the last three decades. Once an agrarian society, Cambodia has seen the share of agriculture to GDP gradually shrinking, from 47 per cent in 1993 to 28 per cent in 2015 (ibid.). Industry, dominated by the garments sector, continues to expand rapidly. Its share of GDP increased from 13 per cent in 1993 to around 29 per cent in 2015 (ibid.). In 2017, it employed 27 per cent of the workforce (Statista 2018).

Figure 1.6: Composition of Cambodia's GDP, 1993-2015



Source: World Bank 2016

In the last decade, the government has established 11 Special Economic Zones (SEZs) along the Cambodian-Thai and Cambodian-Vietnamese borders, in Phnom Penh, and around the port city of Sihanoukville to take advantages of cheap electricity, superior infrastructure and transportation links, and proximity to foreign markets. Another 24 are being established or are being planned (Asian Development Bank 2015). Light electronic and car assembly companies from Japan, Korea and China have started to invest in the SEZs. The government has been formulating policies to diversify the Cambodian economy, reducing its reliance on the garment and footwear sectors.

China has become an increasingly significant foreign investor in Cambodia. Its investment in Cambodia increased from almost nothing in the early 1990s to US\$1,007 million (29.9 per cent of total investment) in 2016 (Council for the Development of Cambodia 2018c). China became the largest investor in the country in 2016 (*ibid.*), overtaking South Korea and Taiwan. In the early years, China focused its investment on the textile and footwear industries but it has now expanded its focus to include construction and tourism. China has been building high-rise skyscrapers, apartments, satellite cities and resorts in Cambodia, particularly in the two biggest cities of Phnom Penh and Sihanoukville in recent years.

Land grabs linked with Chinese investment have increasingly become a major social issue in Cambodia over the years (Chheang 2017). The most notorious case was the forced eviction of thousands of residents of *Boeung Kak* Lake in Phnom Penh. The case began when a 99-year lease agreement between Cambodian government and private developer Shukaku Inc paved

the way for the private developer to evict the residents without proper compensation (Gorvett 2011). The forced eviction prompted the World Bank to freeze its future loans to Cambodia in August 2011 (more below). Other cases stemmed from the Economic Land Concessions (ELCs) granted by Cambodian government to Chinese companies. Thousands of local and indigenous communities were often forcefully evicted from their land without proper compensations (CNA et al. 2017).

1.4.3. Cambodia's political regime

For most of its history, Cambodia has been an absolute monarchy. For some periods, it has been a dictatorship. Since 1993, Cambodia has been a constitutional monarchy. The Constitution protects the rule of law, civil and political rights, and free and independent media. In reality, however, Cambodia's political regime is still a hybrid (Diamond 2002 and Un 2005), a mixture of electoral democracy and authoritarianism and can be characterized as a “dominant party authoritarian regime”.²

The Cambodian People's Party (CPP), Cambodian National Rescue Party (CNRP), and Front Uni National pour un Cambodge Indépendant, Neutre, Pacifique, et Coopératif (FUNCINPEC) Party have been Cambodia's three major parties. The CPP was founded in 28 June 1951 as the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party (KPRP) and it was the sole political party during the Vietnamese occupation from 1979 until 1989. The CPP has been the ruling party since the collapse of the Khmer Rouge in 1979 and Prime Minister Hun Sen has ruled Cambodia since 1985. The FUNCINPEC Party was founded in March 1981 by late King Norodom Sihanouk and subsequently led by his son Prince Norodom Ranariddh. After continuing infighting and CPP subversion, it is no longer a major force: it failed to win a single parliamentary seat in the 2013 and 2018 national elections. More recently, the CNRP had been the main opposition party until late 2017 when Cambodia's Supreme Court disbanded it (more below).

In the late 1990s, the CPP consolidated its power, but over time Cambodia's multiparty electoral politics became more competitive. Facing growing competition in recent years, the CPP devised a range of actions to weaken the opposition. In July 2017 and in the run-up to the July 2018 national election, the CPP-controlled Parliament passed an amendment to the

² Greene (2010, p.809) defined “authoritarian dominant party systems” as “polities with meaningful elections where one party maintains the ability to determine social choice through government policy for at least 20 consecutive years or four consecutive elections.”

Law on Political Parties. The amendment allowed the government to ban convicted political leaders from running for political office, while the parties run by them would be disbanded altogether. Sam Rainsy, the former opposition leader, had to resign from his CNRP to save it from being dissolved. Kem Sokha, the leader of the CNRP, was arrested for treason in September 2017. Then the Cambodian Supreme Court dissolved the CNRP on 16 November 2017 after a complaint by the CPP-led government. The court disbanded the CNRP on the grounds that the party had associated itself with criminals and had conspired with individuals against the interests of the Kingdom of Cambodia.

The dissolution of the CNRP removed the country's only effective opposition party from the political arena and resulted in the CPP winning a landslide victory in the July 2018 national election. Twenty parties contested the elections but the CPP won all 125 parliamentary seats.

The independence of Cambodia's judiciary has always been fragile due to executive dominance. According to Morlino, Dressel and Pelizzo, the Cambodian legal system is characterized by "a culture of impunity for powerful elite actors (many of whom view themselves as above the law, if not the constitution) and a political manipulation of the judiciary consistent with an understanding of rule *by* rather than *of* law" (2011, p. 502). The Law on Organization and Functioning of the Supreme Council of the Magistracy, the Law on the Statute of Judges and Prosecutors, and the Law on the Organization of the Courts, all passed in April 2014, granted Prime Minister Hun Sen's government effective control over the judiciary (RFA's Khmer Service 2014).

The ruling party's usage of the courts to suppress and silence the opposition and its critics has become the norm rather than the exception in recent years with several prominent opposition leaders charged, imprisoned or exiled.

There has also been an increase in political violence in recent years. On 3 January 2014, at least three garment workers and several others were killed or injured during a clash with the police in their protests for a minimum wage hike (Sokha, Teehan and Worrell 2014). On 26 October 2015, pro-CPP protesters attacked two CNRP lawmakers outside the National Assembly, prompting national and international outcry (Willemyns and Odom 2015). Kem Ley, a prominent political analyst, was murdered in a broad daylight in Phnom Penh on 10 July 2016. Tens of thousands of Cambodians joined his funeral procession to honour his

services to the nation and signal their disapproval of his politically motivated murder (Hunt 2016).

Cambodia's civil society had been gaining in strength until recently. Since the Paris-Peace Agreement of 1993, numerous non-government organizations, voluntary and interest groups such as farmer associations and community-based organizations have sprung up. During the period 1997 to 2001, when the garment industry began to flourish, seven federations and two associations were formed to promote and protect garment workers' rights (Nuon and Serrano 2010). At least 3,000 NGOs and associations are registered with the Cambodian Ministry of Interior.

The recent adoption of a number of CPP initiated laws has started to undermine civil society in Cambodia. In July 2015, Cambodian parliament passed a restrictive law on Associations and Non-Governmental Organizations (LANGO), which requires all domestic and international NGOs that work in Cambodia to register with the government and report their activities. In April 2016, the parliament adopted a controversial law relating to trade unions, which many warned could be used to stifle the workers' movement in the country (Palatino 2016).

In August 2017, the Cambodian government used LANGO to charge the National Democratic Institute (NDI) with illegally operating in the country and to shut down its operations and repatriate its foreign staff. The government has also targeted foreign and foreign-linked media. In August 2017, the government accused the *Cambodia Daily* of failing to pay more than US\$6 million in taxes, giving the paper one month to resolve the issue or risk being shut down. The *Daily*, a US-owned outlet with a reputation for reports critical of the government, published its final issue on 4 September 2017 and announced its closure. In addition, the government instructed more than a dozen radio stations across the country to cease operations, accusing them of failing to report for how much and to whom they sell their airtime.

To sum up, although liberal democracy has been enshrined in the country's Constitution, the Cambodian political regime is a dominant party authoritarian regime. The CPP has been in power for more than three decades since the collapse of the Khmer Rouge in 1979. Opposition parties and civil societies had been allowed to exist and tolerated when they were

not threatening the survival of the CPP. In recent years, faced with increasing political competition, the CPP has become increasingly authoritarian in its rule of Cambodia.

Turning to governance more broadly, international indicators show little change beyond the political trends noted above. The World Bank’s Worldwide Governance Index (WGI)³ shows that political stability has improved in Cambodia and “voice and accountability” has declined (Table 1.1). Other indicators – for corruption, government effectiveness, rule of law, and regulatory quality – show little change. In general, Cambodia is in the bottom two deciles of nations for all six WGI indicators (Figure 1.7) and in the bottom decile for corruption.

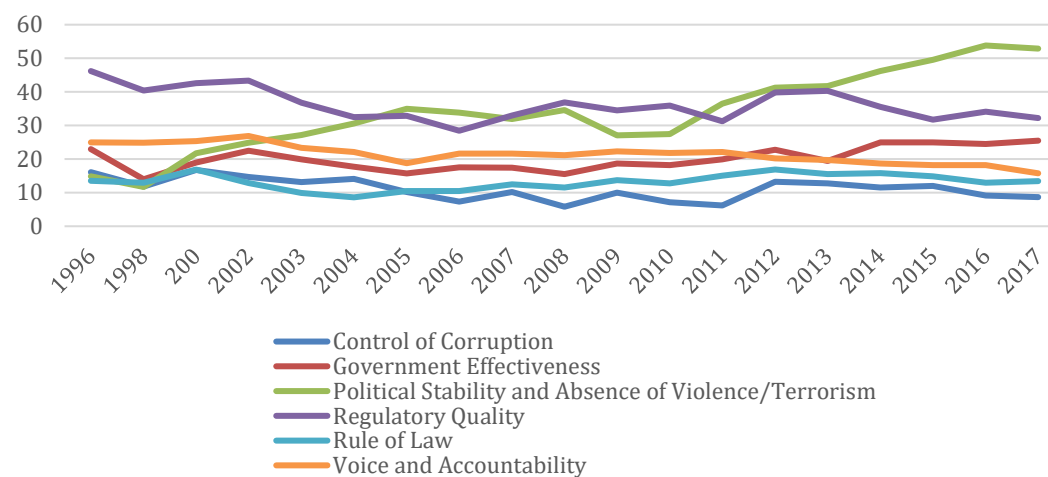
³ The Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) provide indicators for 215 economies over the period 1996–2017, for six dimensions of governance: Voice and Accountability, Political Stability and Absence of Violence, Government Effectiveness, Regulatory Quality, Rule of Law, Control of Corruption. These aggregate indicators combine the views of a large number of enterprise, citizen and expert survey respondents in industrial and developing countries. They are based on over 30 individual data sources produced by a variety of survey institutes, think tanks, non-governmental organizations, international organizations, and private sector firms (World Bank 2018).

Table 1.1: World Bank Worldwide Governance Index indicators for Cambodia, 1996-2017

Indicator	1996	1998	2000	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Voice and Accountability	-0.75	-0.82	-0.78	-0.74	-0.90	-0.87	-1.02	-0.93	-0.93	-0.97	-0.91	-0.93	-0.91	-0.96	-0.98	-1.11	-1.12	-1.11	-1.16
Political Stability and No Violence	-1.10	-1.26	-0.78	-0.73	-0.65	-0.41	-0.40	-0.35	-0.36	-0.30	-0.56	-0.50	-0.30	-0.10	-0.14	0.02	0.06	0.21	0.17
Government Effectiveness	-0.72	-1.02	-0.83	-0.81	-0.85	-0.89	-1.00	-0.97	-0.90	-0.99	-0.95	-0.94	-0.86	-0.82	-0.91	-0.69	-0.70	-0.69	-0.66
Regulatory Quality	-0.23	-0.24	-0.19	-0.31	-0.45	-0.51	-0.53	-0.61	-0.48	-0.45	-0.49	-0.48	-0.58	-0.34	-0.34	-0.42	-0.53	-0.47	-0.50
Rule of Law	-1.19	-1.16	-1.06	-1.14	-1.25	-1.28	-1.23	-1.23	-1.14	-1.15	-1.12	-1.12	-1.05	-0.98	-1.00	-0.96	-0.98	-1.06	-1.06
Control of Corruption	-1.02	-1.15	-0.96	-1.01	-0.99	-1.06	-1.21	-1.25	-1.15	-1.23	-1.17	-1.24	-1.24	-1.07	-1.05	-1.14	-1.12	-1.27	-1.29

Note: Estimate of governance ranges from approximately -2.5 (weak) to 2.5 (strong) governance performance. *Source: World Bank 2018*

Figure 1.7: Percentile rank of governance performance for Cambodia, 1996-2017



Note: Percentile ranks indicate the country's rank among all countries covered by the aggregate indicator, with 0 corresponding to lowest rank, and 100 to highest rank. Percentile ranks have been adjusted to correct for changes over time in the composition of the countries covered by the WGI. Source: World Bank 2018.

1.5. Foreign aid to Cambodia

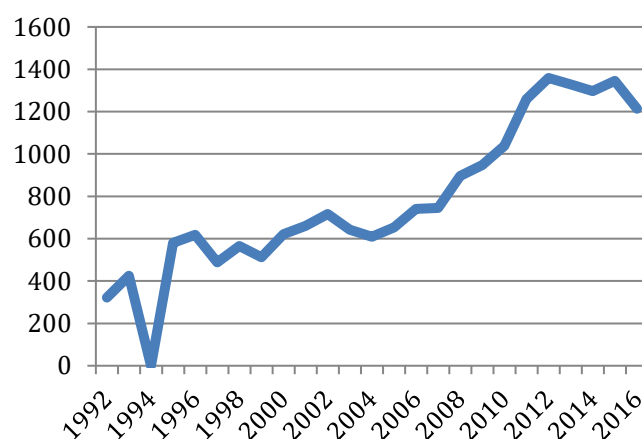
Foreign aid has a long history in Cambodia and has played a significant role. Prior to the Khmer Rouge, the US was the major donor to Cambodia. During the Khmer Rouge, Cambodia isolated itself and received little assistance (though China provided technical advisors to the Khmer Rouge in the early years of its rule). After the overthrow of the Khmer Rouge in 1979, Cambodia received some Western assistance for a few years. From 1982, Western assistance almost disappeared and the Phnom Penh regime had to rely on modest amounts of aid from socialist countries (Frost 1991). The Soviet Union provided technical advisors, fertiliser, petroleum, cement and construction steel, cotton, vehicles, medicines and scholarships to Cambodian students (on scholarships see section 1.6 below). This aid fell and then disappeared with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Vietnam also provided extensive advice and support from 1979 to 1989 to Cambodia during its occupation to build up its administration and restore basic services such as education and health.

The 1991 Paris Peace Agreement called for international assistance for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Cambodia. Western aid started to flow into Cambodia again in 1991. In a meeting of June 1992, donor nations pledged US\$880 million towards the reconstruction of Cambodia and agreed to form an International Committee for the Reconstruction of Cambodia (ICORC) to assist the government in planning and managing its reconstruction programs (John 2005). Since 1992, Cambodia and its donors have held annual ICORC meetings to discuss development and reform priorities, review past performance and pledge aid for the following year. In 1997, the ICORC was renamed the Consultative Group Meeting and in 2007 the Cambodian Development Cooperation Forum (CDCF), reflecting Cambodia's increasing ownership of aid coordination. China became a member of the forum in 2007.

Cambodia developed an online aid database in March 2010, dubbed the Cambodia ODA Database. This database has the objective of recording all development finance to Cambodia from all sources (Council for the Development of Cambodia 2018a). The Cambodian government tasked the government investment and aid coordination agency, the Council for the Development of Cambodia (CDC), to collaborate with development partners in Cambodia to create and maintain this database.

Figure 1.8 below shows the total aid disbursed to Cambodia from 1992 to 2016. This includes aid from OECD donors, UN agencies and multilateral development banks, non-OECD donors including China and NGOs. Thus measured, foreign aid to Cambodia peaked in 2012 at US\$1,359 million (Council for the Development of Cambodia 2018b).

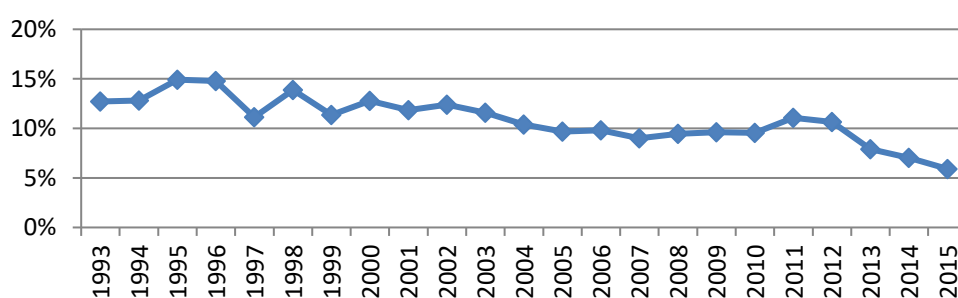
Figure 1.8: Aid disbursements from 1992-2016 (constant 2016 US\$ million)



Note: The aid disbursement is adjusted for inflation by using aid data from the Cambodia ODA Database (Council for the Development of Cambodia 2018a) and deflators from Resource Flows from DAC Donors ([OECD's Development Finance Data 2018b](#)).

Aid as percentage of GDP fell from 15 per cent in 1995 to 6 per cent in 2015 (Figure 1.9 below). Aid received as percentage of central government expenses also declined from 121 per cent in 2002 to 38 per cent in 2014 (Word Bank 2016).

Figure 1.9: Aid as percentage of GDP

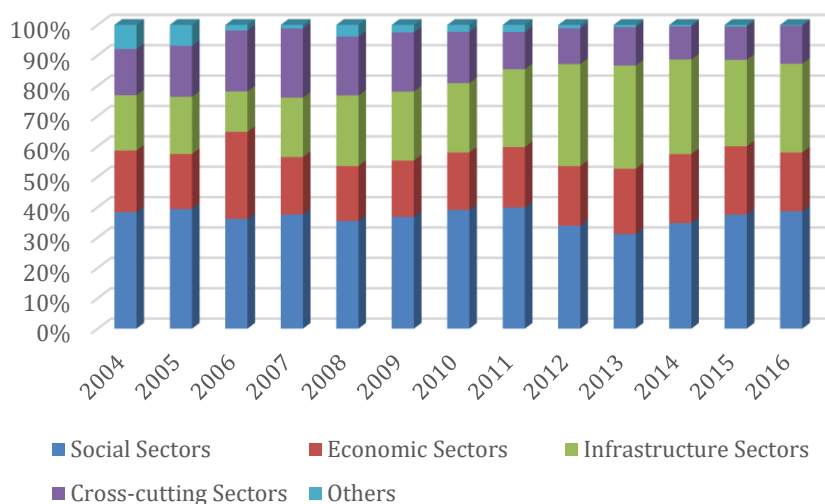


Source: calculated by author using data from the World Bank and Council for the Development of Cambodia.

The grant share of ODA has declined over the last decade from over 80 per cent in 2006 to less than 60 per cent in 2016 (Council for the Development of Cambodia 2016, p.11). This reflects the rise of China as a major concessional lender for infrastructure projects.

Aid to infrastructure has soared (Figure 1.10). It increased from US\$101 million (18.2 per cent) in 2004 to US\$355 million (29.2 per cent) in 2016. Its sharp increase prompted the share of aid to cross-cutting sectors to fall over the same period. The share of aid to economic and social sectors remained broadly stable at around 20 per cent and 38 per cent respectively.

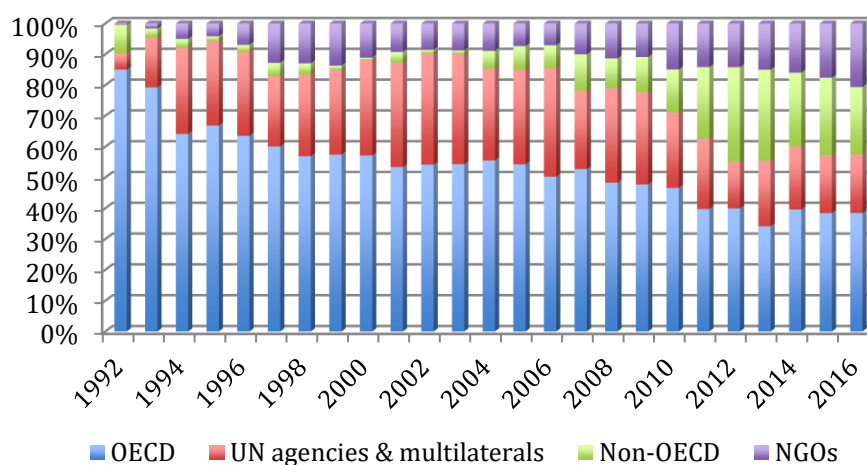
Figure 1.10: ODA disbursement by sector, 2004-2016 (%)



Source: Council for the Development of Cambodia 2011, 2014 and 2018b

Figure 1.11 shows aid disbursements by types of donors over time. The OECD remains the largest source of aid to Cambodia, although its share of the total has been declining over time as non-OECD aid has risen. China has been responsible for the rise of non-OECD aid to Cambodia (more below). Other non-OECD donors such as Russia, India, Thailand and Vietnam provided negligible aid to Cambodia over this period. NGO aid to Cambodia is also significant and has grown to about 20 per cent of total aid.

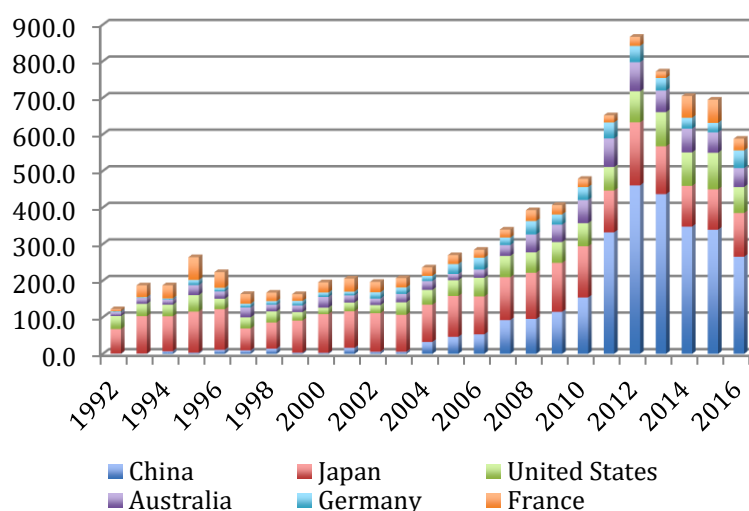
Figure 1.11: Disbursements by types of donors 1992-2016 (%)



Source: Council for the Development of Cambodia 2011, 2014 and 2018b

Figure 1.12 shows the aid disbursements by major bilateral donors between 1992 and 2016. These donors are selected because they were the major donors either in 1992 or in 2016. China has become the largest donor in Cambodia, surpassing Japan in 2010. China increased its aid from almost nothing in 1992 to US\$265.3 million in 2016 or roughly 30 per cent of the total aid (Council for the Development of Cambodia 2018b). Japan has been relegated to the second largest bilateral donor after China. It gives approximately US\$100 million per year on average to Cambodia. In 2016, the United States, Australia and Germany were the third, fourth and fifth largest donors respectively. France provided substantial aid during the 1990s and remains a significant donor. The Republic of Korea has expanded its aid programs since 2002, becoming one of the key players in infrastructure development in Cambodia. In 2015, South Korean aid amounted to US\$61 million or approximately 5 per cent of the total aid.

Figure 1.12: Disbursements by major donors 1992-2016 (millions, current US\$)



Source: Council for the Development of Cambodia 2011, 2014 and 2018b

At the same time as China has increased its aid, Cambodia's relations with Western donors has become more fraught. In 1997, when many OECD donors, led by the US but excluding Japan, suspended their aid programs in response to what they regarded as a coup by the CPP's armed forces, the Cambodian government was drawn closer to China for the first time since 1991 as it was forced to find alternative sources of aid. Relations with Western donors recovered over time but reached another low point when the World Bank decided to freeze all future loans to Cambodia amid a dispute over the forced evictions of thousands of residents in *Boeung Kak* Lake in Phnom Penh in August 2011. Following the World Bank's decision, the government suspended its annual donor forum, the CDCF. The CDCF remains in limbo, even though the World Bank lifted the freeze in May 2016. The government often praises China for not attaching "strings" to its aid.

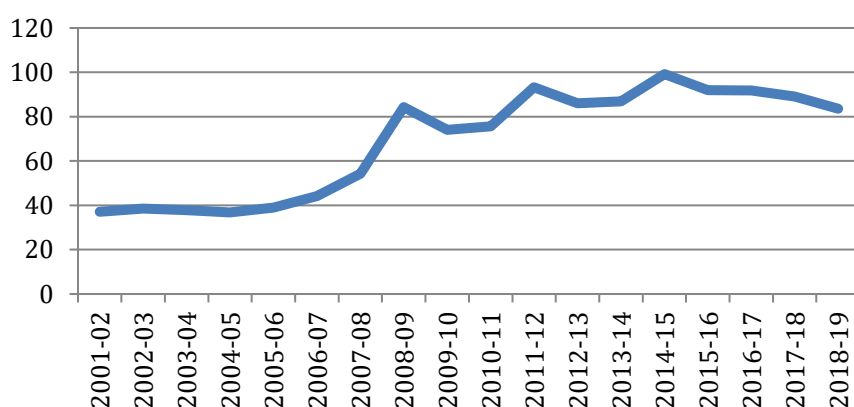
Aid to Cambodia has fallen in recent years, as most Western donors have cut back due to the country's relative development success. Even China has reduced its aid in the last few years (Figure 1.12), though the reasons for this are unclear.

1.5.1. Australian Aid to Cambodia

Australia is a significant donor to Cambodia, the fourth largest in 2016. The Australian Aid Tracker (Development Policy Centre 2018) indicates that Australian aid amounted to

AU\$37.1 million (roughly US\$28 million) in 2001. It remained at about that amount until 2006 after which it began to increase, reaching a peak in 2014 at AU\$99.2 million, at which level it has approximately remained until 2017. In 2018, Australian aid to Cambodia was marginally reduced to AU\$83.6 million. Australia is one of the few donors that have not substantially cut their aid to Cambodia. Aid to Cambodia avoided the large cuts administered to Australian aid to other Asian countries in 2015 owing to the agreement Cambodia entered into in 2014 by which it agreed to accept refugees bound for Australia but processed in Nauru under Australia's off-shore asylum seeker regime (Su 2015).

Figure 1.13: Australian bilateral aid to Cambodia over time (millions, current AU\$)



Source: Development Policy Centre 2018

Australian aid to Cambodia is in the form of grants. Australia does not provide budget support to the Cambodian government. It channels its aid through multilateral development banks such as the Asian Development Bank, UN agencies, civil society groups, and private consulting companies.

Recent priorities for Australian aid to Cambodia are set out in the Australia–Cambodia Joint Aid Program Strategy 2010–2015 (AusAID 2012) and the Aid Investment Plan Cambodia: 2015-2018 (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade 2015). Australia has concentrated its aid in the health, agriculture, governance, transportation and education sectors (Table 1.2). Between 2009 and 2015, health almost consistently received the highest share of its aid, accounting for 27.7 per cent on average, with agriculture at 20.3 per cent, governance 14.1 per cent, transportation 9 per cent and education 7.6 per cent.

Table 1.2: Australian aid by sector, 2009-2015 (millions, current US\$)

Sector/Year	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Average Share (%)
Health	6.75	15.62	23.8	22.97	13.1	15.48	10.86	27.7
Education	3.28	4.22	5.46	5.43	4.7	3.07	2.56	7.6
Agriculture	8.25	9.11	12.42	11.44	12.28	10.74	11.1	20.3
Rural Development	3.8	2.04	2.28	2.07	1.94	8.68	2.26	6.2
Transportation	3.25	4.28	5.77	7.23	6.55	8.55	0.12	9.0
Water and Sanitation	1.62	0.09	1.04	1.55	1.45	0.95	0.3	1.9
Energy, Power & Electricity	1.34	1.73	0	0.05	0	1.85	0.3	1.5
Gender	0.46	0.05	0	0.52	2.87	1.77	2.44	2.3
Environment and Sustainability	0	0	0.1	0.1	0.09	0	0	0.1
Community and Social Welfare	2.23	6.25	8.07	7.12	0.5	3.73	4.25	8.2
HIV/AIDS	0.64	0.83	1.09	1.13	0.59	0.39	0.02	1.2
Governance & Administration	8.57	6.52	8.12	6.95	6.57	6.75	7.49	14.1

Source: Council for the Development of Cambodia 2016

In recent years, there has been a greater emphasis on aid for trade. Australia sees a prosperous Cambodia as a potential market.

1.5.2. Chinese Aid to Cambodia

China has transferred more than US\$ 2 billion in aid to Cambodia since 1992 (Council for the Development of Cambodia 2011, 2014 and 2018b). Annual aid figures from China to Cambodia are available in Figure 1.12. About two-thirds of Chinese aid to Cambodia is in the form of concessional loans. China does not provide budget support to the Cambodian government. China and its private companies implement Chinese aid projects in Cambodia. Almost none of its aid is channeled through multilateral development banks, UN agencies and civil society groups. The CASSAVA Project, a tiny trilateral agriculture project between Cambodia, China and UNDP and worth US\$400,000, may be the only China-funded project managed by UNDP.

China focuses its aid to Cambodia on transportation, agriculture, and community and social welfare. Aid to construct roads and bridges accounts for more than half of Chinese aid to Cambodia. The construction of irrigation systems receives about a quarter of the aid, while projects to promote community and social welfare consume about a fifth of Chinese aid. Energy, power and electricity, and water and sanitation also receive significant aid. Aid to

education is either insignificant or unrecorded. China does not provide aid to promote good governance in Cambodia.

Table 1.3: Chinese aid by sector, 2009-2015 (millions, current US\$)

Sector/Year	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Average Share (%)
Education	0.08	0	0	0	0	0	4.46	0.2
Agriculture	0	16.18	61.17	110.85	107.23	101.59	78.87	19.1
Transportation	114.62	121.97	176.75	251.65	262.25	177.2	173.78	65.5
Water and Sanitation	0	0	0	0	10.71	10.71	10.52	1.3
Energy, Power & Electricity	0	15.98	0	32.69	36.14	33.21	24.63	6.2
Community and Social Welfare	0	0	63.92	65.53	20.3	20.29	27.51	7.8

Source: Council for the Development of Cambodia 2016

Geopolitics and geoeconomics explain the rise of Chinese aid to Cambodia (Sato, Shiga, Kobayashi and Kondoh 2011 p. 2096). China donates aid to Cambodia in return for Cambodia's support for the "One China Policy," China's strategic interests in Southeast Asia, and Cambodia's natural resources (Burgos and Ear 2010). Cambodia closed Taiwan's representative office in Cambodia in 1997 (Sambath and Barron 2003). In 2010, Cambodia deported 20 Chinese from the Uighur minority group back to China (Brady 2010). In July 2012, Cambodia prevented ASEAN from issuing a joint statement over the issue of the South China Sea, and again in July 2016 Cambodia blocked any reference to an UN-backed court's ruling against Beijing's claims to the South China Sea in the ASEAN statement (Willemyns 2016).

1.6. Scholarships to Cambodia

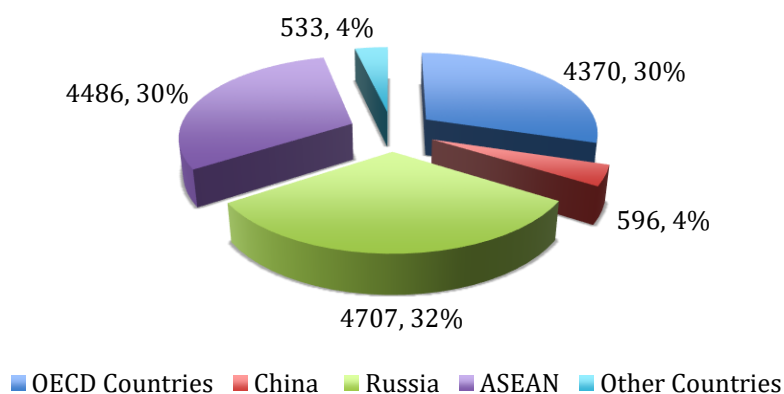
Foreign governments around the world have made scholarships an important part of their aid to Cambodia. France, when it was the colonial ruler, was probably the first country to offer scholarships to Cambodian citizens. Although information about its scholarships is patchy, it is well-known among Cambodians that key leaders of the Khmer Rouge such as Pol Pot, Khieu Samphan and Ieng Sary received scholarships to study in France in the 1940s and 1950s.⁴

Since the downfall of the Khmer Rouge in 1979, Cambodia has received scholarships from various countries. Data from the Cambodian Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports (2015a)

⁴ Pol Pot, Khieu Samphan and Ieng Sary were the prime minister, the head of state and the foreign minister of the Khmer Rouge regime respectively.

show that from 1980-2014, Cambodia sent 14,692 students abroad, 19 per cent of whom were women. Russia received the largest number of Cambodian students during this period (4,707 students or 32 per cent), followed by ASEAN (4,486 students or 30 per cent), OECD countries (4,370 students or 30 per cent), and China (596 students or 4 per cent). Other countries including India and Cuba received 533 Cambodian students or 4 per cent. On average, Cambodia sent 420 students abroad per year since 1980.

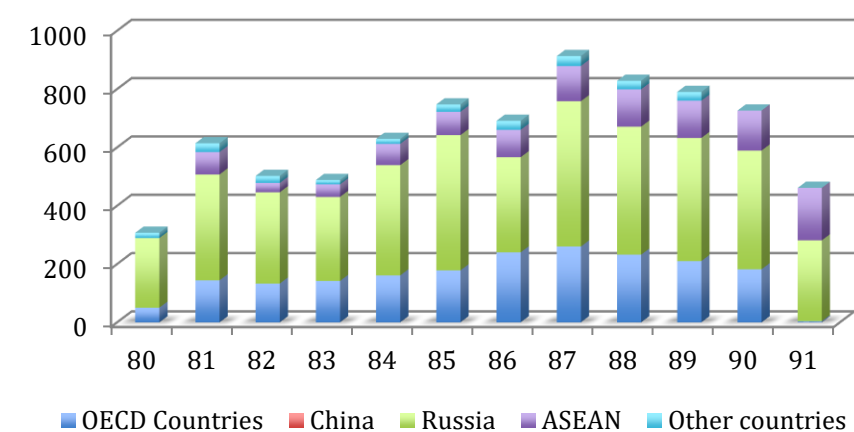
Figure 1.14: Cambodian scholars sent abroad by regions from 1980-2014



Source: Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, Royal Government of Cambodia 2015a

Communist countries were the only scholarship providers to Cambodian students during the Cold War (Figure 1.15). Russia offered about 350 scholarships (about two-thirds of all scholarships) on average per year to Cambodia. Countries including East Germany (now unified with West Germany), Vietnam and Lao PDR, Hungary and Poland provided the rest.

Figure 1.15: Cambodian scholars sent abroad before the end of Cold War

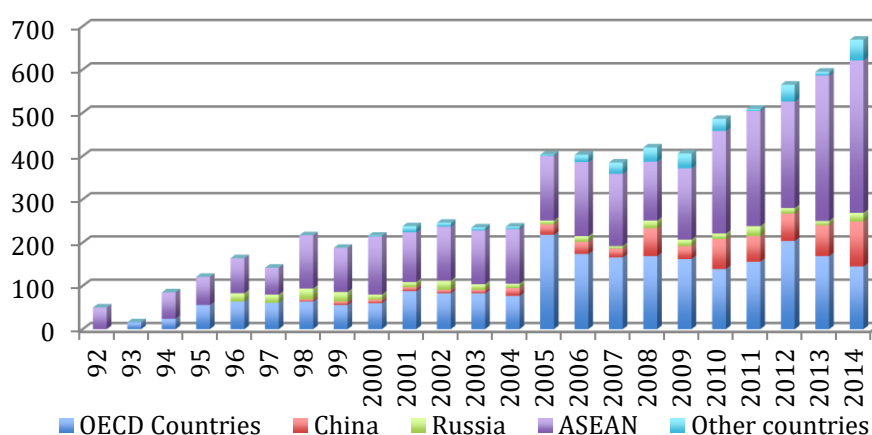


Source: Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, Royal Government of Cambodia 2015a

After the Cold War, other ASEAN countries, principally Vietnam and Thailand, became the major providers of scholarships to Cambodia. In 2014, they provided some 350 scholarships, just over half of the total (Figure 1.16). Western countries' scholarships have also risen

steadily since 1992 and comprised about 20 per cent of total scholarships received by Cambodia in 2014. Among the OECD countries, Japan is the largest scholarship provider. Chinese scholarships have continued to grow and China was the third largest provider of scholarships to Cambodia in 2014. In 2014, Australia was the fifth largest, after Thailand, Vietnam, China and Japan (more details on Australian and Chinese scholarships are provided in Chapter 4).

Figure 1.16: Cambodian scholars sent abroad, 1992-2014



Source: Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, Royal Government of Cambodia 2015a

1.7. Conclusion

This chapter has provided the necessary background for the thesis.

Over time, the Cambodian economy has continued to do well but governance in Cambodia has become increasingly authoritarian. Aid to Cambodia has played an important role in the country's development, but Cambodia has shifted away from Western donors to China. Reflecting worldwide trends, China has ramped up both its aid and scholarships to Cambodia, especially in the last decade, and it has become the largest provider of aid and scholarships to the country. Australia is also a significant donor in terms of both overall aid and scholarships.

The rest of the thesis is structured as follows. Chapter 2 provides the literature survey and highlights the existing research gaps. Chapter 3 details the research questions and methods. Chapters 4 to 10 then answer the research questions as follows: scholarship characteristics (Chapter 4); scholar characteristics (Chapter 5); scholarship utility (Chapter 6); scholar

experiences (Chapter 7); and impact on attitudes (Chapters 8-9). Finally, Chapter 10 concludes.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This thesis is about scholarships and their impact on governance in Cambodia. In this chapter, I survey three relevant strands of the literature, namely studies of: foreign aid and governance; the effect of education on political attitudes; and scholarships.

Based on this literature review, I argue that much is still to be learnt about the impact on governance of aid in general and, particularly, scholarships. Studying the effects of Australian and Chinese scholarships on elite formation and political and economic attitudes in Cambodia may improve our understanding of how foreign aid affects governance in the recipient countries.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. Section 2.2 surveys macro studies of Western aid and governance and Section 2.3 micro studies of the same. Section 2.4 examines Chinese aid and governance. Section 2.5 covers three studies of aid to Cambodia. Section 2.6 surveys the literature on education and political attitudes and Section 2.7 on scholarships. Section 2.8 concludes.

2.2. Western aid and governance: macro studies

The theory that institutions – the rules of the game in a society or, more formally, the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction (North, 1990) – matter for development has become an accepted paradigm in international development circles. Naturally, donors have re-oriented their aid programs to promote “good governance”. Studies on Western aid and governance are dominated by cross-country regression analyses. A brief and selective review follows below.

Knack (2001) showed that higher aid levels eroded the quality of governance, as measured by indices of bureaucratic quality, corruption, and the rule of law. Bräutigam & Knack (2004), who studied foreign aid and institutions in Africa, found evidence that higher aid levels were associated with larger declines in the quality of governance in Africa. They also found higher

aid associated with lower tax effort in Africa. They suggested that aid might particularly be associated with weak governance, because aid inflows reduced the need for governments to tax the governed or enlist their cooperation, increased administrative burdens on the part of recipient countries to coordinate aid programs, and hijacked qualified staff from the already weak public agencies.

Other more recent research, however, has provided a more positive view of the impact of Western aid on governance. Again using cross-country regressions, Jones and Tarp (2016) showed a small positive net effect of total aid on political institutions such as democracy, the number of veto players over political decisions, executive constraints, political terror and judicial independence. “This aggregate net effect is driven primarily by the positive contribution of more stable inflows of ‘governance aid’” (p.266). Altincekic and Bearce (2014) challenged the aid-like-oil-revenue assumption. They showed that aid revenue did not produce a political curse. “Using several different dependent variables related to appeasement and repression, we presented statistical evidence to show how there is no robust aid curse relationship for any of these dependent variables” (p.30).

Studies on Western aid and democratization have also shown mixed results. Kono and Montinola (2009) performed a survival analysis of 621 leaders in 123 countries from 1960 to 1999 and found that in the long run continued aid helps autocrats more than democrats because the former can stockpile this aid for use against future negative shocks. Mesquita and Smith (2010) showed that leaders with access to resources such as foreign aid or natural resource rents are best equipped to survive revolutionary threats and avoid the occurrence of these threats in the first place. Ahmed (2012), using a duration model of government turnover for a sample of 97 countries between 1975 and 2004, found that “governments in more autocratic polities can strategically channel unearned government and household income in the form of foreign aid and remittances to finance patronage, which extends their tenure in political office” (p.146). Likewise, Jablonski (2014), using data on the subnational distribution of World Bank and African development Bank projects in Kenya from 1992 to 2010, showed that the distribution of aid funds in Kenya was biased in favor of an incumbent’s political supporters. Knack (2004) analysed the impact of aid on democratization in a large sample of recipient nations over the 1975-2000 period and could find no evidence that aid promoted democracy.

Again, however, other studies are more positive. Dunning (2004) found a small positive effect of foreign aid on democracy in sub-Saharan African countries between 1975 and 1997, although this effect was limited to the post-Cold War period. This is because, he argues, Western donors applied political conditionalities more vigorously after the demise of the Cold War. Wright (2009) also found that dictators with large distributional coalitions, who have a good chance of winning fair elections, tended to respond to aid by democratizing; in contrast, he suggested that aid helped dictators with the smallest distributional coalitions hang on to power. Savun and Tirone (2011) showed that one of the key factors that shelter some democratizing states from domestic political violence was the receipt of aid for democracy and governance; that is, aid to support domestic civil societies and political parties. Dietrich and Wright (2012) found that democracy and governance aid had a consistently positive effect on democratic consolidation. Gibson, Hoffman and Jablonki (2015) argued that after the Cold War, donors increased their use of technical assistance in aid packages, improving their monitoring capacity and thus reduced autocrats' ability to use aid for patronage. They found that "technical assistance helps to explain the timing and extent of Africa's democratization" (p.323).

In summary, it is unfortunately difficult to draw any robust conclusions from the cross-country aid-governance literature.

2.3. Foreign aid and governance: micro and country studies

There are only a small body of micro (or project) and country level studies of Western aid and governance (none of Chinese aid). They, again, showed inconclusive results. De Zeeuw (2005) focused on international assistance to elections, human rights and media in eight post-conflict countries: Cambodia, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Uganda, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, El Salvador and Guatemala. Zeeuw concluded that international assistance has been instrumental in setting up new organizations, but relatively unsuccessful in consolidating effective democratic institutions:

Findings show that post-conflict democracy programmes consist mainly of technical, material and financial assistance as well as short-term project aid. This aid may have spurred the growth of many training activities and NGOs that excel in organizing workshops and seminars, but proves unsustainable and largely insignificant in the wider process of democratization. Finally, the international community's 'democracy template' seems particularly ill-suited to achieve democracy in post-conflict countries. Focusing on short-term stability, new leadership is legitimized during well-funded

elections, but key issues of political control and regulation often remain unaddressed. As a result, a real impact of international assistance on democratic change remains elusive in most post-conflict countries (p.481).

Fearon, Humphreys, and Weinstein's (2009) findings suggested that Community Driven Reconstruction program improved community cohesion in Liberia. Casey, Glennerster, and Miguel (2011) found that a Community-Driven Development (CDD) project had positive short-run effects on local public good provision and economic outcomes in Sierra Leone, but no sustained impacts on collective action, decision-making processes, or the improvement of marginalized groups (like women) in local affairs, indicating that the intervention was ineffective at durably reshaping local institutions. Wong (2012) summarized the impact evaluations of the World Bank CDD programs over the past 25 years and found that there were very few impact evaluations measured for local governance, and that there were positive to mixed results:

Only four CDD programs examine explicitly local governance issues. Afghanistan and the Philippines do well across the board on higher village assembly attendance (outside of the project); greater awareness of village and civic issues; and improved attitudes toward government. Sierra Leone also showed positive impacts on local leaders' behavior in planning and management of activities, which increased community confidence toward local officials. However, Indonesia's KDP-BRA showed no improvements in local governance. The project lasted for only one year, which may explain the lack of impacts (p.29).

Most country-level studies on foreign aid and democratization showed positive results. Tripp (2012) looked at donor assistance and political reform in Tanzania; Rakner (2012) at foreign aid and democratic consolidation in Zambia; van de Walle (2012) at foreign aid and democracy in Mali; Manning and Malbrough (2012) at foreign aid and democracy in Mozambique; Gyimah-Boadi and Yakah (2012) at external democracy assistance in Ghana; and Ear (2013) at foreign aid and governance and democracy in Cambodia. All studies, except for that of Ear, found that foreign aid helped democratic transition, although its effect on democratic consolidation had only been modest. On the contrary, Ear (2013) found that foreign aid undermined democracy in Cambodia.

In summary, micro and country studies of the impact of Western aid on governance tend to be inconclusive but suggest that aid can sometimes have a positive, if mixed, impact on governance.

2.4. Chinese aid and governance

The study of the impact of Chinese aid on governance is still in its infancy. One of the many ways in which Chinese aid differs from Western aid is that China makes no explicit effort to improve governance. But that is not to say that it has no impact on governance.

The secrecy of Chinese aid and its no-strings-attached approach have raised concerns. For example, Naim (2007), who inspired subsequent empirical research about Chinese aid, claimed:

They [China, Iran, Saudi Arabia and Venezuela] have effectively priced responsible and well-meaning aid organizations out of the market in the very places where they are needed most. If they continue to succeed in pushing their alternative development model, they will succeed in underwriting a world that is more corrupt, chaotic, and authoritarian. That is in no one's interests, except the rogues (p.95).

Naim labelled Chinese aid as “rogue”, because “it is development assistance that is nondemocratic in origin and nontransparent in practice; its effect is typically stifling real progress while hurting average citizens” (2007, p.96).

More broadly, Tull (2006) has argued that increased aid, debt cancellation and a boom in Chinese-African trade have proven mutually advantageous for China and African state elites. Chinese aid offered African elites resources to buy political support and finance their grandiose and prestigious buildings.

Subsequently, scholars have attempted to validate Naim's and Tull's claims empirically. Using AidData which, for the first time, provides comprehensive data on Chinese aid, Dreher et al. (2014) showed that current political leaders' birth regions received substantially larger Chinese financial inflows than other regions. The authors, however, did not find evidence that leaders shifted aid to regions populated by groups who share their ethnicity. Kishi and Raleigh (draft), also using AidData, found that political violence by states, against both competitors and against civilians, increased with receipt of Chinese aid compared to ‘traditional’ aid flows. “Though China isn't specifically giving aid to ‘pariah states’, it is making states into pariahs through providing resources to state leaders who are not afraid to use repression as a means to quell competition” (ibid. Abstract). Bader (2015), however, found that Chinese bilateral interactions had had little effect on the longevity of autocratic regimes. Analyses of different forms of Chinese bilateral engagement between 1993 and 2008

– including state visits, arms trading, aid projects, economic cooperation and trade dependence – showed that only export dependence on China may increase the likelihood of survival for autocratic regimes while doing little to stabilize their democratic counterparts.

As with macro studies of Western aid, those of China's aid deliver contradictory results regarding the impact of such aid on governance.

2.5. Foreign aid in Cambodia

Three studies of Cambodia address the influence of aid on Cambodia. Ear (2007) has been influential in Cambodia. Ear used an elite survey on aid and quality of governance, measured via the Worldwide Governance Indicators used in Table 1.1 of Chapter 1. The proportion of research informants in Ear's study who suggested that the donor community affected governance change is as follows (per cent represents donor success rated as medium to very high): political stability (67 per cent), voice and accountability (47 per cent), government effectiveness (30 per cent), regulatory quality (29 per cent), rule of law (12 per cent) and control of corruption (7 per cent). Ear concluded that, except for political stability, foreign aid had not had a positive impact on governance in Cambodia.

Ear's studies suffered from several limitations. The first is the low response rate in his elite survey. Only 43 key informants (21.5 per cent of those he sent surveys to) participated in his survey. The second limitation was the composition of his sample. 43 per cent of the key informants worked for donor agencies; 25 per cent for international NGOs; 16 per cent for local NGOs; and only 16 per cent for the Royal Government of Cambodia. Both limitations suggest extreme selection bias. Finally, Ear's survey captured the elites' perceptions, not necessarily the actual effects of Western aid on governance.

The second study is that by Hughes. Hughes (2009), using ethnographic research methods, compares the experiences of Cambodia and Timor-Leste and argues essentially that Cambodia's leaders have paid no more than lip-service to the country's Western donors. The impact of Western aid on governance in Cambodia is therefore very limited according to Hughes.

Sato et al. (2011) do not directly focus on governance issues but their study is the only study to examine non-traditional aid to Cambodia. Based on in-depth interviews with key Cambodian senior government officials, Sato et al. find – consistent with the international literature (Woods 2008 pp.1220-1221) and with a similar study of Laos (Khennavong 2014) – that the Cambodian government was dissatisfied with Western donors and perceived Western aid as inadequate, unpredictable, poorly aligned with its development priorities, and accompanied by unsatisfactory technical cooperation (p.2099). Chinese aid was more popular because “unlike traditional donors, China does not assign aid personnel to perform administrative work, which tends to squeeze out the already limited capacities of the Cambodian government” (p.2100). It is also because of “the amount, speed of delivery, cost, and responsiveness to Cambodian aspirations of aid from China” (p.2101).

Overall, the studies suggest that Western aid was ineffective in Cambodia and has a bad reputation. While the Ear study can be discounted, there is no doubt that the influence of Western aid is declining. Judging the shift towards authoritarianism in Cambodia and the lack of movement in broader governance indicators (Table 1.1 in Chapter 1), it would be hard to argue that Western aid has had much impact on Cambodian governance.

2.6. Education and political attitudes

Various authors have argued that education matters for political and economic development. This is because (1) education has been identified as one pathway to acquiring the status of political elites (Miller 1974, p.527) and (2) education influences elite and non-elite attitudes (Coleman 1965).

Lipset (1959) may have been the first scholar to suggest that education contributes to democratization “because education presumably broadens man’s outlook, enables him to understand the need for norms of tolerance, restrains him from adhering to extremist doctrines, and increases his capacity to make rational electoral choices” (p.79). Lipset also argued that “the higher one’s education, the more likely one is to believe in democratic values and support democratic practices” (ibid.). Consistent with this, Almond and Verba (1963 cited in Doerschler 2004, p.451) found that education was strongly correlated with a host of different political attitudes and behaviours, including awareness of the impact of government

on the individual, ability to follow politics and pay attention to election campaigns and political information, and the likelihood of engaging in political discussion.

Scholars have tested the relationship between education and non-elite political attitudes and found mixed results. Plant (1965) argued that attendance at an American college tended to lower authoritarianism and increase tolerance, to increase political knowledge and competence, and to increase interest and involvement. Education has also been found to be associated with increasing political tolerance, increasing support for democracy and decreasing trust in public institutions. Golebiowska (1995) provided more evidence for the education-tolerance relationship in America and suggested that one of the reasons higher education tended to be linked with greater tolerance was because it led to individual values that are conducive to greater openness to political diversity. Weakliem (2002) found that education influenced most political opinions in 40 nations, promoted individualist values, and was associated with somewhat lower confidence in most institutions. Doerschler (2004) found that, while Turkish and Yugoslav immigrants reported numerous negative experiences in German schools in the in-depth interviews and often used these experiences to form unfavorable opinions about government policies, quantitative analyses using data from the German Socio-economic Panel (GSOEP) revealed that German education had generally benefited the political engagement of immigrants. More recently, Kuenzi (2007) found that both non-formal and formal education was found to increase the likelihood that people will embrace democratic, tolerant attitudes in Senegal.

Friedman, Kremer, Miguel, and Thornton (2011) found that young women in merit scholarship incentive program schools were less likely to accept domestic violence in Kenya and the program increased objective political knowledge, and reduced acceptance of political authority. However, this rejection of the status quo did not translate into greater perceived political efficacy, community participation, or voting intentions. Instead, the perceived legitimacy of political violence increased.

Wang, Wu and Han (2015), using the China General Social Survey 2006, found that:

[T]he college-educated Chinese citizens not only agree that there is need to improve democracy, but support various types of political participation and resist the government-oriented petitioning. However, though entrepreneurial elites (private business owners) and political elites (Chinese communist party members) demonstrate preference to democracy in principle, empirical evidence suggests that they are much

less likely to support political participation that challenges the authoritarian regime in China compared to knowledge-based elites (college-educated adults) (p.399).

Another strand of research has focused on civic education. It has also found empirical support for the influence of education on political attitudes. McAllister (1998), using survey data collected in 1996 to examine the extent of political knowledge in Australia, found that “the increased political knowledge that civic education creates is more effective in generating positive views of democratic institutions, and less effective in shaping political behaviour” (p.7). Bratton, Alderfer, Bowser and Temba (1999) found that civic education has observable positive effects, but mainly among privileged elements in society and that civic education has consistently greater impact on citizens' knowledge and values than on their political behaviour. “[C]ivic education programs are associated with acculturation to democracy” (p.821). Finkel, Sabatini and Bevis (2000) demonstrated in the Dominican Republic that civic education had a direct, negative effect on participants' levels of institutional trust, with the greatest negative effects on trust in governmental bodies such as the army and the judicial system. Finkel and Smith (2011) found that civic education first affected the knowledge, values and participatory inclinations of individuals directly exposed to the Kenyan National Civic Education Programme (NCEP).

These individuals became opinion leaders, communicating these new orientations to others within their social networks. Individuals who discussed others' civic education experiences then showed significant growth in democratic knowledge and values, in many instances more than individuals with direct exposure to the program. We find further evidence of a “compensation effect,” such that the impact of civic education and post-civic education discussion was greater among Kenyans with less education and with lower levels of social integration (p.417).

Mvukiyehe and Samii (2017) found that civic education intervention administered by Liberian civil society organization increased enthusiasm for electoral participation, produced a coordinated shift from parochial to national candidates, and increased willingness to report on manipulation.

Court (1970) found elite secondary school students increasing in their disrespect for, and cynicism about, the regime in Tanzania. Goldrich (1968, cited in Meyer and Robinson 1975, p.140) found Panamanian elite secondary school students developing great political interest in revolution.

Not all researchers have found an effect of education on political attitudes. van Elsas (2014) found little evidence to suggest that higher educated citizens would base their political trust on rational evaluations of politics, whereas lower educated citizens would rely more on a general, undifferentiated disposition toward society. “[A]t least in the Netherlands, political trust is not a different construct for higher and lower educated citizens. Political trust exhibits a rational structure across education groups” (p.1173). Hooghe, Dassonneville and Marien (2015), using a 5-year Belgian panel study that tracked respondents between the ages of 16 and 21, demonstrated that differences with regard to political trust between future students and non-students are already present and stable at the age of sixteen.

Significant determinants were school track and educational goal. The inclusion of actual educational status in the model (at age 21), however, rendered the relation with educational goal not significant. The results suggest that during secondary education students already anticipate and acquire a value pattern that is congruent with their future status. Ultimately, however, this effect is dependent on whether they actually enrol in higher education or not (p.123).

Likewise, Persson, Lindgren, and Oskarsson (2016) showed that an additional year of schooling had no detectable effect on political knowledge, democratic values or political participation in Greece, Norway, Slovenia and Sweden.

Overall, the studies, while not all agreeing, suggest that education, particularly civic education, tends to have positive effects on political attitudes such as support for democracy. The literature does not speak to the influence of education made possible by foreign governments through scholarships.

2.7. Scholarships

Despite their long history and importance, scholarships are an under-studied part of Australian and Chinese aid. Such studies as there are have mainly examined Western scholarships and focused on the relationships between scholarships and soft power, or scholarships and career progression. No study has yet to compare the effects of Western and Chinese scholarships on governance in the recipient countries, while very few studies have explored the effects of Western scholarships on governance.

One of the most interesting scholarship studies used a unique multi-country panel dataset of foreign students starting in the 1950s. Spilimbergo (2009) found that “foreign-educated

individuals promote democracy in their home country, but only if the foreign education is acquired in democratic countries.” (Abstract). A possible limitation of this paper is that it is not possible to say whether countries that chose to send more students to democratic countries were more prone to become democratic themselves.

In another important study, Atkinson (2010) using data spanning the years 1980–2006, with annual observations for each year for countries with a population of at least 500,000, found that US-hosted military exchange programs could play an important role in the diffusion of liberal values and practices across the borders of authoritarian states.

.... [S]tates that sent their military officers to study at military institutes in the United States were more likely to be associated with improved human rights than those states that did not send their military officers (ibid. p.16).

Again, a limitation of the study is that states that send military officers to the US may be of a type that are more amenable to human rights reforms.

Other studies on Western scholarships are descriptive in nature and their findings are largely positive. For example, Mawer (2014) found on the basis of a retrospective survey of 4,250 Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Programme (CSFP) scholars (response rate 38 per cent) that the impact of the scholarship program was significant in terms of individual capacity, networks and collaboration and impact in developmentally-relevant sectors.

The prevalent perception amongst alumni is that gains from Commonwealth Scholarships and Fellowships are both substantial and continue to be applicable in their workplace. In particular, application of the knowledge and technical skills gained on award and their subsequent application and knowledge transfer post-scholarship was widespread.... [T]he analysis of counterfactual scenarios makes clear that very few alumni felt there was substantial prospect for having pursued a similar programme of study in lieu of their Commonwealth Scholarship or Fellowship (pp.46-47).

In another retrospective survey of 5,673 CSFP scholars (response rate 40 per cent), Day and Geddes (2008) found that the impact of this scholarship program was significant in terms of career progression, policy influence and United Kingdom (UK) links.

SRI International's evaluation of 1980-2000 Visiting Fulbright Student Program, also based on a retrospective survey of 2,310 scholars (response rate 70 per cent), delivered similarly positive findings for this US scholarship program.

Alemu and Cordier (2017) examined international students' satisfaction studying in South Korean universities and found that international students from the East Asian cultural sphere attained more satisfaction than other international students who were more culturally dissimilar from members of the host population. The study used 873 valid survey responses from international students originating from 69 countries studying at 62 Korean universities and an ordered-logistic regression to identify factors influencing international students' overall satisfaction.

Australian scholarships are among the most studied. Keats (1969), who studied Asian tertiary students, including Indonesians, brought to Australia by the government under the Colombo Plan, found that overseas training had general advantages with respect to recognition for appointment, promotion, advancement, and salary. Cannon (2000), using semi-structured interviews and small group discussion with 89 graduate Indonesians, found that most graduates believed the advantages of an Australian education were more important than the disadvantages.

Respondents place more importance on outcomes such as changes in intellectual abilities, attitudes and cultural perspectives than on narrower career advantages such as salary and promotion... (p.355).

Abimbola et al. (2015)'s study on the immediate outcomes of Australian scholarships to three African countries surveyed 261 students (response rate of 42.5 per cent) and found that "Australian scholarships to Africans have the potential to spread Australian influence, and that returnee scholars, by virtue of their study in Australia, gain the capacity to become an agent for the development in their country."

Our findings are in keeping with previous studies which found that returnee scholars experience benefits and advantages, including promotion, pay rises and greater self-confidence due to their improved English-speaking abilities (ibid.).

The Australian Government's Office of Development Effectiveness also found that Australia Awards Scholarships built career and leaders among women. Based on their own survey, and a review of evaluations, it found:

Australia Awards Scholarships contribute strongly to women's professional advancement.... The scholarship experience of living in Australia for an extended period of time (one year or more) was frequently cited as catalysing development of personal skills and attributes—such as confidence, self-belief and open-mindedness—that are critical aspects of a leader identity.... (Office of Development Effectiveness 2015).

On the contrary, based on semi-structured interviews of seven medical students, Chur-Hansen (2004) found that Malaysian medical students who studied medicine in Australia on Malaysian government scholarship voiced concerns about how ready they were for working at home.

These included a lack of practical skills relative to their Malaysian-trained counterparts, language difficulties, medical communication skill incompatibilities across cultures, expectations to perform complex or unfamiliar tasks with minimal supervision and substantial burdens of responsibility with long working hours. These students did not feel greatly prepared for their return home to practise medicine (p.343).

There are a small number of tracer studies of Australian scholarships to Cambodia. The latest one is by Bryant (2014). Based on a survey of 394 Cambodian Australian 1996-2013 scholarship alumni (response rate of 56 per cent), Bryant found that the scholarships increased the skills and capacity of the recipients, leading to contributions to Cambodian development and positive views of Australia:

The awards have contributed to the number of Cambodians with internationally recognised qualifications, as well as with the 'soft-skills' necessary in the workplace.... There was strong evidence to indicate that, through the knowledge and skills gained under the awards, the majority of the survey respondents have made significant contributions to their organisation, to their community and towards national development.... (ibid.).

However, Bryant also reported a number of negative findings.

The vast majority of the Cambodian respondents (86%) reported difficulties using their skills and knowledge. The respondents reported lack of opportunity to further develop skills/knowledge (61%), lack of resources and equipment (46%), resistance to new ways of working and thinking (45%) and lack of a professional network to share ideas (43%) (ibid., p.8).

Studies of Chinese scholarships programs are rare, but include Gillespie (2001), Dong and Chapman (2008), Haugen (2013) and Makundi et al. (2017). Gillespie (2001) was perhaps the first scholars to present the first detailed description of African students and their experience in China. Examining the profile of 133 African students from twenty-nine African nations, she found that:

The majority of respondents, 85.7% (114), were male and 14.3 % (19) were female. The majority, 74.4% (99), were single and 24.8% (33) were married. The age of respondents ranged from 21 to 43 years, the average was 29, and in general, most had limited exposure to other cultures while growing up. Students came from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds, but the majority had at least one parent who had obtained a formal higher education. The majority of students, 64.7% (86), first attended university in their own country and of these most, 38.3% (51), held a Bachelor's degree. Prior to their departure, the majority, 62.4% (83), felt they were not adequately informed about their academic program and living conditions in China. The majority, 53.3% (71), were currently studying for their Master's degree and the largest concentration of students was in the fields of Agriculture 27.8% (37) and Engineering 25.6% (34). On average, students who answered this questionnaire had lived in China for 3.29 years (p.102).

Gillespie (2001) also studied the issues African students faced while in China. She found that African students generally faced racial discrimination and misinformation against them:

In the interview with the Four Graduates they also spoke about being "looked down upon" as the very first *essential element* they chose to raise were the "'My frustrations" that is, the daily frustrations of walking down the street, taking the bus, walking into an office. In these daily situations, students responded that they are insulted, shunned, and feared as a matter of course (p.137).

On the African students' academic experiences, Gillespie (2001) found similar negative experiences.

Although, as mentioned, 42.8% (57) of students rated their *overall satisfaction with Chinese educational programs* 'excellent' and 'good', a slightly larger percentage of students, 48.1% (64), rated their level of satisfaction as 'fair' and 'poor'. Among those who found their experience to be 'fair' was a Maser's student from Ghana. He wrote, "China is not ready and ripe enough to accept foreigners, especially from Africa, as students to study in their institutions. To do this a lot of structures have to be put in place." Among those who found the experience to be 'poor' was a Doctoral candidate who wrote, "the academic program for foreigners is a total failure. I am quite disappointed. It seems like the Chinese people care less about us. They seem to undermine us" (p.171).

Dong and Chapman (2008) investigated Chinese scholars' "level of satisfaction with their higher education experience in China and their perception of the role of the scholarship program in promoting positive relationships between China and the scholarship students'

home countries.” In contrast with Gillespie (2001), Dong and Chapman found that “participants in the Chinese government scholarship program are generally satisfied with their experiences in China and are positive about the impact of the program in building friendships with their home countries” (p.155). (270 recipients of Chinese Government Scholarships from 58 countries participated in Dong and Chapman’s study).

Haugen (2013) however found that African students who pursued higher education in China whether on scholarships or privately funded were disappointed with the quality of the education they received. Haugen interviewed 28 students from 16 different countries, of whom 15 were self-funding and 13 received scholarships.

Makundi et al. (2017) examined the contribution of scholarship programs provided by the Chinese government to improve human capital in the fields of science, technology, and innovation in Tanzania, based on a survey of 85 Tanzanians who had received training in China and interviews with 13 individuals including some of the surveyed trainees, scholarship administrators, and other stakeholders, and found that:

While critical comments were raised, the trainees in our sample were largely positive about the Chinese training experiences. Besides the direct transfer of skills and exposure to China’s modernity, the indirect outcome of technology transfer has come about through the importation of equipment and technical literature. However efforts to transfer and apply acquired knowledge have been regularly impeded by structural barriers including cross-cultural communication problems, differences in attitude, and the fact that in several cases Tanzania does not have the capacity to absorb some of the advanced Chinese technologies taught in the courses. Two-way communication is needed in order to inform and adapt the Chinese government training programmes to the specific needs of the recipient African economies (p.11).

2.8. Research gaps and conclusion

From the literature survey, at least seven limitations in the existing literature are evident.

First, studies on foreign aid and governance are dominated by cross-country analyses, often with contradictory results. The cross-country regression literature in relation to the impact of aid on growth has not delivered robust results (Riddell 2007, pp.222-224). The same conclusion can be reached with regard to the impact of aid on governance (Roodman 2007 and Temple 2010).

Second, and following on from this, more micro studies should be undertaken as they are often more illuminating (Roodman 2007 and Temple 2010). They are also mixed, but there are at least some examples of positive impacts. However, so far, they are entirely of Western aid.

Fourth, there is evidence that education matters for political attitudes, but there are no studies of the impact of scholarships on students' political attitudes.

Fifth, scholarship studies have tended to focus on the scholarship experience, and on the returns from scholarships to the recipients concerned. Studies of Chinese scholarships are very rare, and there are no comparative studies. The two cross-country studies (Atkinson 2010 and Spilimbergo 2009) are the only ones to examine the impact of scholarships on attitudes. They suggest a positive impact of Western scholarships but these findings need to be complemented by more micro-level studies. There is a lack of data on who gets scholarships and on whether different scholarships benefit different groups.

Sixth, methodologically, scholarship studies tend to rely on cross-sectional data from retrospective surveys and semi-structured interviews. None has attempted before and after comparisons, or comparisons with a control group. These methodological limitations weaken the rigor of scholarship studies and their ability to make causal claims.

Finally, these various strands of the literature have developed separately and largely neglected one another. I argue that there is benefit to combining them. Studying Australian and Chinese scholarships will not only provide a first comparative study in the scholarship literature. Looking at whether and how scholarships affect elite formation⁵ and political attitudes in recipient countries may also improve our understanding of how this form of education and foreign aid may affect governance in the recipient countries. Dassin et al. (2018) put it aptly:

International higher education has played a fundamental role in training leaders worldwide and in influencing broader development processes.... However, the role of scholarship programs in enabling access to quality higher education and creating pathways to social [and political] change—not only for individual beneficiaries but for their societies as well—is less widely articulated and researched (p.4).

⁵ Elite formation can be understood as the creation or the emergence of new elites, “a minority of the populace that have a disproportionate influence in the authoritative allocation of values” (Miller 1974, p.521).

Chapter 3: Research Questions and Methods

3.1. Introduction

The literature survey in the previous section showed that we still have much to learn about the impact of aid on governance, and argued that, given the importance of education for elite formation, it would be useful to undertake a study of scholarships. It also noted that the literature on scholarships was thin, with no comparative studies, and limited research designs deployed. This chapter sets out both the research questions for the thesis and the methods that will be used to answer those questions.

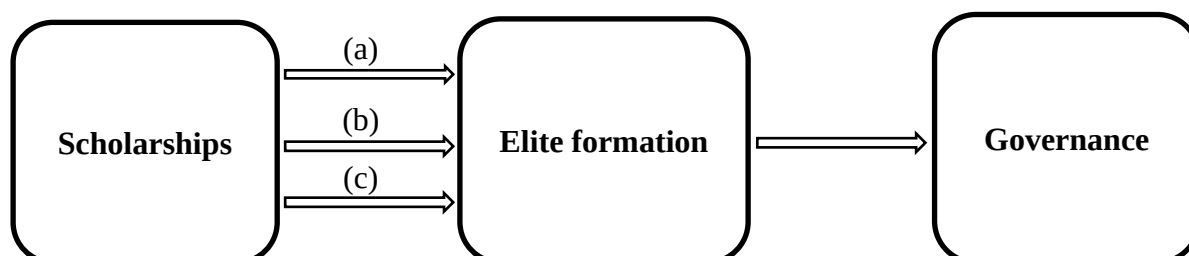
This chapter is organized as follows. Section 3.2 poses the research questions for the thesis. Section 3.3 explains the research designs used. Section 3.4 explains how participants were selected and surveyed for the quantitative analysis and Section 3.5 for the qualitative analysis. Section 3.6 describes the data analysis techniques and Section 3.7 concludes.

3.2. Analytical framework and research questions

The fundamental interest of this research is in the influence of scholarship on governance. We can think of scholarships affecting governance – and of different scholarships affecting governance differently – in two ways. One, the scholarships might support a particular social or political group, and different scholarships might support different groups with different levels of effectiveness. Two, the scholarships might influence the outlook of the group selected, and different scholarships might influence thinking in different ways. Both mechanisms will lead to an impact on governance. Governance is a function of power relations or politics. If one group is advantaged by receiving a scholarship, that will affect the power balance, and therefore governance. Governance is also a function of ideas. If the scholarship changes the ideas of a group, then that will also impact governance. These mechanisms are summarized in Figure 3.1 below.

Figure 3.1: A diagrammatic representation of the analytical framework and research questions of this thesis

Different scholarships may influence governance in different ways through their impact on elite formation via one or more of three mechanisms



- (a) Selection of elite group for scholarships
- (b) Utility of scholarships to that elite group
- (c) Influence of scholarships on views of that elite group

This simple framework provides the conceptual underpinning for the thesis. We want to know if the two types of scholarships (Australian and Chinese) target the same or different groups. We want to know how much of an advantage each type of scholarship provides. And we want to know if the two types of scholarships influence the attitudes of those who receive them. All these three issues will determine the influence of the scholarships provided. They lead to the three fundamental questions with which this thesis is concerned:

- (1) Do Australian and Chinese scholarships select different cohorts of scholars?
- (2) Are Australian or Chinese scholarships more useful to their recipients?
- (3) Do Australian and Chinese scholarships influence the outlook or attitudes of their recipients?

While the above three are, from an analytical point of view, the most important, there are also another two questions which this thesis attempts to answer. All five questions are set out below, in the order in which they are addressed.

- (1) To what extent and in what ways do Cambodia's Australian and Chinese scholarships differ?

This is a basic, introductory question. Since there are no comparative studies of Australian and Chinese scholarships, we need to tackle this question first. Here, we are interested in such basic issues as length of scholarship, level and nature of discipline studied, as well as the selection process used.

(2) To what extent and in what ways do Cambodia's Australian and Chinese scholars differ?

This corresponds to the first fundamental research question set out above. There are few studies that analyze the characteristics of scholars selected to study overseas in a particular country, let alone any comparative studies. As noted above, our theoretical interest in this question relates to the potential power advantage that might be obtained by different groups if they were benefited by different scholarships. To determine this, we need to identify whether the two scholarships do indeed benefit different groups. Specifically, we are interested in such issues as the social and economic backgrounds of the scholars selected, their links to the Cambodian government, as well as what happens to them after they return from their scholarships.

(3) How useful are Australian and Chinese scholarships for their recipients?

This corresponds to the second fundamental research question set out above. The influence of scholarships is dependent on their utility. If one type of scholarships leads to promotions and policy-influence more than another, that type will have more influence in general. Due to data limitations, we are forced to rely on self-perceived utility to answer this question. The research surveyed in Chapter 2, Section 2.6 shows that Western scholarships are perceived by their recipients to be useful in hindsight. This subject has not been much covered for Chinese scholars, but the one study (Makundi et al. 2017) is also positive in relation to Tanzanian scholars. There has been no comparative study to date.

(4) To what extent and in what ways do Cambodia's Australian and Chinese scholars in-country experiences differ?

This question is of interest in its own right. It has received some attention, with Abimbola et al. (2015) showing that African scholars generally had positive experiences in Australia and mixed results in China (Dong and Chapman 2008; Haugen 2013). This question is also of interest as a precursor to the next question regarding the influence of scholarships on

attitudes. It is reasonable to suppose that scholarships will be more influential the more positive the in-country experience.

(5) What influence do Australian and Chinese scholarships have on scholars' political and economics attitudes?

This corresponds to the third fundamental question outlined above. We are interested in the direction as well as the degree of influence. No study has examined this question for either country.

3.3. Research designs

The five research questions this thesis addresses differ ontologically. The first four are descriptive in nature, while the last seeks to identify causes. Different research designs are required and discussed separately below.

I employ a single cross-sectional design to answer the first three questions regarding the comparison of Chinese and Australian scholarships, scholars and perceived utility. Single cross-sectional design is well suited to descriptive research, in which the distribution of variables in a population can be mapped and the relationships between variables can be specified (de Vaus 2006). Bryman defines single cross-sectional design as a design that:

entails the collection of data on more than one case (usually quite a lot more than one) and at a single point in time in order to collect a body of quantitative or quantifiable data in connection with two or more variables (usually more than two), which are then examined to detect patterns of association (2015, p.58).

I used qualitative research within a single cross-sectional design, specifically semi-structured interviews, to answer the fourth research question which compared the in-country experiences of Cambodia's Chinese and Australian scholars. Qualitative field research is especially effective for studying subtle nuance in attitudes and behaviors. The chief strength of this method lies in the depth of understanding it permits (Babbie 2015). However, it should also be noted that being qualitative rather than quantitative, it is not an appropriate means for aiming at a statistical description of a population.

The last research question seeks to determine the influences of Australian and Chinese scholarships on Cambodian scholars' political and economic attitudes. I utilize a mixed

method design, employing both surveys and semi-structured interviews. This design is necessary because all methods of data collection have limitations and the true experiment design, which has been regarded as the gold standard in empirical research (Bryman 2015 and David 2006), is impractical in most cases. Mixed method design recognizes that each research approach has its weaknesses and deals with the situation by employing a diversity of methods and designs so that the full picture that emerges is not marred by the weaknesses of a particular design or method (de Vaus 2006). The use of multiple methods can neutralize or cancel out some of the disadvantages of certain methods. For example, the details of qualitative data can provide insights not available through general quantitative surveys (Cresswell et al. 2006, p.252).

Cresswell et al. define mixed method design as one that:

involves the collection or analysis of both quantitative and/or qualitative data in a single study in which the data are collected concurrently or sequentially, are given a priority, and involves the integration of the data at one or more stages in the process of the research (2006, p.253).

The three research designs I use are: (1) one-group pretest-posttest (before-and-after) design; (2) posttest-only control group design; and (3) qualitative research within a cross-sectional design.

One-group pretest-posttest design is one type of quasi-experiment design, in which the group is observed before and after they are treated. To implement this design, I acknowledged or took the following steps:

1. Australian, Cambodian, and Chinese governments selected the scholars (research participants).
2. I surveyed the political and economic attitudes of a sample of research participants before they left for either Australia or China.
3. Research participants undertook their scholarships in either Australia or China.
4. I surveyed the political and economic attitudes of the same sample of research participants again after one year.

If the research participants changed their political and economic attitudes between the first and second measurements, this difference is ascribed to the presence of the scholarships.

Because this design does not have a comparison group that is controlled, it cannot be employed to make a robust causal claim. In other words, because there are other variables that have not been controlled for, these could be rival explanations for any changes observed. In other words, this design is weak in internal validity. To put it in our research context, while the design allows us to track changes, or the lack thereof, of Cambodian scholars' political and economic attitudes over time, it cannot indicate whether the outcomes were the consequence of the scholarships or of global trends or events in Cambodia. The design runs into serious troubles if Cambodians would have changed their attitudes anyway with or without scholarships.

The second type of design I deployed was the posttest-only control group design. This is an approach deploying a natural experiment. Shively defines a "natural experiment" as

a design in which a test group (i.e., a group exposed to the independent variable) and a control group (i.e., a group not exposed to the independent variable) are used, but in which the investigator has no control over who falls into the test group and who falls into the control group. People either select themselves into the group or nature selects them in; the investigator has no control over who is in or out (2013, p.80).

In our study, the treatments, and the treatment and control groups, happen to exist naturally, independent of our interrogation. We have no control over the content of the treatment – the scholarships, and those who are awarded the scholarships. Since selection rules for scholarships do not change, the best control group to study the one-year-on influence of scholarships is the following year's scholarship cohort, surveyed after they are selected but before they leave. This means that the control group can be identified only after the treatment group has already been selected and left for China or Australia. Therefore, it is not possible to conduct a pretest to collect baseline data from the control group. Some authors dub the natural experiment without pre-measurement design as the posttest-only control group design.

This research design includes the following steps:

1. Australian, Cambodian, and Chinese governments selected scholars (treatment groups).
2. The treatment groups undertook their scholarship in either Australia or China.
3. I surveyed a sample of the treatment group.
4. Australian, Cambodian, and Chinese governments selected the next year's scholars (control group).

5. I surveyed a sample of the control group (prior to departure).

Although the design has stronger internal validity than the one-group pretest-posttest design, it has also its weaknesses. It is particularly vulnerable to selection bias, because the treatment and control groups may not be comparable, even if the scholarship selection rules do not change. Therefore, the design often has less precision than, say, the pretest and posttest control group design, and it does not allow us to study the relationship between pretest attitudes and the amount of change (Campbell 2006). To put it in our context, the design allows us to compare political and economic attitudes of the treatment and control groups, but it does not permit us to attribute all the differences to the scholarships without also comparing the changes of attitudes within the same groups over time. In other words, the political attitudes of the treatment and control groups could be different but the magnitudes of changes within the same groups could also well be the same. Furthermore, it cannot tell us how much Australian and Chinese scholarships have caused the changes in Cambodian scholars' attitudes, if any.

Qualitative research within a single cross-sectional design was also employed to answer the fifth question in relation to attitudes. This design is used when the researchers use interviews to investigate the causes and effects (Bryman 2015). In this research, two small groups of Australian and Chinese scholars were asked to make self-assessments of if and how much their scholarships had influenced their political and economic attitudes. (The advantages and disadvantages of this approach have already been discussed.)

To reconcile the various research results, the concurrent triangulation design is used. Concurrent triangulation is a particular type of mixed-methods design. It is selected when a researcher uses two or more different methods in an attempt to confirm, cross-validate or corroborate findings within a single study (Green et al. 1989, Morgan 1998, Steckler et al. 1992 cited in Cresswell et al. 2006, p. 273). This design generally uses separate quantitative and qualitative methods from various research designs as a means to offset the weaknesses inherent within one method with the strengths of the other method. Quantitative findings are often thought of as “hard” and qualitative findings as “real and deep” (Zelditch 1962, p. 566). The aim of triangulation is to generate a set of findings that are hard, real and deep. To place it in our context, I triangulate quantitative data collected from the one-group pretest-posttest, posttest only control group, and qualitative research within single cross-sectional designs.

To sum up, three different sets of research designs are employed in this research. Survey research design is employed to answer the first, second and third questions. Qualitative research within a single cross-sectional design provides answers to the fourth research question. Finally, a mixed-methods design – involving the triangulation of results from one-group pretest-posttest design, posttest only control group design and qualitative research within a single cross-sectional design – is used to tackle the fifth research question.

3.4. Research participants: quantitative analysis

Surveys were employed to collect the data for the research questions. Surveys are chiefly used in studies that have individuals as the units of analysis (de Leeuw 2011, p.324). Survey research is probably the best method available to the social researcher who is interested in collecting original data for describing a population too large to observe directly (Babbie 2015). One of its chief weaknesses is its inability to cover complex topics. Close-ended questions were used to generate a greater standardization of response.

Various groups of scholars were requested to participate in various parts of this research. This section provides an overview of the participants.

Research participants were selected by a snowball sampling method.⁶ Ideally, I would have surveyed all, or a random sample of all, AAS and CGS scholars, about 2,000 individuals. I was, however, unable to obtain the required information from official sources. The Australia Awards Office in Cambodia cited their privacy policy as the grounds not to release the contact details of AAS scholars. The Chinese embassy in Cambodia refused to communicate with me altogether. The Cambodian ministry provided a list of scholars who won CGS scholarships in 2017; it was unable to disclose the list of the CGS scholars who had won CGS before 2017.

It was therefore not possible to construct a sampling frame. Instead, I used my personal connections and online sources to identify AAS and CGS scholars. I requested AAS and CGS scholars to share with me the lists of AAS and CGS awardees, if they had one. I also contacted friends who had links to the China Alumni of Cambodia (CAC), an association of

⁶ Using this sampling method, I was striving to identify as many as Australian and Chinese scholars as possible, and whenever possible, to secure a similar number of AAS and CGS scholars for the surveys. As the exercise was time-consuming, I decided to stop when I could not locate additional AAS and CGS participants or when I found sufficient numbers of AAS and CGS scholars for the surveys.

Cambodian Chinese scholars, to give me the list of CAC members. Finally, I requested anyone who is member of Cambodian Australian Alumni Association's Facebook group and CAC's Facebook group to participate in the survey.

Table 3.1 below shows the various groups of scholars I sent surveys to and how many responded.

Table 3.1: Australian and Chinese scholars' surveys

Research participants	Survey sent	Survey response	%
2016 departure group	100	79	79%
AAS scholars about to leave for Australia in 2016	35	32	91.4%
CGS scholars about to leave for China in 2016	65	47	72.3%
2016 in-country group	400	184	46%
Australian scholars currently in Australia in 2016	100	77	77%
Chinese scholars currently in China in 2016	300	107	35.7%
Alumni group	500	191	38.2%
Australian scholarship alumni	250	111	44.4%
Chinese scholarship alumni	250	80	32%
2017 departure group	170	95	55.9%
AAS scholars about to leave for Australia in 2017	50	35	70%
CGS scholars about to leave for China in 2017	120	60	50%
Total	1,170	549	46.9%
Australian scholars	435	255	58.6%
Chinese scholars	735	294	40%

Note: For the 2016 departure group, the response rates shown are for the pre-departure survey. The same students were also re-surveyed in 2017. Those response rates, which are lower, are discussed in Chapter 7.

As can be seen from the table, four groups were identified:

(a) 2016 departure group

The Australian government granted approximately 50 scholarships to Cambodia annually in recent years. Ideally, all AAS scholars who won scholarships in 2015 should have been surveyed. However, given that AAS scholars leave for Australia in different semesters, depending on how sooner they meet the scholarship's English language requirement, it was not possible to survey all of them at the same time. Moreover, I did not have a list of all scholars selected in any one year and had to locate as many as I could myself. Therefore, I combined scholars who won an AAS in either 2015 or 2016, who had not yet departed, but who were scheduled to leave for Australia in 2016. I was able to identify 35 such scholars.

The Chinese government awarded 65 CGS scholarships in 2016. All of them are the research participants for my 2016 departure group, practically because CGS scholars leave for China in the same semester, and because I was able to obtain the list of scholars.

These participants were surveyed in Cambodia in 2016 and then again, in either Australia or China, in 2017.

Of the 36 scholars in China who responded in 2017, only 29 had completed the survey in the first round; the rest were new respondents. Furthermore, 3 out of the 29 had already dropped their Chinese scholarship and were back in Cambodia, reducing the number of those who completed the surveys again to 26.

All 32 Australian scholars who responded in 2017 are the same group of scholars who completed the survey in 2016.

In 2016, the 2016 departure groups were asked questions about their characteristics and attitudes, and in 2017, the same questions about their attitudes.

(b) 2016 in-country group

By late 2016, more than a hundred of AAS scholars were already in Australia. These scholars had won an AAS in 2014, 2015 or 2016. Using my personal connections with the AAS scholars, I was able to identify 100 such scholars. Likewise, about 400 Chinese scholars were already in China by late 2016. These scholars won the CGS and other Chinese scholarships in 2013, 2014, 2015 and 2016. I was able to identify 300 such scholars through a friend who was at the time a committee member of Cambodian Students Association in China. These participants were surveyed in late 2016 and were asked questions about their characteristics.

There is no overlap between the 2016 departure and in-country groups, since the surveys were administered at about the same time.

(c) Alumni group

By late 2016, close to a thousand of the AAS scholars had completed their studies in Australia and returned to Cambodia. I was able to identify 250 such scholars through the Cambodian Australian Alumni Association's website and Facebook group. There are a similar number of

Cambodia's Chinese scholars who completed their studies in China and returned to Cambodia. I was able to identify 250 such scholars through a friend who is a committee member of CAC and CAC's Facebook group. These participants were surveyed in early 2017 and were asked questions about their characteristics, attitudes and careers.

(d) 2017 departure group

In 2017, the Australian government again granted about 50 scholarships. This time, I was able to identify all these scholars through a friend who was also a recipient of the AAS in that year. The number of CGS to Cambodia exploded in 2017, increasing from 65 in 2016 to about 170 in 2017. The Cambodian Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports shared with me the 2017 list of the scholars. These participants were surveyed in 2017 before they left for either Australia or China and were asked questions about their attitudes.

To summarize, the following surveys used in the following chapters were administered to the various groups:

1. 2016 departure group: characteristics (used in Chapters 4 and 5) and attitudes (Chapter 8)
2. 2016 in-country group: characteristics (Chapters 4 and 5)
3. Alumni group: characteristics (Chapters 4 and 5) and utility (Chapter 6)
4. 2017 departure group: attitudes (Chapter 8)

The two surveys used (one on characteristics and one on attitudes) were identical when administered to different groups, except that tenses were changed and other small changes were made when required for the survey question to make sense to respondents. These survey questionnaires are attached in Appendix 1.

All surveys were administered online for all groups, except for the first (pre-departure) survey administered to the 65 Chinese scholars from the 2016 departure group. Online surveys were favored in general because they are less intrusive, and large numbers of completed questionnaires can be collected at low cost. Survey questionnaires were sent to the research participants via email or Facebook messenger. The 65 pre-departure 2016 Chinese scholars were surveyed face-to-face in Cambodia primarily because I lacked their contact details such as email address and Facebook account. Also, I was not very confident about the ability of the scholars to complete a self-administered online questionnaire in English. I contacted these

research participants via telephone. One year later, for this group I reverted to online as well because by then it was clear to me that the Cambodian scholars did have sufficient English language proficiency to self-administer the survey. I had also recorded most scholars' contact details, such as email address and Facebook accounts, during the face-to-face survey.

Response rates are high relative to other surveys of scholarship holders. For example, they are higher than the survey administered by Abimbol et al. (2015) that received a response rate of 42.5 per cent and far higher than that of Mawer's (2014) 37.7 per cent.

Chinese scholars were less likely than Australian scholars to respond and complete the survey questionnaires (Table 3.1). For example, while 77 per cent of Australian scholars currently in Australia in 2016 returned the completed questionnaires, only 35.7 per cent of Chinese scholars did.

Two factors may explain Chinese scholars' low response rates. First, it may be because of the different approaches to potential Australian and Chinese research participants. Almost all of the Australian scholars I wanted to interview were approached via Facebook a few months before they were requested to complete the online surveys. Facebook has personalized the research and improved communications with Australian scholars. The rest of the Australian scholars were contacted via email. In contrast, the majority of Chinese scholars were contacted by means other than Facebook: either by phone (2016 pre-departure group) or email (all 2016 in-country Chinese scholars) and about half of the Chinese alumni were contacted via emails. The other half of the Chinese alumni was approached via Facebook. Second, Chinese scholars were either too busy or reluctant to talk when contacted. Chinese scholars contacted via emails tended to ignore requests to participate in the online surveys. They were also concerned about the political sensitivity of the questionnaire.

It is difficult to assess the representativeness of the samples. In terms of gender, the composition of the sample matches closely the official data for both Chinese and Australian scholarships (Tables 5.1a and 5.1b). In terms of the type of scholarship Australia Award Scholarships (AAS) scholars and Chinese Government Scholarships (CGS) scholars were the large majority of respondents, 95 per cent and 89 per cent of the respondents respectively. This is accurate for Australia, but for China overestimates the importance of CGS (Table 3.2). This is not surprising, given that I had most access to AAS and CGS scholars. That being

said, the results from surveys with the Chinese scholars may not be representative of all Chinese scholars but rather mainly for CGS scholars.

Table 3.2: Survey respondents by scholarship type

Chinese scholarships (CGS as % of all scholarships)		Australian scholarships (AAS as % of all scholarships)	
Sample	Population estimate	Sample	Population estimate
89	60	95	95

Note: Population estimates are calculated from the data presented in Chapter 4.

3.5. Research participants: qualitative analysis

Research participants were selected for the interviews used in Chapters 7 and 9 on the basis of convenience. The criteria were: that they were surveyed prior to departure and then a year later;⁷ that they were willing to be interviewed; and that there was a good mix of cities, universities, fields of studies, age and gender. The random sampling method was impractical given the small numbers involved. Many scholars, having already been surveyed twice, were unwilling to participate further in the research. Some were also reluctant to share their views about sensitive topics in the midst of a political crackdown in Cambodia.

In total, 36 Cambodian Chinese and Australian scholars were interviewed. 21 Cambodian Chinese scholars were interviewed in ten meetings in Beijing and Hangzhou from October 01 to October 12 2017. Beijing and Hangzhou were selected because they hosted large numbers of Cambodian students.⁸ Out of the 21, eight were in Beijing; four were females; and 11 were undergraduates. The 21 Cambodian scholars were studying various subjects: Chinese language, engineering, educational policy and leadership, banking and finance, and public policy.

Of the ten meetings with participants, six were one-on-one meetings and the other four focus-group discussions. The interviews lasted from 60 minutes to 90 minutes depending on the size of the meeting. Except for one interviewee, who requested the questions prior to the meeting, the interviewees gave their answers without preparation.

15 Cambodian scholars were interviewed in Australia from early January to the end of February 2018. Of the 15 Cambodian scholars, seven were female. All were doing their Master's degree from a range of universities and studying various subjects: agriculture,

⁷ Note that there were 3 Chinese scholars who had not been surveyed initially, but who were willing to participate in the interview when requested, and who were therefore interviewed as well.

⁸ Due to communication problems, I failed to meet two Cambodian scholars in Shanghai, another large recipient of Cambodian students.

environment, banking and finance, and public policy. Seven were from Canberra, four from Melbourne and four from Adelaide. Canberra, Melbourne and Adelaide were selected because they had received significant numbers of Cambodian students. Except for one interview with 3 students, the interviews were one-on-one. Seven interviews were conducted face to face, the rest by telephone. The interviews lasted on average 60 minutes. All interviewees gave their answers without preparation.

The questions I used as the basis for the unstructured interviews are provided in Chapter 7, Section 7.2 (regarding in-country experiences) and Chapter 9, Section 9.2 respectively. These questions are open ended, and the interview followed a semi-structured format.

For both sets of students, the interviews were conducted in Khmer and were all recorded, transcribed and translated into English. In most cases, the interviewees' original words were translated verbatim. In a few instances, they were edited to make them more coherent, but without changing their original meaning.

3.6. Data analyses

I utilized a range of statistical analyses to answer the five research questions. First, I performed basic descriptive and inferential statistical analyses to answer research questions 1, 2, 3 and 4. Bivariate statistical analysis techniques such as cross-tabulations and Chi-squared (chi²) tests were the workhorses employed. Cross-tabulations allowed the researcher to test a two-way relationship between nominal and ordinal variables. In other words, they permitted the researcher to count the categories of one variable for each category of another variable. The Chi-squared statistic allowed the researcher to determine if two variables are related or have a significant relationship. I used a significance level of $p < 0.05$. Second, I also conducted binary logistic regression analysis to answer the third research question. Binary logistic regression analysis is suitable to estimate the effects of the independent variables on the probability of the occurrence of the dependent variables.

Finally, I performed basic descriptive analyses to make sense of the qualitative data for questions 4 and 5. Qualitative data were placed into Microsoft Excel spreadsheets and organized according to the interview questions. Microsoft Excel allowed the researcher to find frequencies and patterns among the qualitative data.

3.7. Conclusion

As outlined in my introductory chapter, this thesis aims to answer five research questions pertaining to Australian and Chinese scholarships to Cambodia. These questions address the types of the scholarships and scholars, the scholars' in-country experiences and the influences of the two scholarships on the scholars' attitudes and careers. The thesis utilizes a range of research designs, including single cross-sectional design and quasi-experimental design, to answer the five research questions.

Chapter 4: Chinese and Australian Scholarships to Cambodia

4.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to understand the differences in and similarities between Australian and Chinese scholarships. It finds that Chinese and Australian scholarships are quite different. Chinese scholarships are more open and merit-based, less generous, more focused on engineering and management, longer, and mainly, rather than entirely, postgraduate. It is argued that these differences reflect differences in scholarship policies of the two countries, as well as their broader aid programs.

Section 4.2 outlines the research question and method for this chapter. Section 4.3 presents the findings from my investigations into how the scholarships operate and Section 4.4 presents the main survey results. Section 4.5 discusses the findings. Section 4.6 concludes.

4.2. Research question and method

This chapter attempts to answer the question: to what extent and how do Australian and Chinese scholarship programs differ? As explained in Chapter 3, Section 3.1, this is a basic, introductory question required owing to the lack of comparative scholarship studies. We are interested in understanding the differences across scholarships in such issues as length, level and area of study, as well as the selection processes. We are also interested in the extent to which the scholarship programs reflect the tenets of the larger Australian and Chinese aid programs.

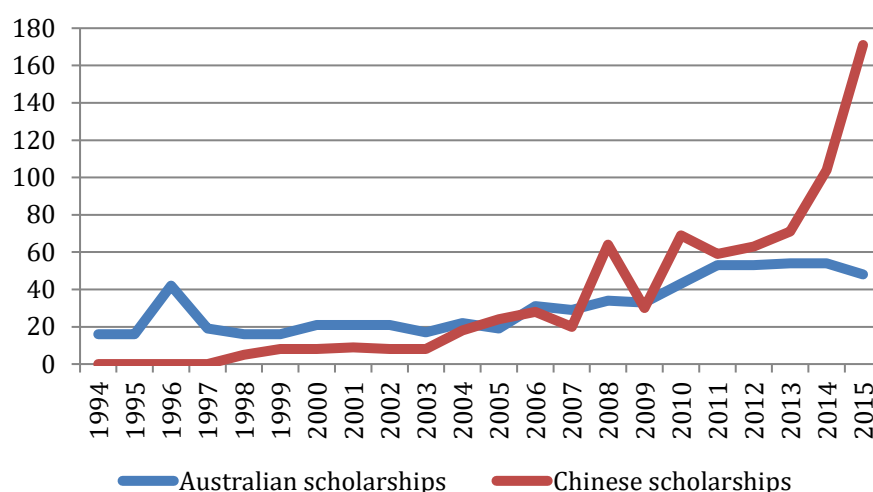
Two types of research were conducted for this chapter: analysis of documents and interviews with scholarship policy makers and administrators, and a survey of scholars. The analysis of documents and interviews was straightforward, though I was unable to speak to Chinese officials. Concerning the survey, as discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.3, a single cross-sectional research design was employed to answer the above research question. As per Chapter 3, Section 3.4 all the four groups surveyed for this thesis were asked about their characteristics except for the 2017 departure group. In all, 207 Australian scholarship holders and 234 Chinese scholarship holders were surveyed for this chapter. The aggregate response

rate was 44.1 per cent. There were very few missing observations for the questions considered in this chapter. The relevant surveys used can be found in Appendix 1 (Surveys A, B, and E).

4.3. The operation of Chinese and Australian scholarships

Figure 4.1 compares the total number of scholarships provided by Australia and China to Cambodia since 1994.⁹ Until 2003, China gave fewer scholarships than Australia, then until about 2011, they gave roughly the same number, but in recent years the number of scholarships offered by China has exploded, leaving Australia far behind.

Figure 4.1: Australian and Chinese scholarships to Cambodia



Source: Australia Awards Cambodia 2015a and Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports 2015b

4.3.1. Australian scholarships to Cambodia

Although Cambodia sent students to Australia under the Colombo Plan, the modern history of Australian scholarships begins with a 1994 agreement with the Council for the Development of Cambodia (CDC), responsible for aid coordination in Cambodia. The agreement allows Cambodian citizens to obtain postgraduate qualifications at a Masters level (by coursework only) and in exceptional cases PhD level at an Australian tertiary institution.

Between 1994 and 2015, Australia has awarded 678 Australia Award Scholarships (AAS) to Cambodian citizens. The numbers have increased over time, from 16 in 1994 and 1995 to

⁹ The data is the same as in Figure 1.16, but adds an extra year of data for both countries. Chinese scholarships include Chinese Government Scholarships and other scholarships offered by Chinese regional governments, Chinese universities and Chinese private companies since the 1990s.

about 50 in 2014 and 2015, and average about 31 a year. Table 4.1 below shows that the vast majority of the scholars undertook a Master's degree in Australia (95 per cent), with only 5 per cent doing PhDs. Female scholars accounted for 35 per cent. A few other scholarships are awarded by Australia's regional governments and universities. The Endeavor Scholarship Program (which is separate to the AAS) has offered on average four scholarships per year.

Table 4.1: Australia Awards Scholarships by Year

Year	Total Awardees	PhD Awardees	Female
1994	16		4
1995	16		4
1996	42		7
1997	19		3
1998	16		2
1999	16		5
2000	21		2
2001	21		10
2002	21		10
2003	17		8
2004	22		11
2005	19		6
2006	31	6	11
2007	29	4	6
2008	34	7	16
2009	33	3	16
2010	43	5	16
2011	53	3	21
2012	53	6	14
2013	54	1	19
2014	54	0	23
2015	48	1	23
Total	678	36	237

Source: Australia Awards Cambodia 2015a

The goal of Australia Awards Cambodia is: “to support Cambodia to progress its development goals and have strong relationships with Australia that advance mutual interests.” ([Australia Awards Cambodia 2016](#)).

The objectives of Australian scholarships relate to development and Australian soft power. They are expressed in official documents in terms of outcomes sought:

1. Alumni are using their skills, knowledge and networks to contribute to sustainable development.
2. Alumni are contributing to cooperation between Australia and Cambodia.
3. Effective and mutually advantageous partnerships exist between institutions and private sector organizations in Australia and Cambodia.
4. Stakeholders in Cambodia view Australia, Australians and Australian expertise positively (*ibid.*).

AAS is open to applicants from the Royal Government of Cambodia, civil society organizations and the private sector. However, there is a quota system at work. Indeed, originally AAS awards were only for the public sector (Interview, 14 August 2016), but they

were later expanded to invite applicants from outside the public sector. In recent years, at least 40-50 per cent of the AAS awards are reserved for applicants from the public sector. Competition for the non-public-scholarships is generally believed to be stiffer, with more applicants per scholarship and higher English language proficiency among applicants.

AAS invite applicants from all fields of study, but some sectors are prioritized. The most recent list of priority sectors includes infrastructure, agriculture, health, education management, and trade. AAS “strongly encourages women, people with disability, people working in the area of disability, and people working predominantly in the provinces to apply: English training and internship program are available to assist equal participation for these applicants” (Australia Awards Cambodia 2015b). Successful candidates usually receive the following benefits:

Preparatory English training in Cambodia, return air travel, a one-off establishment allowance on arrival, full tuition fees, contribution to living expenses, introductory academic program, Overseas Student Health Cover for the duration of the scholarship, supplementary academic support and fieldwork allowance - for research students only (ibid.).

Public sector scholars typically go on leave with pay and so continue to receive their modest government salaries. Other scholars are more likely to have to resign.

The eligibility criteria are as follows. Scholars must:

- be a citizen of Cambodia (only).
- be a resident of Cambodia for a period of 24 months immediately prior to the day applications open other than for short absences related to employment, professional development or holidays.
- already hold a Bachelor degree, if applying for a Masters; or already hold a Masters if applying for a PhD.
- have at least 24 months full-time (equivalent) work experience.
- Masters level applicants must have an English language proficiency of at least an International English Language Testing System (IELTS) score of 5.5 overall with no sub-band less than 5.0 (or Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) equivalent).
 - i) for the purpose of this application, IELTS (or TOEFL) test results must have been obtained after 1 January 2016.
 - ii) applicants without a current IELTS (or TOEFL) test result may be invited to take an IELTS test after applications have been submitted.
- PhD level applicants must have an English language proficiency of at least an IELTS score of 6.5 overall with no sub-band less than 6.0 (or TOEFL equivalent).

- i) for the purpose of this application, an IELTS (or TOEFL) test result must have been obtained after 30 April 2016 (ibid.).

In the case of applicants applying for a Masters scholarship, preference is given to applicants who do not already have a Masters degree from another country (other than Cambodia).

AAS applications are accepted from February to April. Applicants are encouraged to complete AAS applications online. An assessment team shortlists the candidates (Interview, 14 August 2016). The shortlisted candidates are then interviewed by a panel of three from the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade in Australia, the Australian Embassy in Phnom Penh, and the Royal Government of Cambodia. The panel uses a scoring matrix, assessing the candidates' academic competence, potential contribution to the development of Cambodia, professional and personal leadership attributes, alignment of workplace and relevant work experiences to priority areas, and alignment of proposed area of study to priority areas (ibid.). A provisional list is then published of successful candidates. Successful candidates who score less than 6.5 in IELTS are required to undertake pre-departure language training for 6-12 months. Scholarship offers may be withdrawn from candidates who fail to meet the English language requirement.¹⁰

4.3.2. Chinese scholarships to Cambodia

China has provided scholarships to Cambodia since 1998. The scholarships were initially offered to Cambodia through the Chinese Embassy in Phnom Penh on an informal basis (Interview, 24 August 2016). In 2009, Cambodia and China signed an Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of Education to support Cambodian and Chinese citizens to study in their respective countries. The agreement was renewed in 2014. China is less explicit than Australia about the various objectives of its scholarship program, but the agreement aims “to further promote exchanges in the field of education and to consolidate and strengthen educational exchange and cooperation between the two countries” (Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport of the Kingdom of Cambodia and the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China 2014).

¹⁰ It was reported that AAS Cambodia Office withdrew 5 scholarship offers from candidates who failed to achieve the 6.5 overall in IELTS in 2016 intake.

Chinese Government Scholarships (CGS) is China's flagship scholarship program in Cambodia. It allows students and employees from the public sector, civil society and private sector from Cambodia to pursue higher education at the Bachelor, Masters and PhD levels at a Chinese tertiary institution. The CGS program welcomes applicants from all fields. To be eligible for a Masters scholarship, the applicant must be a Cambodian citizen, already hold a Bachelor degree, be younger than 35, be proficient in English, and be physically and mentally healthy. Applicants applying for a Bachelor scholarship must be a Cambodian citizen, already hold a high school diploma, be older than 18, and be physically and mentally healthy (Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport 2017). The eligibility criteria for a PhD scholarship are quite similar to those for the Masters scholarship, excluding the facts that applicants are also required to have a Masters degree and be not more than 40 years old at the time of the application (ibid.).

CGS applications are accepted between February and March. In mid-February, the Cambodian Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports (MoEYS) announces the scholarship on its website and sends the announcement to other departments as well as its offices at the sub-national levels (Interview, 24 August 2016). Interested applicants are encouraged to request a hard copy of the application form at the MoEYS Office of Scholarship and Internship in Phnom Penh. Applications close in mid-March. After the closure of application, the MoEYS organizes written examinations. Applicants for Masters and PhD scholarships are required to take general knowledge and English tests,¹¹ each lasting one hour and a half; applicants for undergraduate scholarships take mathematics and English tests, each also lasting one hour and a half. The MoEYS then prepares two lists based on the results of the written tests - the first is a list of successful candidates and the second a list of reserve candidates - and sends them to the Chinese embassy in Phnom Penh for the embassy's consideration. Although solid evidence is unavailable, it seems unlikely that the embassy would reject any candidates. Successful candidates are then notified of their application outcomes by August and advised to contact their preferred universities for admission.

The CGS program covers living and academic related expenses. Exact amounts are unavailable, but China's allowances are not as generous as Australia's, even allowing for

¹¹ English tests are required because Masters and PhD students [sometimes] study English-language programs in China and undergraduate students need some English to communicate with their Chinese professors and friends while studying Chinese language in their first year in China. There is no Chinese test, partly because Cambodian students do not have proficiency in Chinese, as they do not normally learn Chinese at school.

cost-of-living differences. Successful candidates usually have to cover international travelling expenses and their health insurance.

Between 1998 and 2014, China has provided 596 scholarships to Cambodian citizens to pursue their higher education in China (Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport 2015a), an average of 35 per year. Table 4.2 below shows the number of Cambodian scholars in China from 2011 to 2015. The majority of Cambodian scholars (58 per cent) received undergraduate scholarships from China during that period, and the rest postgraduate scholarships. Female scholars accounted for about 26 per cent.

The table also shows that while the Chinese government is the major scholarship provider, regional governments, universities and private companies in China also offer Cambodian citizens scholarships to study in China. For the period 2011 to 2015 (the only period for which comprehensive data is available) CGS made up only 65 per cent of total scholarships to Cambodia, indicating that it is much less dominant among Chinese scholarships than AAS is among Australian scholarships.

Table 4.2: Number of Cambodian scholars in China 2011-2015

No.	Source of Scholarships	Number of Student by Degree							
		Ph.D		Master		Undergraduate		Sub-Total	
		T	F	T	F	T	F	T	F
2011									
1	CGS	1	0	15	5	23	3	39	8
2	Dali University	0	0	0	0	10	1	10	1
3	Zhuang Guangxi	0	0	5	0	5	3	10	3
Sub-Total		1	0	20	5	38	7	59	12
2012									
1	CGS	0	0	20	2	28	8	48	10
2	Dali University	0	0	0	0	10	2	10	2
3	Zhuang Guangxi	0	0	1	1	4	3	5	4
Sub-Total		0	0	21	3	42	13	63	16
2013									
1	CGS	0	0	21	4	40	3	61	7
2	Dali University	0	0	0	0	10	1	10	1
3	Zhuang Guangxi	0	0	0	0	4	0	4	0
Sub-Total		0	0	21	4	54	4	75	8
2014									
1	CGS	0	0	25	8	40	8	65	16
2	Dali University	0	0	0	0	10	1	10	1
3	Zhuang Guangxi	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0

4	Khmer Holding Group	0	0	0	0	26	14	26	14
5	Macau	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0
Sub-Total		0	0	25	8	79	23	102	31
2015									
1	CGS	0	0	23	8	39	13	62	21
2	Dali University	0	0	0	0	10	2	10	2
3	Khmer Holding Group	0	0	0	0	10	5	10	5
4	Other Universities	0	0	89	25	0	0	89	25
Sub-Total		0	0	112	33	59	20	171	53
Total		1	0	199	53	272	67	470	120

Source: Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, Royal Government of Cambodia 2015b

4.3.3. Differences between Australian and Chinese scholarships to Cambodia

Based on the above, Chinese and Australian scholarships to Cambodia differ in four main ways. First, Chinese scholarships are less prescriptive: they can be used for postgraduate or undergraduate studies, and in whatever area the student is interested. By contrast, Australian scholarships are only given for postgraduate studies, and priority sectors are favored. Second, selection also differs. Chinese scholarships are merit-based. Australian scholarships are partly merit-based, but also take into account intangible factors, such as leadership potential. There is no government quota for Chinese scholarships, and there is no preferential treatment for groups such as women, the disabled, or provincial. There is also no minimum work-requirement, meaning that China has a bigger pool to draw from. Third, Australian scholarships are more generous. They cover international airfares, and their living allowances are more generous.¹² Fourth, there is no strict language requirement for Chinese scholarships, with students instead typically spending their first year in China studying the language.

4.4. Survey findings

This section reports the findings of my survey of Chinese and Australian scholars in relation to areas, duration and level of study.

First, Chinese and Australian scholarships tend to be in different disciplines (Table 4.1). Chinese scholarships tend to focus on engineering (24.2 per cent versus only 2.5 per cent of Australian scholarships), while Australian scholarships focus more on agriculture,

¹² As we will see in Chapter 6, Australian but not Chinese scholars may talk about saving some of their stipend.

environment and related studies (22.3 per cent versus only 2.6 per cent of Cambodian scholarships). Both types of scholarships are similarly focused on economics and policy (22.8 and 23.8 per cent for Chinese and Australian scholarships respectively), while a higher share of Chinese scholars is studying management and commerce (24.7 per cent versus 14.7 per cent for Australian scholars).

Table 4.1: Areas of studies

			What area are you studying in under your scholarship program?										Non-response
			Agriculture, Environment and Related Studies	Education	Engineering	Health	IT	Management and Commerce	Economics and Policy	Science	Society and Culture	Total	
What scholarship do you receive?	Australian scholarships	Count	44	12	5	31	5	29	45	10	16	197	10
		%	22.3%	6.1%	2.5%	15.7%	2.5%	14.7%	22.8%	5.1%	8.1%	100.0%	4.8%
	Chinese scholarships	Count	6	13	55	14	15	56	54	7	7	227	7
		%	2.6%	5.7%	24.2%	6.2%	6.6%	24.7%	23.8%	3.1%	3.1%	100.0%	3%
Total		Count	50	25	60	45	20	85	99	17	23	424	17
		%	11.8%	5.9%	14.2%	10.6%	4.7%	20.0%	23.3%	4.0%	5.4%	100.0%	3.9%

Pearson chi2 = 93.8016

Pr = 0.000

Second, Chinese scholarships are significantly longer than Australian scholarships. The majority of Cambodian scholars (93.7 per cent) go to Australia for two years or less. In contrast, a large majority of Cambodian scholars go to China for three years or more (70.3 per cent). On average, Chinese scholarships last 3.5 years while Australian scholarships 2 years.

Table 4.2: Duration of scholarship

			How long is your scholarship for?							Non-response
			<1 year	1 year	1.5 years	2 years	3 years	>3 years	Total	
What scholarship do you receive?	Australian scholarships	Count	1	23	26	143	0	13	206	1
		%	0.5%	11.2%	12.6%	69.4%	0.0%	6.3%	100.0%	0.5%
	Chinese scholarships	Count	1	9	0	59	34	129	232	2
		%	0.4%	3.9%	0.0%	25.4%	14.7%	55.6%	100.0%	0.9%
Total		Count	2	32	26	202	34	142	438	3
		%	0.5%	7.3%	5.9%	46.1%	7.8%	32.4%	100.0%	0.7%

Pearson chi2 = 194.9599

Pr = 0.000

Finally, 36.2 per cent of Chinese scholarships are undergraduate while all Australian scholarships are postgraduate (Table 4.3). This difference, like the other two, is highly statistically significant.

Table 4.3: Level of degree studied

			What is the degree you are studying for?					Non-response
			Other	Undergraduate	Masters	PhD	Total	
What scholarship do you receive?	Australian scholarships	Count	0	0	192	13	205	2
		%	0.0%	0.0%	93.7%	6.3%	100.0%	1%
	Chinese scholarships	Count	3	84	138	7	232	2
		%	1.3%	36.2%	59.5%	3.0%	100.0%	0.9%
Total		Count	3	84	330	20	437	4
		%	0.7%	19.2%	75.5%	4.6%	100.0%	0.9%

Pearson chi2 = 96.3359

Pr = 0.000

4.5. Discussion

It is not difficult to link the survey findings to the differences in policy behind the two countries' scholarships.

First, the differences in sectoral focus are explained by the fact that Australian but not Chinese scholarships have priority areas. That agriculture and the environment are priority areas for Australian scholarships probably explains why 22 per cent of Australian scholarships are in this area. Left to themselves, students clearly might have other interests.

While China has no explicit sectoral focus, there is an implicit focus on engineering. The fact that one of the two tests Chinese scholarship applicants has to take is on mathematics means that students who are good at mathematics are more likely to get a scholarship, and students who are good at mathematics are more likely to study engineering. As shown in Chapter 5,

engineering students from Institute of Technology of Cambodia, who are renowned for their high proficiency in mathematics, are the largest group of recipients of Chinese undergraduate scholarships (36 per cent). 41 per cent of undergraduate scholarships are in the area of engineering.

Second, that Chinese scholarships are significantly longer than Australian scholarships reflects in part the fact that just over one third of Chinese scholars but no Australian scholars study for undergraduate degrees. Australia only sponsors students for postgraduate study, and postgraduate courses are typically shorter than undergraduate ones. Then there is the fact that students selected to go to China typically spend their first year in language studies. Whereas Cambodian scholars typically go to Australia for two years for a Masters degree, in China Masters students are typically there for three years, and undergraduate students five years.

It is interesting to look at the differences between Australian and Chinese scholarships in an historical context. Under the Colombo Plan in the 1950s, Australia used to offer undergraduate scholarships to Cambodia,¹³ and tests were used to select students (Interview, 10 October 2016). There was also a strong focus on engineering. Why Australia has moved away from its earlier (and China's current) policies is unclear, but a range of reasons can be speculated on. First, Australia is a major exporter of education, and most foreign students come to Australia to study at the undergraduate level. If scholarships were offered by Australia at the undergraduate level, it would increase the probability of them financing students who were going to study in Australia in any case. Second, the strong focus on leadership and governance probably explains why merit is not given more of a role in the selection process, and why applicants are required to have work experience, and why government employees are given a special quota.

Overall, China's scholarships are more "hands off". The Chinese government is less involved in the selection of students, and the selection process is much less elaborate, with no quotas, affirmative action policies, or priority sectors. This is consistent with other (non-scholarship) comparative studies of Chinese and OECD aid (Sato et al. 2011). Chinese scholarships are also cheaper for the host government, again consistent with Sato et al.

¹³ Anecdotal evidence indicated that some Cambodian students came to study in Australia under the Colombo Plan in the early 1970s, and were unable to return to their country when the Khmer Rouge took power in 1975. Many of these students have resided in Australia ever since.

While the differences in sectors in part reflect the greater scope the Chinese scholarships provide for individual choice, it is also the outcome of the emphasis given by the Chinese government to mathematics and therefore, indirectly, to engineering. This in turn is consistent with the broader emphasis in Chinese aid on infrastructure.

4.6. Conclusion

Chinese and Australian scholarships are quite different. Linking the policy analysis and the survey data, one can identify at least seven differences. Chinese scholarships are less prescriptive, more merit-based, less generous, more focused on engineering and management, longer, and mainly rather than entirely postgraduate. These differences are consistent with broader differences in Chinese and Western aid programs.

It is interesting to note that Chinese and Australian scholarships used to be more alike. It is an open question whether Australian scholarships have got better by becoming more prescriptive, by moving away from undergraduate degrees and engineering, and by becoming less merit-based.

Whereas this chapter compared Australian and Chinese scholarships to Cambodia, the next compares the scholars themselves.

Chapter 5: Cambodian Chinese and Australian Scholars

5.1. Introduction

Chapter 4 examined Australian and Chinese scholarships offered to Cambodia. This chapter examines Cambodian scholars awarded Australian and Chinese scholarships.

The chapter finds that both sets of scholarship holders come from similar social backgrounds, but also finds three differences. First, a minority of Chinese scholarship holders are better connected with the Cambodian ruling party. Second, Australian scholarship holders are much more likely to work in civil society (35 per cent versus 6 per cent), and Chinese ones in the private sector (53 per cent versus 31 per cent). These differences do suggest that the scholarships are supporting the formation of distinct elites. The third key finding for the thesis is that Australian scholarship holders are on average six-to-seven years older than Chinese ones, and are much more likely to have already been overseas (88 per cent versus 42 per cent). This suggests that the Chinese scholarships will be more influential on those who receive them.

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 5.2 recapitulates the research question, relevant literature and research design. Section 5.3 reports and Section 5.4 discusses the main findings. Section 5.5 concludes.

5.2. Research question and method

This chapter attempts to answer the question: to what extent and how do Australian and Chinese scholars differ?

As explained in Chapter 3, this is one of the three fundamental questions for the research. In Chapter 3, it was argued that one of the two main ways in which scholarships might influence governance would be by directing opportunities to a particular group, who would become advantaged, and over time more powerful as a result (the other mechanism, examined through the fourth research question is that scholarships would change attitudes). There have been some studies on this in relation to either country (e.g. Gillespie (2001) on African students to China) but no comparative studies.

The same single cross-sectional research design and the same surveys used in the last chapter were used for this chapter as well. In all, 207 Australian scholarship holders and 234 Chinese scholarship holders were surveyed for this chapter. The aggregate response rate was 44.1 per cent. In addition, a few additional questions could be asked only of alumni (e.g. where they were working after their scholarship, as against where they planned to work prior to or during their scholarship). For these questions, 111 Australian alumni and 80 Chinese responded. The aggregate response rate was 38.2 per cent (see Chapter 3, Sections 3.3 and 3.4 for details).

5.3. Findings

This section is divided into seven subsections. It reports on results in relation to: personal characteristics (5.3.1), family background (5.3.2), academic history (5.3.3), employment history (5.3.4), group membership (5.3.5), overseas experiences (5.3.6), and future plans (5.3.7).

5.3.1. Personal characteristics

Chinese scholars are more likely to be male than Australian scholars (Table 5.1a). The majority of both Australian and Chinese scholars are male, but the Chinese scholars are about 10 percentage points more likely to be male than Australian scholars (78 versus 69 per cent). The difference is statistically significant and is similar to that obtained using data for the 1998-2013 period, obtained from the Cambodian Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports (Table 5.1b).

Table 5.1a: Gender (survey results)

			What is your gender?			Non-response
			Male	Female	Total	
What scholarship do you receive?	Australian scholarships	Count	142	65	207	0
		%	68.6%	31.4%	100.0%	0.0%
	Chinese scholarships	Count	179	52	231	3
		%	77.5%	22.5%	100.0%	1.3%
Total		Count	321	117	438	3
		%	73.3%	26.7%	100.0%	0.7%

Pearson chi2 = 4.4074

Pr = 0.036

Table 5.1b: Gender, 1998-2013 (official data)

		Male	Female	Total
Australian scholarships	Count	225	139	364
	%	61.8%	38.2%	100.0%
Chinese scholarships	Count	419	73	492
	%	85.2%	14.8%	100.0%

Source: Cambodian Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports 2015

This result reflects the affirmative action policies of the Australian government. The AAS office in Phnom Penh confirmed that AAS deliberately encouraged women to apply and implemented programs to support women. The office offers English language support and internship opportunities for these applicants so that they are better prepared for the scholarships. Moreover, priority is given to women when men and women performed equally well during the selection process. On the contrary, CGS in Cambodia does not have such a deliberate policy to support female applicants, although the Cambodian Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports indicated that women are prioritized over men when both perform equally well during the scholarship exam (Interview, 14 September 2016).

Chinese scholars are significantly younger than Australian scholars. Table 5.2a shows that two-thirds of Chinese scholars are aged 18-25 years old, while almost all Australian scholars are older than 25. It is estimated that the average age of the Chinese scholars is 23.5 years while that of the Australian scholars is 30.5 years.¹⁴ One reason for this is that, as shown in the previous chapter, a significant portion of Chinese scholarships is for undergraduate studies, whereas Australian scholarships are only offered for postgraduate studies. But the age difference persists even if we only compare postgraduate scholars (Table 5.2b). Excluding undergraduates, the average age of Chinese scholars is 24.5, well below the Australian average of 30.5 years. This must in part reflect the work-experience requirement: Australian scholarships require at least two years of work while Chinese scholarships do not.

¹⁴ Participants were asked whether their age was: 18-25; 25-30; 30-35; and 35+. The midpoint in each age range reported was selected as the assumed age, except for the highest group when the assumed age was 37.5.

Table 5.2a: Age

			What was your age when you applied for the scholarship?					Non-response
			18-25	25-30	30-35	35 and above	Total	
What scholarship do you receive?	Australian scholarships	Count	11	79	86	30	206	1
		%	5.3%	38.3%	41.7%	14.6%	100.0%	0.5%
	Chinese scholarships	Count	165	52	12	4	233	1
		%	70.8%	22.3%	5.2%	1.7%	100.0%	0.4%
Total		Count	176	131	98	34	439	2
		%	40.1%	29.8%	22.3%	7.7%	100.0%	0.5%

Pearson chi2 = 215.2283

Pr = 0.000

Table 5.2b: Age of Australian and Chinese postgraduate scholars

			What was your age when you applied for the scholarship?					Non-response
			18-25	25-30	30-35	35 and above	Total	
What scholarship do you receive?	Australian scholarships	Count	11	79	86	30	206	1
		%	5.3%	38.3%	41.7%	14.6%	100.0%	0.5%
	Chinese scholarships	Count	88	48	10	4	150	0
		%	58.7%	32.0%	6.7%	2.7%	100.0%	0.0%
Total		Count	99	127	96	34	356	1
		%	27.8%	35.7%	27.0%	9.6%	100.0%	0.3%

Pearson chi2 = 142.215

Pr = 0.000

About 40 per cent of Australian and Chinese scholars are from the capital Phnom Penh (Table 5.3). Surprisingly, only a small percentage of Australian and Chinese scholars were raised in Battambang, Siem Reap and Sihanoukville, respectively the second, third and fourth largest cities in Cambodia. There is a significant relationship between the types of scholarship and the place of childhood, with more Chinese scholars coming from urban areas, and more Australian scholars from the countryside.

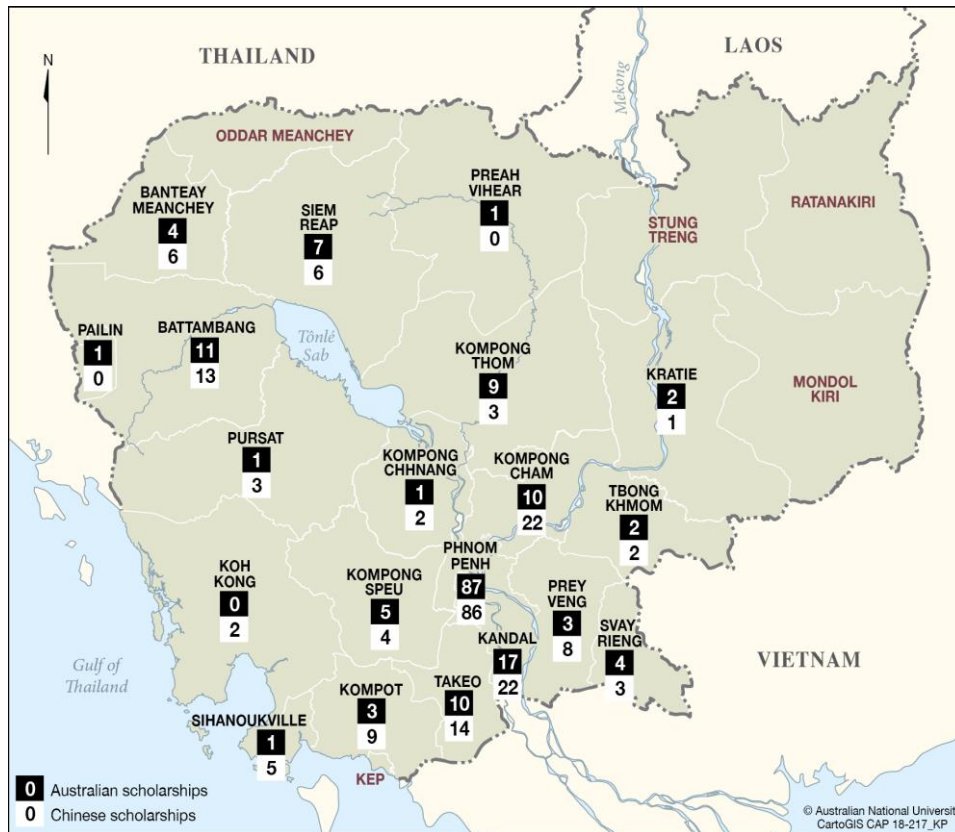
Table 5.3: Place of childhood

			Where did you grow up?							Non-response
			Phnom Penh	Battambang City	Siem Reap City	Sihanoukville	Another urban area	Countryside	Total	
What scholarship do you receive?	Australian scholarships	Count	87	11	6	1	8	94	207	0
		%	42.0%	5.3%	2.9%	0.5%	3.9%	45.4%	100.0%	0.0%
	Chinese scholarships	Count	86	13	6	5	30	93	233	1
		%	36.9%	5.6%	2.6%	2.1%	12.9%	39.9%	100.0%	0.3%
Total		Count	173	24	12	6	38	187	440	1
		%	39.3%	5.5%	2.7%	1.4%	8.6%	42.5%	100.0%	0.2%

Pearson chi2 = 14.094 Pr = 0.015

For those from the countryside, the most popular home-provinces are nearby the capital and relatively developed, Kandal and Kampong Cham (Figure 5.1). These provinces are also respectively the largest and fourth largest provinces in terms of population in Cambodia. Few Australian and Chinese scholars are from Cambodia's remote provinces.

Figure 5.1: Australian and Chinese scholars by province



Map by CartoGIS Services, ANU College of Asia and the Pacific, The Australian National University

5.3.2. Family background

Although the parents of Australian scholars are reported to be marginally poorer, there is no significant relationship between type of scholarship and the scholars' parental annual combined income (Table 5.4). Per capita income in Cambodia is just above US\$1,000 per year. The two most common categories for both groups are the US\$750-2,000 range and the US\$2,000-10,000 range. A typical teaching job in Cambodia would place an individual in the former category, and a senior public servant would be in the latter category. There are only about 10 per cent in each category with family incomes of \$10,000 or more. In summary, most of the families would seem to be lower-middle class or middle class, and few would be considered rich by Cambodian standards.

Table 5.4: Parents' annual combined income

			What do your parents earn in a year (if both parents work, give their combined income)?							Non-response
			US\$200-US\$400	US\$400-US\$750	US\$750-US\$2,000	US\$2,000-US\$10,000	US\$10,000-US\$50,000	US\$50,000 and above	Total	
What scholarship do you receive?	Australian scholarships	Count	46	30	44	57	16	1	194	13
		%	23.7%	15.5%	22.7%	29.4%	8.2%	0.5%	100.0%	6.3%
	Chinese scholarships	Count	42	32	60	71	25	2	232	2
		%	18.1%	13.8%	25.9%	30.6%	10.8%	0.9%	100.0%	0.9%
Total		Count	88	62	104	128	41	3	426	15
		%	20.7%	14.6%	24.4%	30.0%	9.6%	0.7%	100.0%	3.4%

Pearson chi2 = 3.1837

Pr = 0.672

The differences in fathers' occupations are of marginal statistical significance - p value of 12.8 per cent (Table 5.5a). However, whereas the majority of Australian scholars' fathers who are employed work for the public sector (54 per cent), the majority of Chinese scholars' fathers (55 per cent) work for the private sector. A number of both groups of scholars' fathers are farmers (included in the private sector in the table)¹⁵: 12.1 per cent of Australian scholars and 18.7 per cent of Chinese scholars reported to have fathers as farmers. The bigger and more significant difference is that Australian scholars are more likely to have a father who does not do paid work than Chinese scholars (Table 5.5b). This is probably because the Australian scholars are older, and so their fathers are more likely to be retired.

Table 5.5a: Fathers' type of workplace

			What sector does your father work for?			Total
			Public sector	Private sector	Civil society	
What scholarship do you receive?	Australian scholarships	Count	63	52	1	116
		%	54.3%	44.8%	0.9%	100.0%
	Chinese scholarships	Count	86	108	4	198
		%	43.4%	54.5%	2.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	149	160	5	314
		%	47.5%	51%	1.6%	100.0%

Pearson chi2 = 5.68 Pr = 0.128

Note : The total here excludes those not working.

Table 5.5b: Fathers' status of employment

			What is your father's occupation?			Non-response
			Does paid work	Does not do paid work	Total	
What scholarship do you receive?	Australian scholarships	Count	116	89	205	2
		%	36.9%	74.8%	47.3%	1.0%
	Chinese scholarships	Count	198	30	228	6
		%	63.1%	25.2%	52.7%	2.6%
Total		Count	314	119	433	8
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	1.8%

Pearson chi2 = 49.584

Pr = .000

¹⁵ For the original categories, see Question 7, Appendix 1, Survey A.

About three-quarters of both Australian and Chinese scholars have mothers who work for the private sector (Table 5.6a). Less than a quarter of their mothers work for the public sector. Again, Australian scholars are significantly more likely to have a mother who does not do paid work than Chinese scholars (Table 5.6b), probably for the same reason as discussed above.

Table 5.6a: Mothers' type of workplace

			What sector does your mother work for?			Total
			Public sector	Private sector	Civil society	
What scholarship do you receive?	Australian scholarships	Count	21	74	3	98
		%	21.4%	75.5%	3.1%	100.0%
	Chinese scholarships	Count	35	124	0	159
		%	22%	78%	0.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	56	198	1	257
		%	21.8%	77.0%	0.4%	100.0%

Pearson chi2 = 1.79 Pr = 0.617

Note : Totals exclude those not working.

Table 5.6b: Mothers' status of employment

			What is your mother's occupation?			Non-response
			Does paid work	Does not do paid work	Total	
What scholarship do you receive?	Australian scholarships	Count	98	107	205	2
		%	38.1%	61.1%	47.5%	1.0%
	Chinese scholarships	Count	159	68	227	7
		%	61.9%	38.9%	52.5%	3.0%
Total		Count	257	175	432	9
		%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	2.0%

Pearson chi2 = 22.107 Pr = .000

5.3.3. Academic history

There is no significant relationship between the types of scholarship and the scholars' self-assessed past academic performance (Table 5.7). Only one-tenth of both types of scholarship holders assess themselves to have been in the top one per cent of their class. But about 90 per cent assess themselves to be in the top quarter.

Table 5.7: Academic performance

			In terms of your academic performance at your last university, in which category would you classify yourself?						Non-response
			Top 1% of your class	Top 5% of your class	Top 10% of your class	Top 25% of your class	Other	Total	
What scholarship do you receive?	Australian scholarships	Count	26	55	59	45	22	207	0
		%	12.6%	26.6%	28.5%	21.7%	10.6%	100.0%	0.0%
	Chinese scholarships	Count	26	58	73	57	14	228	6
		%	11.4%	25.4%	32.0%	25.0%	6.1%	100.0%	2.6%
Total		Count	52	113	132	102	36	435	6
		%	12.0%	26.0%	30.3%	23.4%	8.3%	100.0%	1.4%

Pearson chi2 = 3.7490

Pr = 0.441

There is a significant relationship between the type of scholarship and the university where scholars studied (Table 5.8). The Royal University of Phnom Penh, Cambodia's top university, is responsible for the largest number of students for both programs: 32 per cent for Australia, and 22 per cent for China. But there are other stark differences as well. 11 per cent of Australian scholars last studied at the Royal University of Agriculture but only 1 per cent of Chinese scholars. Conversely, 18 per cent of Chinese scholars last studied at the Institute of Technology of Cambodia but only 1 per cent of Australian scholars. 11 per cent of Chinese scholars, but no Australian scholars, have yet been to university and are simply high school graduates. These differences reflect scholarship policy contrasts: as discussed in the last chapter, Chinese scholarships have an implicit preference for engineering students; Australian ones have an explicit preference for agricultural and environmental studies. And of course, Australian but not Chinese scholarships require a prior undergraduate degree.

Table 5.8: Last institution at which studies completed

			Where did you receive your last degree prior to commencing your scholarship program?												Non-response
			RUPP	RULE	NUM	PUC	RUA	ICT	UC	NU	FU	HS	Other	Total	
What scholarship do you receive?	Australian scholarships	Count	67	25	9	10	23	3	5	19	11	0	35	207	0
		%	32.4%	12.1%	4.3%	4.8%	11.1%	1.4%	2.4%	9.2%	5.3%	0.0%	16.9%	100.0%	0.0%
	Chinese scholarships	Count	50	29	14	17	2	42	3	6	8	25	34	230	4
		%	21.7%	12.6%	6.1%	7.4%	0.9%	18.3%	1.3%	2.6%	3.5%	10.9%	14.8%	100.0%	1.7%
Total		Count	117	54	23	27	25	45	8	25	19	25	69	437	4
		%	26.8%	12.4%	5.3%	6.2%	5.7%	10.3%	1.8%	5.7%	4.3%	5.7%	15.8%	100.0%	0.9%

Note: Pearson chi2 = 88.8920 Pr = 0.000
 RUPP = Royal University of Phnom Penh
 NUM = National University of Management
 RUA= Royal University of Agriculture
 NU = Norton University
 HS = High School

RULE = Royal University of Law and Economics
 PUC = Pannasastra University of Cambodia
 UC = University of Cambodia
 FU = Foreign University

Chinese scholars are more likely to have studied engineering,¹⁶ while Australian scholars are more likely to have studied agriculture, environment, and related studies (Table 5.9). The differences are statistically significant and again relate to the different implicit or explicit areas of focus of the two scholarships. A similar proportion of both groups of scholars previously studied economics and policy.

¹⁶ Chinese scholars also include Chinese undergraduates. These undergraduates studied engineering (and other areas of studies) in their undergraduate programs in Cambodia, before they received the Chinese scholarships, and they had to quit their undergraduate studies in Cambodia to undertake the Chinese undergraduate scholarships.

Table 5.9: Area of most recent studies

			What area were your most recent studies in prior to commencing your scholarship program?										Non-response
			Agriculture, Environment and Related Studies	Education	Engineering	Health	IT	Management and Commerce	Economics and Policy	Science	Society and Culture	Total	
What scholarship do you receive?	Australian scholarships	Count	43	27	5	26	8	35	32	9	16	201	6
		%	21.4%	13.4%	2.5%	12.9%	4.0%	17.4%	15.9%	4.5%	8.0%	100.0%	2.9%
	Chinese scholarships	Count	10	21	60	9	13	50	44	13	6	226	8
		%	4.4%	9.3%	26.5%	4.0%	5.8%	22.1%	19.5%	5.8%	2.7%	100.0%	3.4%
Total		Count	53	48	65	35	21	85	76	22	22	427	14
		%	12.4%	11.2%	15.2%	8.2%	4.9%	19.9%	17.8%	5.2%	5.2%	100.0%	3.2%

Pearson chi2 = 85.9286

Pr = 0.000

5.3.4. Employment history

Almost all the Australian but only half the Chinese scholars reported that they were working at the time they applied for the scholarship (Table 5.10a). The difference is statistically significant. The difference is not as great, but still exists, even if looking only at those who received a postgraduate scholarship (Table 5.10b).

Table 5.10a: Employment status

			Were you working when you applied for the scholarship?			Non-response
			Yes	No	Total	
What scholarship do you receive?	Australian scholarships	Count	203	2	205	2
		%	99.0%	1.0%	100.0%	1.0%
	Chinese scholarships	Count	121	111	232	2
		%	52.2%	47.8%	100.0%	0.9%
Total		Count	324	113	437	4
		%	74.1%	25.9%	100.0%	0.9%

Pearson chi2 = 124.7025 Pr = 0.000

Table 5.10b: Employment status: postgraduate scholars only

			Were you working when you applied for the scholarship?			Non-response
			Yes	No	Total	
What scholarship do you receive?	Australian scholarships	Count	203	2	205	2
		%	99.0%	1.0%	100.0%	1.0%
	Chinese scholarships	Count	107	41	148	2
		%	72.3%	27.7%	100.0%	1.3%
Total		Count	310	43	353	4
		%	87.8%	12.2%	100.0%	1.1%

Pearson chi2 = 57.394 Pr = 0.000

Australian and Chinese scholars have remarkably different workplace histories (Table 5.11). Chinese scholars, if working, are more likely to be employed in the private sector: about a half of Chinese scholars were working for the private sector when they applied for their scholarship compared to only about one-tenth of Australian scholars. Consistent with the government quota for Australian scholarships, about half of Australian scholars were employed in the public sector, but only a quarter of Chinese scholars. Civil society provided employment to a third of Australian scholars, but to only 10 per cent of Chinese scholars. These differences are statistically significant.

Table 5.11: Type of workplace

			If you were working, where did you work?				
			Public sector	Private sector	Civil society	Other	Total
What scholarship do you receive?	Australian scholarships	Count	86	30	80	10	206
		%	41.7%	14.6%	38.8%	4.9%	100.0%
	Chinese scholarships	Count	36	74	15	13	138
		%	26.1%	53.6%	10.9%	9.4%	100.0%
Total		Count	122	104	95	23	344
		%	35.5%	30.2%	27.6%	6.7%	100.0%

Pearson chi2 = 73.398

Pr = 0.000

Note: Private sector includes private companies, foreign-owned companies and join-venture. (For original categories, see Question 14 in Appendix 1, Survey A.)

Note : Totals exclude those not working.

Australian scholars are significantly more experienced than Chinese scholars. Table 5.12 shows that the majority of Australian scholars have more than five years of professional experience at the time they applied for the scholarships, while the majority of Chinese scholars have between one and two years of professional experience.

Table 5.12: Professional experience

			If you were working, how many years have you worked (in your latest and any earlier jobs combined)?					Total
			1-2 years	2-3 years	3-4 years	4-5 years	More than 5 years	
What scholarship do you receive?	Australian scholarships	Count	5	29	35	30	107	206
		%	2.4%	14.1%	17.0%	14.6%	51.9%	100.0%
	Chinese scholarships	Count	78	26	7	14	21	146
		%	53.4%	17.8%	4.8%	9.6%	14.4%	100.0%
Total		Count	83	55	42	44	128	352
		%	23.6%	15.6%	11.9%	12.5%	36.4%	100.0%

Pearson chi2 = 140.4892

Pr = 0.000

Note : Totals exclude those not working.

Prior to their scholarships, Australian scholars earned significantly more than Chinese scholars. Table 5.13 below shows that the majority of Australian scholars earn US\$500 or more per month. In contrast, the majority of Chinese scholars make US\$500 or less per month.

Table 5.13: Monthly salary level

			Table 3.10: Monthly salary level					Total
			If you were working, how much did you earn per month?					
			US\$100- US\$250	US\$250- US\$500	US\$500- US\$1,000	US\$1,000- US\$2,000	US\$2,000 and above	
What scholarship do you receive?	Australian scholarships	Count	42	40	63	51	9	205
		%	20.5%	19.5%	30.7%	24.9%	4.4%	100.0%
	Chinese scholarships	Count	57	56	31	4	0	148
		%	38.5%	37.8%	20.9%	2.7%	0.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	99	96	94	55	9	353
		%	28.0%	27.2%	26.6%	15.6%	2.5%	100.0%

Pearson chi2 = 57.2863

Pr = 0.000

Note : Totals exclude those not working.

All this is explicable in terms of the professional work requirement for Australian scholarships, though it is interesting that most greatly exceed the minimum two-year requirement.

5.3.5. Group membership

Most Australian and Chinese scholars were not a part of a group, association or society at the time they applied for these scholarships (Table 5.14).

Table 5.14: Membership status in groups, associations or societies

			Were you part of any groups, associations or societies when applying for the scholarship?			Non-response
			Yes	No	Total	
What scholarship do you receive?	Australian scholarships	Count	48	159	207	0
		%	23.2%	76.8%	100.0%	0.0%
	Chinese scholarships	Count	52	180	232	2
		%	22.4%	77.6%	100.0%	0.9%
Total		Count	100	339	439	2
		%	22.8%	77.2%	100.0%	0.5%

Pearson chi2 = 0.0373

Pr = 0.847

Table 5.15: Groups, associations or societies

			If yes to question 11, do you belong to one or many of the following groups?				
			Student Association	Professional Association	CPP-linked Youth Groups	Other	Total
What scholarship do you receive?	Australian scholarships	Count	20	20	4	3	47
		%	42.6%	42.6%	8.5%	6.4%	100.0%
	Chinese scholarships	Count	32	5	19	3	59
		%	54.2%	8.5%	32.2%	5.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	52	25	23	6	106
		%	49.1%	23.6%	21.7%	5.7%	100.0%

Pearson chi2 = 20.456 Pr = .000

Note: CPP-linked Youth Groups includes Union Youth Federation of Cambodia (UYCF) and others such *Akka Moha Sena Padei Techo* (AMT) Association. (For original categories, see Question 12 in Appendix 1, Survey A.)

Note: Only those who answered yes to question 11 are included in the table, plus a few students who answered no to question 11 but nevertheless provided a group to which they belonged.

If they did belong to a group, Chinese scholars were significantly more likely to belong to CPP-linked youth groups, and Australian scholars to a professional association (reflecting the status of the two groups). 32 per cent of Chinese scholars were part of the Union Youth Federation of Cambodia (UYCF), a powerful youth organization closely linked with the ruling party, the CPP, and *Akka Moha Sena Padei Techo* (AMT) Association, a youth association under the auspices of Prime Minister Hun Sen. Very few Australian and Chinese scholars belong to Junior Chamber International (JCI) Cambodia (one of the professional associations in Table 5.15), a growing, influential and apolitical community of young Cambodian entrepreneurs.

5.3.6. Past overseas experience

Australian scholars are significantly more likely to have been overseas than Chinese scholars (Table 5.16). More than two-thirds of Australian scholars reported that they had been overseas, compared to about a half of Chinese scholars.

Table 5.16: Past overseas experience

			Have you been overseas before receiving the scholarship?			Non-response
			Yes	No	Total	
What scholarship do you receive?	Australian scholarships	Count	183	24	207	0
		%	88.4%	11.6%	100.0%	0.0%
	Chinese scholarships	Count	96	136	232	2
		%	41.4%	58.6%	100.0%	0.9%
Total		Count	279	160	439	2
		%	63.6%	36.4%	100.0%	0.5%

Pearson chi2 = 104.4441 Pr = 0.000

Moreover, the reasons for overseas travel are also significantly different among Australian and Chinese scholars (Table 5.17). The largest number of Australian scholars travelled overseas to work (36 per cent), while the largest number of Chinese scholars went overseas for the sake of travel (39 per cent) or study (38 per cent) with only 8 per cent working overseas.

Table 5.17: Reasons for going overseas

			If so, why?					Total
			Study	Travel	Work	All of the above	Other	
What scholarship do you receive?	Australian scholarships	Count	61	32	66	20	6	185
		%	33.0%	17.3%	35.7%	10.8%	3.2%	100.0%
	Chinese scholarships	Count	47	48	10	12	6	123
		%	38.2%	39.0%	8.1%	9.8%	4.9%	100.0%
Total		Count	108	80	76	32	12	308
		%	35.1%	26.0%	24.7%	10.4%	3.9%	100.0%

Pearson chi2 = 37.3093 Pr = 0.000
Note : Totals exclude those who have not been overseas.

Australian scholarship holders have been overseas for a significantly shorter time. Table 5.18 shows that most Australian and Chinese scholars spent six months or less overseas, but the proportion is higher among the Australian scholars (74 per cent) than the Chinese scholars (61 per cent). There is also a greater minority of Chinese than Australian scholars who have been away for more than 18 months (15 versus 9 cent).

Table 5.18: Past total time spent overseas

			What is your total time spent overseas prior to applying for the scholarship?					Total
			<6 months	6 months	6 months-12 months	12 months-18 months	>18 months	
What scholarship do you receive?	Australian scholarships	Count	137	8	16	8	16	185
		%	74.1%	4.3%	8.6%	4.3%	8.6%	100.0%
	Chinese scholarships	Count	93	16	18	3	22	152
		%	61.2%	10.5%	11.8%	2.0%	14.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	230	24	34	11	38	337
		%	68.2%	7.1%	10.1%	3.3%	11.3%	100.0%

Pearson chi2 = 11.2987

Pr = 0.023

Note : Totals exclude those who have not been overseas.

Fourth, a surprisingly large minority of scholars had already received another scholarship to study abroad before successfully applying for their Australian or Chinese scholarship (Table 5.19). About a quarter of Australian scholars have previously received a scholarship, significantly more than the one-tenth of Chinese scholars. Based on interviews, a significant number of Chinese scholars who were offered an undergraduate scholarship often went on to study for a Masters' degree in China. Australian scholars tended to have received scholarships from countries other than Australia, including the United States of America, United Kingdom, France and Japan.

Table 5.19: Past scholarship experience

			Have you received a scholarship to study overseas before receiving the scholarship?			Non-response
			Yes	No	Total	
What scholarship do you receive?	Australian scholarships	Count	43	164	207	0
		%	20.8%	79.2%	100.0%	0.0%
	Chinese scholarships	Count	28	202	230	4
		%	12.2%	87.8%	100.0%	1.7%
Total		Count	71	366	437	4
		%	16.2%	83.8%	100.0%	0.9%

Pearson chi2 = 5.9202

Pr = 0.015

5.3.7. Future plans and career aspirations

Australian scholars are more likely to plan to return to their workplace at the time of scholarship application than Chinese scholars (Table 5.20). The data analysis shows that more than a half of Australian scholars indicated that they planned to return to the same employers, compared to only about a quarter of Chinese scholars.

Table 5.20a: Plan to return to the same employer

			Do you plan to return to the same employer when you return to your home country?			
			Yes	No	Not sure	Total
What scholarship do you receive?	Australian scholarships	Count	118	36	50	204
		%	57.8%	17.6%	24.5%	100.0%
	Chinese scholarships	Count	43	58	65	166
		%	25.9%	34.9%	39.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	161	94	115	370
		%	43.5%	25.4%	31.1%	100.0%

Pearson chi2 = 38.5472

Pr = 0.000

Note : Totals exclude those not working at the time of application.

We also asked a sub-set of alumni whether they actually did return to the same employer. Here the results are similar. Just over twice as many Australian as Chinese scholars planned to return to the same employer, but four times as many Australian as Chinese scholars actually did return.

Table 5.20b: Alumni's return to former workplace

			Did you return to your former workplace?		Total
			Yes	No	
What scholarship did you receive?	Australian Scholarship	Count	57	34	91
		%	62.6%	37.4%	100.0%
	Chinese scholarship	Count	7	32	39
		%	17.9%	82.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	64	66	130
		%	49.2%	50.8%	100.0%

Pearson chi2 = 38.386 Pr = 0.000

Note: Alumni who had not re-entered the workforce are excluded.

Australian and Chinese scholars have markedly different career aspirations (Table 5.21a). The majority of Australian scholars prefer to work for the public sector in their future career, while the majority of Chinese scholars aspire to work for the private sector. Moreover, Australian scholars are significantly more interested in working for non-profit sectors than Chinese scholars.

Table 5.21a: Career aspirations

			Thinking about your aspirations, do you want a career in:					Non-response
			Public sector	Private sector	Civil society	Other	Total	
What scholarship do you receive?	Australian scholarships	Count	86	45	71	4	206	1
		%	41.7%	21.8%	34.5%	1.9%	100.0%	0.5%
	Chinese scholarships	Count	89	121	13	5	228	6
		%	39.0%	53.1%	5.7%	2.2%	100.0%	2.6%
Total		Count	175	166	84	9	434	7
		%	40.3%	38.2%	19.4%	2.1%	100.0%	1.6%

Pearson chi2 = 74.08 Pr = 0.000

As before, it was possible to ask alumni as to where they actually did end up. It seems that reality and aspirations are closely linked, particularly for the Australian alumni (Tables 5.21c).

Table 5.21b: Alumni's current employer

			Which of the following best describes your current employer?				Total	Non-response
			Public Sector	Private Sector	Civil Society	Other		
What scholarship did you receive?	Australian Scholarship	Count	39	15	32	3	89	22
		%	43.8%	16.9%	36.0%	3.4%	100.0%	19.8%
	Chinese scholarship	Count	18	21	3	1	43	37
		%	41.9%	48.8%	7.0%	2.3%	100.0%	46.3%
Total		Count	57	36	35	4	132	59
		%	43.2%	27.3%	26.5%	3.0%	100.0%	30.9%

Pearson chi2 = 20.187 Pr = 0.000

Table 5.21c: Correlation between career aspiration and actual career among alumni

		Australia	China
Correlation between aspiration for and actual place of employment among alumni	Pearson Correlation	.676	0.235
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.144
	N	89	40

Note: Alumni who had not re-entered the workforce are excluded. The categories used to measure the correlation are the public and private sectors, and civil society.

Of course, these two issues are linked. For those already working (nearly all in the case of Australian scholars), there is a strong correlation (especially strong in the case of Australia) between where they are working and where they want to work. Most Australian scholars want to continue in the sector they are in (Table 5.22).

Table 5.22: Correlation between current career and career aspiration: Australian cohort

		Australia	China
Correlation between aspiration for and actual place of employment at the time of application	Pearson Correlation	.618	.262
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0	0.015
	N	105	85

5.4. Discussion

This section discusses and explains the differences and the similarities between the two groups of scholars found in the previous section.

5.4.1. Differences

There are certainly a large number of differences between Cambodia's Australian and Chinese scholars.

First, Chinese scholars are more likely to be male (77.5 versus 68.6 per cent). This is due to the lack of affirmative action policies with regards to Chinese scholarships.

Second, the two sets of scholars have different tertiary backgrounds. Chinese scholars are less likely to have completed an undergraduate degree and they are more likely to be or have been studying at an engineering institution, and less likely at an agricultural one. Again, this is due to the different levels of degrees offered and implicit and explicit focuses of the two scholarships.

Third, Australian scholars are better established. They are much older (average age of 30.5 versus 23.5), more likely to be working (99 versus 52.2 per cent), likely to have worked for longer (5 and more years versus one to two years), and likely to be better paid. These differences are mainly due to the work requirement experience of Australian scholarships. The fact that China also provides undergraduate scholarships only reduces the average age for Chinese scholars by one year, from 24.5 to 23.5 years. The remaining six years difference is due to Australia's two-year work requirement. Although applicants are only required to have worked for two years, evidently applicants compete on this dimension, and longer experience increases the chance of selection. The fact that Australian scholarships are more prestigious and more generous may also make them more attractive for working people. It is striking that a modest two-year work-requirement translates into a six-year average age difference.

Fourth, Australian scholars are more likely to be working for an NGO and Chinese scholars for the private sector. The difference is stark: 54 per cent of those Chinese scholarship holders who were working were in a private sector job, but only 15 per cent of Australian scholarship holders. The greater prevalence of Australian scholarship holders in the NGO sector might be partly because Australian scholarships attract those without a background in maths and who are less likely to be working in engineering-types jobs in the private sector.

Concerning the public sector, more Australian scholarship holders worked for the public sector at the time of application (recall the public sector quota for Australian scholarships) but the numbers even out on return, with 40 per cent of both groups of scholars ending up in the public sector.

Fifth, Australian scholars are more likely to have travelled overseas (88 per cent versus 41 per cent for Chinese). This makes sense both because the former group is older and because it is more likely to be employed. But also many of the former group have already studied overseas: 30 per cent of the total versus 16 per cent for Chinese scholarship holders.

Sixth, most Chinese and Australian scholars do not belong to groups, associations or societies, but if they do, Chinese scholars are significantly more likely to belong to CPP-linked youth groups (32 per cent versus 9 per cent). The absolute shares are relatively small (8 versus 2 per cent) but significant. Nearly all the CPP-linked students (17 out of 19) received the main CGS scholarship. Officially, this is a meritocratic process with selection based entirely on written tests (see Chapter 4, Section 4.3.2.). However, the process is not transparent and it is possible that names are added either by the Cambodian government or the Chinese embassy or both of those with stronger CPP links. It is also possible that such individuals are more likely to apply for a Chinese scholarship.

5.4.2. Similarities

For all these differences, Australian and Chinese scholars are also similar in important ways.

First, their parents are reported to have similar incomes, which placed them in the lower-middle or middle-class. This result needs to be read in the context of the broader international finding that most people worldwide place themselves in the middle class. Given this, not much can be read into this result.

Second, Australian and Chinese scholars come from very diverse family backgrounds, but it not possible to detect any systematic difference in this regard. Although a significant percentage of Australian and Chinese scholars' parents are civil servants and businesspeople, there were also substantial proportions of Australian and Chinese scholars' parents who were farmers.

Third, Australian and Chinese scholars tend to have grown up in the same economic centres, either Phnom Penh or the surrounding areas of Kampong Cham and Kandal. Chinese scholarship does not target applicants from the provinces. There is also a lack of publicity regarding the two scholarships outside of the capital, especially in the remote provinces.

Fourth, the two types of scholarship holders are, according to themselves, equally well-accomplished academically, but, again, this is a case where reliance on self-reporting means that not much can be read into the results. Both have been educated mainly at prominent public universities.

5.5. Conclusion

In summary, Australian and Chinese scholars are in some ways different and in other ways similar. Chinese scholars are more likely to be male, tend to be younger, and are less likely to have completed an undergraduate degree, but are more likely to have a background in engineering, are more likely to be studying rather than working when selected, if working, are less likely to be in the public sector and also less likely to return to their former workplace, are less exposed to foreign countries, and are more likely to aspire to be a businessperson in the future. Both groups of scholars have similar social and academic backgrounds. They are similarly from middle- and low-income families, similar social groups and similar geographic pools. However, Chinese scholars are more likely to be connected with the ruling party, the CPP. They are, at least in their own view, equally accomplished academically in their prior studies and are similarly from a few public universities.

In terms of our research interest, the key question for this chapter is whether the two types of scholarships are supporting the formation of different elites. Two findings are particularly important in this regard. First, a minority of Chinese scholarship holders are better connected with the Cambodian ruling party. Second, Australian scholarship holders are much more likely to work in civil society (35 per cent versus 6 per cent), and Chinese scholars in the private sector (53 per cent versus 31 per cent). These differences do suggest that the scholarships are supporting the formation of distinct elites. Both scholarships support public servants (current or future), but China is backing the Cambodian private sector and Australia Cambodian civil society. China also provides more support to the ruling party, the CPP.

Another key finding for the thesis is that the Australian scholarship holders are on average six years older than Chinese ones and are much more likely to have already been overseas (88 per cent versus 42 per cent). This suggests that the Chinese scholarships will be more influential on their recipients, who are younger and less experienced.

While we will return to the issue of influence in future chapters, there do seem to be risks for Australia. With a growing economy, and closer affiliation to China, it is plausible that Cambodia's private sector will grow in strength and its civil society will weaken. It is also plausible that as China continues to develop, its scholarships become more attractive and prestigious, and more Cambodians will seek them out rather than having to wait another five years to get an Australian scholarship.

Chapter 6: The Utility of Australian and Chinese Scholarships

6.1. Introduction

This chapter compares the impact of Chinese and Australian scholarships in terms of their perceived utility. Both scholarships are perceived to be useful by the respective alumni. Australian scholarships are perceived to be significantly more useful than Chinese ones in relation to skills, especially soft-skills. They are also perceived to be more helpful for career and broader impact, but these differences tend not to be significant.

This chapter is structured as follows. Section 6.2 recaps the research question and methods. Utility is assessed in relation to three components: skills, career, and contribution. Results in relation to these are examined in Sections 6.3 to 6.5 respectively. Section 6.6 discusses the results. Section 6.7 concludes.

6.2. Research question and method

This chapter tackles the fourth question posed in this dissertation: how useful are Australian and Chinese scholarships for their recipients?

The self-perceived utility of scholarships is probably their most studied aspect, based on the well-used tool of the retrospective survey. In general, as indicated in Chapter 2, Section 2.6, these surveys have delivered overall positive results for Western scholarships (see Mawer (2014) and Day and Geddes (2008) in relation to UK scholarships, and SRI International (2006) in relation to US scholarships). Studies of the perceived utility of Australian scholarships have also been positive, including Abimbola et al. (2015) in relation to African scholars and Bryant (2014) in relation to Cambodian ones. There have been few similar studies of Chinese scholarships, although Makundi et al. (2017) also found that Tanzanian scholars perceived Chinese scholarships to be useful. One way to pose the research question in relation to the literature then is: are Chinese scholarships perceived by their recipients to be as useful as Australian scholarships?

This chapter defines utility or usefulness broadly and examines the impact of Australian and Chinese scholarships on skills, careers, and contribution.

Under skills, we examine the following: the perceived relevance of the knowledge gained; the extent to which the skills, if acquired, have been used; and the extent to which they have been passed on. Under careers, we examine the extent to which scholarships have increased: promotion; salary satisfaction; and management responsibility. Under contribution to society, we examine the extent to which scholarships are perceived to have assisted with their recipients' capacity to: have a policy impact; contribute to the development of institutions and the country as a whole; influence government thinking; and contribute to their community.

Wherever possible, standard questions were used to maximize comparability with other surveys. Wording was drawn especially from the AusAID Tracer Study survey (2011) and Bryant (2014). See Appendix 1, Survey E for the relevant survey questionnaire.

As discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.4, I used a single cross-sectional research design to collect the data. Australian and Chinese alumni are the participants for this research question. The sampling method and response rates are presented in Chapter 3. In all, I surveyed 111 Australian alumni and 80 Chinese alumni, with an aggregate response rate of 38.2 per cent. However, note that this part of the survey was applicable only to those who have re-entered the workforce, so the effective sample size was 49 for the Chinese alumni and 93 for the Australian (a large number of the Chinese alumni were still overseas, perhaps back in China. A few had just returned and were still looking for a job.)

I used Chi-squared tests and binary logistic regression analyses to determine the difference or similarity of the two scholarships' perceived utility. On average Australian alumni got their scholarships and returned home longer than Chinese alumni: 3.8 years ago on average for the Australian alumni compared to 2.1 for the Chinese, a difference that is statistically significant.¹⁷ This may have influenced the results as it may take some time for the scholarships to be influential. If I obtained a significant result in relation to the partial

¹⁷ Total years since returning home is calculated by subtracting the years the respondents completed the survey (roughly 2017) with the years they commenced their scholarships and with the time spent in either China or Australia. The time spent for Chinese undergraduate degree is 5 years, Chinese Masters degree 3 years and Chinese PhD degree 5 years. Australian Masters and PhD degrees last 2 years and 4.5 years respectively. In the survey (see Question 2, Appendix 1, Survey E), we asked in what year they won the scholarships. Australian and Chinese scholars normally commenced their scholarships in the following year after they won their scholarships. Thus, for example, the total years since returning home for a Chinese undergraduate scholar who won the scholarship in 2010 would be: 2017-2011-5= 1 years.

correlation between type of scholarship and utility, I ran a binary logistic regression to control for years since return as well as other factors (gender, type of employment) to see if the significant relationship survives. To do this, respondents were divided into two groups: those who say there is no or a small impact and those who say there is a medium or great impact. The logistic regression analysis was conducted using maximum likelihood estimation.

6.3. Scholarship impact on skills

This section reports the perceived relevance of the knowledge gained; the extent to which the skills, if acquired, have been used; and the extent to which the skills have been passed on.

77 per cent of Chinese alumni, but 92 per cent of Australian alumni reported that the content, knowledge and skills they gained during their time in China or Australia were relevant to their current job to some or a great extent (Table 6.1a). Both the partial correlation between type of scholarship and relevance (Table 6.1a) and the coefficient on type of scholarships in a logistic regression (Table 6.1b) are statistically significant.

Table 6.1a: Relevance of the content, knowledge and skills: bivariate analysis

			How relevant do you think the content, knowledge and skills you gained during your time in Australia or China are to your current job?				Total
			Not at all relevant	Very little relevance	Some relevance	Highly relevant	
What scholarship did you receive?	Chinese scholarships	Count	3	8	23	13	47
		%	6.4%	16.0%	48.9%	26.7%	100.0%
	Australian scholarships	Count	0	7	36	48	91
		%	0.0%	6.7%	39.6%	52.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	3	15	59	61	138
		%	2.2%	10.9%	42.8%	44.2%	100.0%

Pearson chi2 = 13.340 Pr = 0.004

Table 6.1b: Relevance of the content, knowledge and skills: multivariate analysis

Relevance of scholarships	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z
Scholarships	1.428	0.652	2.19	0.029
Total years since returning home	0.188	0.108	1.74	0.082
Gender	0.882	0.637	1.38	0.166
Types of workplace				
Private sector	0.666	0.746	0.89	0.372
Civil society	0.153	0.765	0.2	0.841
Constant	-0.179	0.761	-0.24	0.814
Summary statistics				
Log pseudolikelihood	= -42.386			
Number of obs	= 126			
Wald chi2	= 10.88			
Prob > chi2	= 0.054			
Pseudo R2	= 0.116			

Note : Table reports the results of a binary logistic regression. See Section 6.2 for details.

Australian alumni are also significantly more likely than Chinese alumni to report that they have used a wide range of skills and knowledge occasionally and regularly: 85 per cent versus 59 per cent for technical/subject matter skills and knowledge; 89 per cent versus 52 per cent for analytical and critical thinking skills; 80 per cent versus 51 per cent for leadership skills; 82 per cent versus 57 per cent for management skills; 90 per cent versus 69 per cent for communication skills; and 80 per cent versus 62 per cent for cross-cultural skills. The differences are all statistically significant for all the skills and knowledge, using bivariate analysis, but except for cross-cultural skills, using multivariate analysis. The individual tables are in Annex 1, and a summary table follows below.

Table 6.2: Usefulness of skills and knowledge

	Skills used occasionally or regularly		Partial correlation		Logistic regression analysis			
	Australian scholarships	Chinese scholarships	Pearson chi2	Pr	Coefficient	Standard error	Z	Pr
Technical	84.6%	58.7%	13.412	0.009	1.669	0.529	3.16	0.002
Analytical	89.0%	52.1%	31.729	0	2.041	0.501	4.07	0.000
Leadership	80.2%	51.1%	14.752	0.005	1.331	0.476	2.8	0.005
Management	82.2%	56.5%	14.202	0.007	1.203	0.486	2.48	0.013
Communication	90.1%	68.8%	13.773	0.008	1.043	0.49	2.13	0.033
Cross-cultural	80.2%	61.7%	15.177	0.004	0.663	0.479	1.38	0.167

Finally, 78 per cent of Australian alumni reported that they had transferred the skills and knowledge they gained from their studies in Australia through formal or informal training/teaching to a medium and a great extent, as opposed to 65 per cent of Chinese alumni (Table 6.3a). The difference is statistically significant. However, once we control for other variables, the significance level of the relationship between knowledge transfer and type of scholarship is reduced from strong (p-value of 1.2 per cent) to marginal (p-value of 15.9 per cent).

Table 6.3a: Knowledge transfer: bivariate analysis

			In your current job, to what extent are you passing on the skills and knowledge you gained from your studies in Australia or China through formal or informal training/teaching?				
			Not at all	To a small extent	To a medium extent	To a great extent	
What scholarship did you receive?	Chinese scholarships	Count	5	11	26	4	46
		%	10.9%	23.9%	56.5%	8.7%	100.0%
	Australian scholarships	Count	2	18	45	27	92
		%	2.2%	19.6%	48.9%	29.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	7	29	71	31	138
		%	5.1%	21.0%	51.4%	22.5%	100.0%

Pearson chi2 = 11.015 Pr = 0.012

Table 6.3b: Knowledge transfer: multivariate analysis

Transfer of knowledge	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z
Scholarships	0.687	0.488	1.41	0.159
Total years since returning home	0.053	0.060	0.89	0.372
Gender	-0.378	0.532	-0.71	0.477
Types of workplace				
Private sector	0.112	0.554	0.2	0.84
Civil society	-0.767	0.519	-1.48	0.14
Constant	1.016	0.685	1.48	0.138
Summary statistics				
Log pseudolikelihood = -66.964				
Number of obs = 127				
Wald chi2 = 5.41				
Prob > chi2 = 0.368				
Pseudo R2 = 0.037				

Note : Table reports the results of a binary logistic regression. See Section 6.2 for details.

6.4. Scholarship impact on career

Under this heading, I examine the perceived impact of scholarships on career promotion, salary satisfaction, and management level.

78 per cent of Australian alumni reported that their scholarships had promoted their career to a medium and a great extent, compared to 57 per cent of Chinese alumni. The difference is statistically significant (Table 6.4a). The difference is still statistically significant even after we control for total years after the scholarships, gender, and types of workplace (Table 6.4b).

Table 6.4a: Impacts on career promotion: bivariate analysis

			To what extent do you consider the promotion / change to higher ranking position was due to your Australia Awards or Chinese scholarship program?					Total
			Not at all	To a small extent	To a medium extent	To a great extent	Not applicable	
What scholarship did you receive?	Chinese scholarships	Count	12	6	14	11	1	44
		%	26.3%	13.6%	31.8%	25.0%	2.3%	100.0%
	Australian scholarships	Count	4	9	27	44	7	91
		%	4.4%	9.9%	29.7%	48.4%	6.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	16	15	41	55	8	135
		%	11.9%	11.1%	30.4%	40.7%	5.9%	100.0%

Pearson chi2 = 18.957

Pr = 0.001

Table 6.4b: Influences on career promotion: multivariate analysis

Impact on career promotion	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z
Scholarships	1.079	0.484	2.23	0.026
Total years since returning home	0.083	0.054	1.53	0.126
Gender	0.240	0.475	0.51	0.613
Types of workplace				
Private sector	0.514	0.541	0.95	0.342
Civil society	0.405	0.533	0.76	0.448
Constant	-0.414	0.609	-0.68	0.497
Summary statistics				
Log pseudolikelihood = -66.604				
Number of obs = 123				
Wald chi2 = 9.30				
Prob > chi2 = 0.010				
Pseudo R2 = 0.068				

Note : Table reports the results of a binary logistic regression. See Section 6.2 for details.

Australian alumni are only slightly more likely than Chinese alumni to report that their scholarships have increased their satisfaction on salary to a medium and a great extent (66 per cent versus 57 per cent). The difference is not statistically significant.

Table 6.5: Impacts on increased satisfaction in salary

			To what extent do you consider the increased satisfaction in salary was due to your Australia Awards or Chinese scholarship program?					
			Not at all	To a small extent	To a medium extent	To a great extent	Not applicable	
What scholarship did you receive?	Chinese scholarships	Count	7	13	13	13	0	46
		%	15.2%	28.3%	28.3%	28.3%	0.0%	100.0%
	Australian scholarships	Count	6	21	34	25	4	90
		%	6.7%	23.3%	36.8%	26.8%	4.4%	100.0%
Total		Count	13	34	47	38	4	136
		%	9.6%	25.0%	34.6%	26.9%	2.9%	100.0%

Pearson chi2 = 5.469 Pr = 0.242

There is hardly any difference at all between types of scholarships and influences on people management responsibility. Chinese and Australian scholars are equally likely to report that their scholarships have increased their people management responsibility to a medium and a great extent (Table 6.6).

Table 6.6: Impacts on increased people management responsibility

			To what extent do you consider the increased people management responsibility was due to your Australia Awards or Chinese scholarship program?					Total
			Not at all	To a small extent	To a medium extent	To a great extent	Not applicable	
What scholarship did you receive?	Chinese scholarships	Count	4	8	19	13	0	44
		%	9.1%	18.2%	43.2%	29.5%	0.0%	100.0%
	Australian scholarships	Count	5	15	25	42	4	91
		%	5.5%	16.5%	26.5%	46.2%	4.4%	100.0%
Total		Count	9	23	44	55	4	135
		%	6.7%	16.0%	32.6%	40.7%	3.0%	100.0%

Pearson chi2 = 6.814 Pr = 0.146

6.5. Scholarship impact on contribution

In this section, I report the extent to which scholarships are perceived to have assisted with the recipients' capacity to: have a policy impact; contribute to the development of institutions and the country as a whole; influence government thinking; and contribute to their community.

71 per cent of Australian alumni reported that their scholarships had increased their policy-making role in comparison with 57 per cent of Chinese alumni. The partial correlation is statistically significant (Table 6.7a). However, the relevant coefficient is not statistically significant in the binary logistic regression analysis (Table 6.7b).

Table 6.7a: Impacts on increased role in policy-making: bivariate analysis

			To what extent do you consider the increased role in policy-making was due to your Australia Awards or Chinese scholarship program?					Total
			Not at all	To a small extent	To a medium extent	To a great extent	Not applicable	
What scholarship did you receive?	Chinese scholarships	Count	10	9	13	12	0	44
		%	22.7%	20.5%	29.5%	26.3%	0.0%	100.0%
	Australian scholarships	Count	5	18	29	36	4	92
		%	5.4%	19.6%	31.5%	39.1%	4.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	15	27	42	48	4	136
		%	11.0%	19.9%	30.9%	35.3%	2.9%	100.0%

Pearson chi2 = 11.218 Pr = 0.024

Table 6.7b: Impacts on increased role in policy-making: multivariate analysis

Impact on policy-making role	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z
Scholarships	0.747	0.475	1.57	0.116
Total years since returning home	-0.042	0.052	-0.82	0.414
Gender	0.285	0.451	0.63	0.527
Types of workplace				
Private sector	-0.285	0.488	-0.58	0.56
Civil society	0.159	0.491	0.32	0.745
Constant	0.135	0.559	0.24	0.81
Summary statistics				
Log pseudolikelihood = -75.966				
Number of obs = 123				
Wald chi2 = 4.68				
Prob > chi2 = 0.456				
Pseudo R2 = 0.030				

Note : Table reports the results of a binary logistic regression. See Section 6.2 for details.

83 per cent of Australian alumni reported that they had contributed to the development of their organization to a medium and a great extent in comparison with 70 per cent of Chinese alumni. The difference is statistically significant when looked at in isolation (Table 6.8a), but not when other relevant variables are controlled for (Table 6.8b).

Table 6.8a: Alumni's contribution to the development of the institution: bivariate analysis

			Since your return, to what degree have you contributed to the development of your institution?				
			Not at all	To a small extent	To a medium extent	To a great extent	
What scholarship did you receive?	Chinese scholarships	Count	6	8	23	10	47
		%	12.8%	16.0%	48.9%	21.3%	100.0%
	Australian scholarships	Count	2	14	43	34	93
		%	2.2%	15.1%	46.2%	36.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	8	22	66	44	140
		%	5.7%	15.7%	46.1%	31.4%	100.0%

Pearson chi2 = 8.602 Pr = 0.035

Table 6.8b: Alumni's contribution to the development of the institution: multivariate analysis

Contribution to the development of institution	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z
Scholarships	0.182	0.516	0.35	0.724
Total years since returning home	0.048	0.101	0.48	0.634
Gender	0.406	0.521	0.78	0.435
Types of workplace				
Private sector	-0.442	0.529	-0.84	0.403
Civil society	0.809	0.662	1.22	0.221
	0.182	0.516	0.35	0.724
Constant	0.048	0.101	0.48	0.634
Summary statistics				
Log pseudolikelihood = -60.401				
Number of obs = 128				
Wald chi2 = 4.67				
Prob > chi2 = 0.458				
Pseudo R2 = 0.045				

Note : Table reports the results of a binary logistic regression. See Section 6.2 for details.

Likewise, Table 6.9a shows that Australian alumni are also significantly more likely than Chinese alumni to report that they have contributed to the development of their country to a medium and a great extent (81 per cent versus 67 per cent). However, when we control for other variables, the difference is only marginally significant (Table 6.9b).

Table 6.9a: Alumni's contribution to the development of the country: bivariate analysis

			Since your return, to what degree have you contributed to the development of your country?				
			Not at all	To a small extent	To a medium extent	To a great extent	
What scholarship did you receive?	Chinese scholarships	Count	5	11	19	13	48
		%	10.4%	22.9%	39.6%	26.1%	100.0%
	Australian scholarships	Count	1	17	49	26	93
		%	1.1%	18.3%	52.7%	28.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	6	28	68	39	141
		%	4.3%	19.9%	48.2%	26.7%	100.0%

Pearson chi2 = 6.971 Pr = 0.047

Table 6.9b: Alumni's contribution to the development of the country: multivariate analysis

Contribution to development of the country	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z
Scholarships	0.662	0.461	1.43	0.152
Total years since returning home	0.126	0.063	2.01	0.044
Gender	1.388	0.493	2.82	0.005
Types of workplace				
Private sector	-0.176	0.510	-0.35	0.729
Civil society	0.471	0.598	0.79	0.431
Constant	-0.599	0.574	-1.04	0.297
Summary statistics				
Log pseudolikelihood = -63.054				
Number of obs = 129				
Wald chi2 = 14.20				
Prob > chi2 = 0.014				
Pseudo R2 = 0.099				

Note : Table reports the results of a binary logistic regression. See Section 6.2 for details.

Australian alumni are only slightly more likely than Chinese alumni to report that they have influenced government thinking to a medium and a great extent (33 per cent versus 31 per cent). However, 31 per cent of Chinese alumni said that they do not have influence on government thinking at all in comparison with 24 per cent of Australian alumni (Table 6.10).

Table 6.10: Alumni's influence on government thinking on a particular issue

			Since your return, to what degree have you had influence on government thinking on a particular issue?				
			Not at all	To a small extent	To a medium extent	To a great extent	
What scholarship did you receive?	Chinese scholarships	Count	14	17	13	1	45
		%	31.1%	36.8%	28.9%	2.2%	100.0%
	Australian scholarships	Count	22	40	21	10	93
		%	23.7%	43.0%	22.6%	10.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	36	57	34	11	138
		%	26.1%	41.3%	24.6%	8.0%	100.0%

Pearson chi2 = 4.106 Pr = 0.250

Finally, 59 per cent of Australian alumni reported that they had used the skills/knowledge they gained from their studies in Australia to benefit their community in comparison with 43 per cent of Chinese alumni. This difference is statistically significant (Table 6.11a) but not when other variables are controlled for (Table 6.11b).

Table 6.11a: Alumni's community involvement: bivariate analysis

			Since your return, to what degree have you used the skills / knowledge you gained from your studies in Australia or China in community involvement (including with community-based organisations and religious organisations)?				Total
			Not at all	To a small extent	To a medium extent	To a great extent	
What scholarship did you receive?	Chinese scholarships	Count	11	16	14	6	47
		%	23.4%	34.0%	29.8%	12.8%	100.0%
	Australian scholarships	Count	5	32	32	22	91
		%	5.5%	35.2%	35.2%	24.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	16	48	46	28	138
		%	11.6%	34.8%	33.3%	20.3%	100.0%

Pearson chi2 = 10.843 Pr = 0.013

Table 6.11b: Alumni's community involvement: multivariate analysis

Contribution to the community	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z
Scholarships	0.229	0.430	0.53	0.595
Total years since returning home	0.085	0.051	1.67	0.094
Gender	0.293	0.445	0.66	0.51
Types of workplace				
Private sector	0.101	0.466	0.22	0.828
Civil society	1.410	0.502	2.81	0.005
Constant	-0.741	0.544	-1.36	0.173
Summary statistics				
Log pseudolikelihood = -78.839				
Number of obs = 126				
Wald chi2 = 13.80				
Prob > chi2 = 0.017				
Pseudo R2 = 0.084				

Note : Table reports the results of a binary logistic regression. See Section 6.2 for details.

6.6. Discussion

Table 6.12 summarizes the results. It shows both the differences in proportions of those who found the scholarships useful, the statistical tests of significance regarding proportions, and the logistic coefficient on the scholarship dummy and its significance. Finally, it shows the odds ratio, both calculated directly from the data and estimated from the regressions.

Table 6.12: Summary of the results

	Proportion giving a positive rating		Pearson chi ²	Logistic regression scholarship type coefficient	Positive rating odds ratio	
	Australia	China			Calculated (no controls)	Estimated (with controls)
Skills						
Relevance	92.3%	76.6%	13.340**	1.428**	3.667	4.17
Use of technical skills	84.6%	58.7%	13.412**	1.669**	3.87	5.307
Use of analytical skills	89.0%	52.1%	31.729**	2.041**	6.452	6.697
Use of leadership skills	80.2%	51.1%	14.752**	1.331**	3.887	3.783
Use of management skills	82.2%	56.5%	14.202**	1.203**	3.558	3.329
Use of communication skills	90.1%	68.8%	13.773**	1.043**	4.141	2.836
Use of cross-cultural skills	80.2%	61.7%	15.177**	0.663	2.517	1.941
Passing on skills and knowledge	78.3%	65.2%	11.015**	0.687	1.92	1.989
Career						
Impact on promotion	78.0%	56.8%	18.957**	1.079**	2.698	2.941
Impact on increased salary satisfaction	65.6%	56.5%	5.469		1.464	
Impact on increased	73.6%	72.7%	6.814		1.047	

people management responsibility						
Broader contribution						
Increased role in policy making	70.7%	56.8%	11.218**	0.747	2.148	2.111
Contribution to development of institution	82.8%	70.2%	8.602**	0.182	2.042	1.2
Contribution to development of the country	80.6%	66.7%	6.971**	0.662	2.083	1.938
Influence on government thinking	33.3%	31.1%	4.106		1.107	
Community involvement	59.3%	42.6%	10.843**	0.229	1.97	1.257

Notes:

1. The positive rating (p) is those answering medium or great for the last nine questions; some or high for the first question; and occasionally or regularly for the other questions.
2. The Chi-squared test is a test of overall difference between the various ratings provided, as reported in the tables in this chapter.
3. The calculated odds ratio is $[p_A/(1-p_A)] / [p_C/(1-p_C)]$ where A is the positive rating for Australian alumni and C is the positive rating for Chinese alumni.
4. The estimated odds ratio is the exponential of the logistic regression scholarship type coefficient.
5. The logistic regression coefficients were only estimated for relationships where the chi-squared test showed significance.
6. ** indicates a p-value of less than 0.05.

The following features can be noted.

First, both scholarships are regarded as generally useful. There are few positive ratings below 50 per cent for either Australian or Chinese scholarships.

Second, Australian scholarships are clearly perceived to be more useful than Chinese scholarships. This is particularly the case in regard to skills. Although I did not collect data on which Australian and Chinese universities the Australian and Chinese alumni studied, as discussed in Chapter 7, Section 7.5, Australian scholars are more likely than Chinese scholars to study in a highly regarded university. Chapter 7 also shows that Australian scholars were more satisfied with their academic experiences than their Chinese fellows. This may help to

explain why Australian scholars are more likely than Chinese scholars to perceive, for example, that the knowledge and skills acquired are relevant and useful. Also, Australian scholarships do a better job of passing on soft skills.

Third, in relation to career and contribution to Cambodian society, the differences between Australian and Chinese scholarships are less stark. Australian scholarships are still seen as more useful, except for the question in relation to people management, when the two scholarships are seen as equally useful. But sometimes the differences are quite low, and only one of the differences is statistically significant once we control for other variables, namely the one assessing positive impact on promotion. The more discernable impact of Australian scholarships on promotions may be because this group of scholars have more work experience. In general though, the main difference in utility between the two types of scholarships is in terms of skills, rather than broader career or societal contributory impacts.

Fourth, if we compare calculated and estimated odds ratios in the table above, for the variable where the scholarship coefficient is significant in the logistic regression, the estimated odds ratio is often greater than the calculated ones. In other words, when we control for other variables, the difference in impact of the two types of scholarships becomes even greater. Or, to put it differently, it takes time for the scholarships to have an impact.

The findings above add to the literature on scholarships. They are consistent with the generally positive results from previous single-scholarship studies, for example by Abimbola et al. (2015) on Australian scholarships and Makundi et al. (2017) on Chinese scholarships. However, from a comparative study perspective, this study is the first to show that Australian scholarships are perceived to be more useful than Chinese scholarships in relation to skills, career, and contribution to the society.

6.7. Conclusion

This study examined the perceived utility of Australian and Chinese scholarships in relation to skills, career and contribution to the society. Using both Chi-square tests and binary logistic regression analyses, we found that in all three components, both scholarships are perceived to be useful, although, Australian scholarships are perceived to be more useful than

Chinese scholarships. However, only in the case of skills is the difference statistically significant.

While the chapter suffers from the limitation of being based on self-perceptions, our findings are consistent with earlier studies, including, for Australian scholarships, Abimbola et al. (2015) and Bryant (2014), and for Chinese scholarships, Makundi et al. (2017). It is the first comparative study. Given that Chinese scholarship holders are younger and less likely to be employed, it is perhaps not surprising that what they study ends up being less relevant to what they end up doing. It may be that, as Chinese universities improve, they will be able to close some of the gap.

Chapter 7: Experiences in China and Australia

7.1. Introduction

This chapter compares the experiences of Cambodian scholars in China and Australia. Section 7.2 sets out the research question and method. Section 7.3 reports the findings regarding their academic experiences and Section 7.4 regarding their life experiences. Section 7.5 discusses the findings. Section 7.6 concludes.

Earlier, separate studies of Chinese and Australian scholarships have shown positive results for Australian scholarships and mixed results for Chinese scholarships. This is the first comparative study. It finds that Cambodian scholars to both countries are positive about their overseas academic and life experiences. While the scholars in Australia seem more satisfied in absolute terms, the scholars in China seem more satisfied relative to their prior expectations.

7.2. Research question and method

This chapter attempts to answer the question: how different are the experiences of Cambodian scholarship holders in Australia and China? The Chapter examines both the academic experience and the broader life experience of students.

So far the literature has shown that the experiences of students in Australia are positive but those in China mixed. With regard to Chinese scholarships, Dong and Chapman (2008) found that “participants in the Chinese government scholarship program are generally satisfied with their experiences in China and are positive about the impact of the program in building friendships with their home countries.” However, Haugen (2013) found that African students who pursue higher education in China on private funding and on scholarship programs were disappointed with the quality of the education they received. With regard to Australian scholarships, Abimbola et al. (2015) showed that African scholars generally had positive experiences in Australia and a positive view about Australia as a country. There have been no comparative studies of students’ experiences.

Unstructured interviews were used to gather qualitative data from two small groups of current Cambodian Australian and Chinese scholars. I interviewed 21 Chinese scholars and 15 Australian scholars. Details regarding how they were selected and how they were interviewed, and characteristics such as gender, area of study and location are provided in Chapter 3, Section 3.5.

The interviews sought to understand and compare their academic and life experiences in China and Australia (the participants were also asked about their political and economic attitudes and the results are reported in Chapters 9). Participants were asked the following questions regarding their in-country experiences:

Relating to academic experience in China or Australia:

1. How do you find studying in China or Australia, compared to your study in Cambodia?
2. What are the good things about studying in China or Australia?
3. What are the challenges of studying in China or Australia?
4. What would you say about the support (academic advice and study facilities) from your university?
5. What would you say about the quality of teaching in your university?
6. To what extent do you think your courses equip you with the skills and knowledge you need?
7. If you had to choose between Chinese scholarships and Australian scholarships or vice versa, which one would you prefer? Why?

Relating to life experience in China or Australia:

1. Do you enjoy living in China or Australia?
2. How does it compare to your life in Cambodia?
3. What are the good things about living in China or Australia?
4. More generally, thinking of China or Australia as a country, what do you admire about China or Australia?
5. What do you not like about living in China or Australia?
6. More generally, thinking of China or Australia as a country, what do you not like about China or Australia?

7. What would you say about racial discrimination against foreign students like you by the Chinese or Australian students?
8. What would you say about the financial support to cover your daily living expenses?

7.3. Findings regarding academic experiences

7.3.1. Academic experience in China

In general, Cambodian scholars are quite satisfied with their academic experience in China.

First, most Cambodian scholars considered the qualifications of Chinese professors and their teaching to be very good. They reported that most of their teachers had gained their PhD and had undertaken extensive teaching and research in Western countries before coming to teach in their universities. For example, CS1 said:

Most of them [professors] have a PhD from foreign universities and extensive teaching experiences. They give clear and detailed explanations; I felt that, even if I don't fully understand them. For example, if they want to teach us a new formula or models, they give us bit by bit the concepts and make us understand all the logic behind the formula.

Second, Cambodian scholars in China appreciated the rigor of their academic training. Most Cambodian scholars, especially those who study undergraduate and engineering and science related degrees, were of the view that the courses they are taking were either more advanced or more intensive than similar courses in Cambodia and that this was a good thing. For instance, CS7 said that:

Education in here is better [than in Cambodia] because here we study the subject in greater detail and depth. For example, if Cambodian lessons have five points, they have ten points here. It is more difficult but we learn more. That's why they have more scientists. The other thing is laboratory experiments. Here, we have more experiments. In Cambodia, we studied mostly theories.

Third, study materials in Chinese universities are adequate and appropriate. Most Cambodian scholars confided that they have access to sufficient study resources. Chinese books are also considered of high quality. For instance, CS3 put it:

Cambodian textbooks are not very good. We need to read the books and learn with the teachers to understand the books. The books are not detailed. But the Chinese books are very detailed and written by the professors who have deep knowledge of the topics of concern. We only need to read the books to understand the concepts and theories. We don't need to attend their lectures to understand the books. Cambodian books are a direct translation or an excerpt from foreign books, so sometimes they don't match the Cambodian context.

Fourth, Chinese universities provide a favorable study environment. Many Cambodian scholars were inspired by, and learned a lot from, their peers. CS13 said that she learned a lot from her program because it was an international one. “Ideas and knowledge from around the world have been shared in the class. We have only locals in Cambodia, but we are diverse here.” CS8 concurred: “Students here [China] are hard working. When we see that the Chinese studying hard, it makes us want to study hard too. Chinese students study; after that study, they go to eat and then they go to the library to study again. If we want to pass or catch up with our Chinese fellow students, we have to do the same.” He added:

When I was in Cambodia I wondered why the knowledge gap between the Chinese and Cambodians was so large. I now understand why. Chinese students work very hard. The hardest working students in Cambodia are not as hard working as the average Chinese students. Chinese students do not waste their time. After eating, they study. I admire their study habits. If they study, they don’t play with the phone. (If they play games, they don’t look at their books.) The library is always full.

Furthermore, Chinese universities have excellent study facilities. CS17 boasted of the Chinese laboratories:

For my major [chemical engineering], we need a laboratory. In Cambodia, we have only a rice cooker and gas stove. To experiment, like to dry agriculture products, we used only an oven and a fridge. We have nothing in Cambodia. But here, we have everything. Everything is abundant in here.

In addition, studying in China is also convenient. Most Cambodian scholars are living on the university campus. CS3 bragged about Chinese universities’ on-campus accommodation, saying that his room is equivalent to a hotel room. CS18 agreed and was delighted that she lived on-campus. She described her experience as follows:

All universities in China have on-campus accommodation. We don’t need to stay outside. The advantage is personal security. On a university campus, security guards are on duty 24 hours. There are also CTV cameras in all buildings. So the parents of the student don’t feel worried about their daughter’s safety and life in China. Another thing is that it saves us time and money. We don’t need to travel back and forth to the university. We need not spend on gasoline.

Moreover, extracurricular activities in Chinese universities are also plentiful. Many Cambodian scholars said that they were amazed with the unlimited opportunities to be a part of their university’s clubs and societies. CS18 said:

In the university, there are a lot of clubs: Like the Red-Cross club, voluntary youth club, singing club, music club, dancing club, MC [Master of Ceremony] club, poetry club, sports clubs, cultural and knowledge clubs. In general, students can register in

any clubs they like. But in Cambodia, only a few universities have clubs, and there are not many clubs. With the support from the universities, these clubs organize competitions or night shows so students have the opportunities to show their talents, learn skills and demonstrate their cultures. For example, in night shows, there is an MC; there are many actors. So someone who is good at anything can take that role. If Cambodia has such clubs and activities, I think it will be very good. Because art is connected with culture; if our people know a lot about the arts; they also know the culture. This would be very good.

The main challenge for students was their poor command of Chinese. Most Cambodian students complained that they do not fully understand their professors in classes and meetings because of their lack of proficiency in Chinese. The problem is more severe for those undergraduate students who have to take their course in Chinese, but less so for many postgraduate students who study their course in English. As discussed in Chapter 4, most Cambodian students went to China for their degrees without prior knowledge of Chinese. The undergraduate scholars generally receive one-year training in Chinese before they undertake their major courses. They said that they had a hard time in China and that they understood only 30-40 per cent of their lectures. For instance, CS6 complained that:

Language is the biggest barrier to learning in China. We cannot read; we cannot listen. We spent only one year learning Chinese. So we cannot fully understand Chinese. China has also too many dialects. Some Chinese teachers from the provinces don't speak Mandarin Chinese very clearly. It's hard for us to understand. We cannot read their scripts on the board. They have very ugly writing. We took photos of the scripts for our Chinese friends to translate sometimes. But even the Chinese students cannot read them.

Moreover, although Chinese universities have plenty of study materials, these materials are often in Chinese. English language study materials are rare and that makes study in China difficult. The Chinese government's ban of Google and Google Scholar also makes study in China challenging. SC6 lamented that:

When Google is not available, and everything is in Chinese, we cannot do our research. China has BaiDu [Chinese version of Google]. We know how to use it, but it's all in Chinese. BaiDu blocks some information that the Chinese government doesn't want its people to know.

Furthermore, not everyone was positive about his or her lecturers and programs. Despite their good qualifications and in-class teaching, professors were said to be unwilling to support their students outside official teaching hours. Many Cambodian scholars felt that their Chinese professors [and/or supervisors] were not very approachable and caring. They found it hard to

meet them outside official teaching hours. Chinese professors were also seen as not providing necessary feedback on their work. CS19 lamented that:

I don't like the Chinese teachers. The first point is that they are not caring about their students. They come to teach, but they don't ask if we understand, have any problems, or want to meet them outside their teaching hours. They come to teach and then that's it. And they never tell us if we don't understand anything in the lessons or come to see them on this day or that day. It is also difficult to meet them if we want to, because they are doing research and teaching many classes. They also have big classes. So they don't have much time to help us. They don't give us feedback in class. They mark our work, but don't give comments. We don't know what was wrong with our work; we just get the mark. But foreign professors are different; they care about us more and give us more feedback. Maybe, they have smaller classes.

The rigor of Chinese academic training is also a challenge. The same group of Cambodian scholars believed that the Chinese courses are either too sophisticated for them to follow or that they were not sufficiently prepared to take the courses. For example, CS8 said:

Mathematics is deep [very advanced] here. It is difficult for us. The maths here and in Cambodia are not equivalent. The one in here is far more sophisticated and intensive even if taught at the same level as that in Cambodia. It is difficult to follow and catch up. Also, in the ITC [Institute of Technology of Cambodia], the same course would be taught over two semesters. Here, they do it in only one semester. They condense the course. Our seniors told us that studying here for one year is equivalent to studying at ITC for two years. In addition, we don't know the language very well. Our foundation from Cambodia is low so we are struggling. We have to study by ourselves more. We cannot depend on the teacher very much. We have to read the books well in advance. That helps.

CS11, who was studying courses in English, complained:

I don't know about other universities. But this university is worse than a Cambodian university. I feel like the university just wants money from its government. The curriculum is very poor. The teachers just come to the school; sometimes, they don't know what to teach exactly. For example, one was supposed to teach about audience study; he didn't know what to teach, but asked the students what they wanted to study. He said that he didn't have any teaching experience in that subject. He didn't know what to teach. Cambodian teachers are more serious. I felt that in this program, I just learned something on the surface. I always learned introduction and introduction. There is nothing in depth. Or maybe it is because they think that we are international students and already have the knowledge. They teach us for the sake of teaching. Some teachers don't care about their students.

There were also mixed feelings about the utility of their academic journey in China. Most Cambodian scholars who studied undergraduate and engineering related degrees were very

confident that they could utilize their knowledge and skills in Cambodia. CS12 explained that:

I have learned a lot from China. What I have learned will be useful for my work in Cambodia. China is investing a lot in Cambodia. I learned a lot of technical knowledge. I know Chinese. They need Cambodian staff, especially those who can speak Chinese. They would welcome us. I have a lot of friends who found jobs easily in Cambodia. I think that there are a lot of job opportunities for us, both in Cambodia and outside of Cambodia. There are a lot of Chinese companies in the region.

Nevertheless, some Cambodian scholars, who study social sciences and postgraduate qualification, said that not all they learned in China is relevant or will be useful when they return to Cambodia. This is because some courses are very focused on the Chinese context. For example, CS15 said:

Some courses are about Chinese context, like Chinese education system. My educational policy analysis exercise was about the problems in the Chinese educational system, so we analyzed and found solutions to the problems. So most of the time, we study things about China. So I know only the things I learned about China (I don't learn much about America for example). For some courses, we can use what we learned; for other courses, we cannot, because we learned only about China. Cambodia is different from China. We have a very different education system.

Despite their frustrations, most participants said that coming to China had changed their perception of the country's education system and its quality. When asked how they would choose if offered a scholarship to study either in Australia or China, most of them said that if they were asked this question before they travelled to China, they would have chosen Australia without hesitation. However, now that they had experienced the Chinese education system, it would be a difficult decision. For instance, CS13 said:

Before I came to China, I was cynical about China. In those days, if given the choice to choose between Australia and China, I would choose Australia without having to think about anything. After being here for some time, I find that Chinese education is also good. Not really bad. Now I would have to think twice before making the decision. Thinking about quality, some Australian universities are not as good as Chinese universities. Especially, in coming to China, I gained another language. Chinese is also another popular language in the world. So coming to China has changed my perspective on this issue.

In summary, while scholars had an overall positive impression about the Chinese educational system, there were some differences in attitudes across students. Undergraduate scholars tended to be more positive about academic experiences than postgraduates, perhaps because the undergraduates tended to study in more prestigious universities. Relatedly, Cambodian

scholars studying in elite educational institutions such as Tsinghua and Zhejiang University tended to have more favorable views than those studying in less well-known universities. Finally, Cambodian scholars studying engineering-related subjects (mainly undergraduates) tended to be more positive than those studying social sciences (more likely postgraduates).

7.3.2. Academic experience in Australia

In general, Cambodian scholars were overwhelmingly positive about their academic experiences in Australia.

First, like their Chinese counterparts, Cambodian Australian scholars tended to have a high opinion of their professors. Australian professors were seen as not only knowledgeable and experienced academics, but also very good at teaching. AS6 praised his professors this way:

They have real-life practical experiences and have very good education. They link theories with practice, and that helps us understand them more easily. Our teachers back in Cambodia don't have time to do research and don't have practical experiences and knowledge.

AS11 added:

There are a lot of exchanges between professors and students and among students. We learned a lot from one another. You don't feel distant between professors and students. We are just like two people communicating with each other, sharing knowledge. People in the class have their own knowledge and experiences about their country. There are a lot of interactions. In this way you learn more.

AS7 concurred, saying:

The professors' role is to facilitate our learning, not to dictate to us. Professors give autonomy to students. Australian professors are also very caring and helpful.

AS9 also indicated that his/her lecturers were very helpful and caring:

If we don't understand anything, we can email them and they will respond to us promptly. They are very caring. They don't leave us alone. We feel warm.

Second, Cambodian scholars were amazed at the support they received from Australian universities. They could ask for support in almost all matters relating to their study and well-being. AS8 said: "Students can ask for any support from their academic advisors, anytime

through emails. I benefit from them a lot.” AS9 added that he also benefited a lot from the student learning center. “The center can help students with problems with reading and writing. The staff there can help students improve their writing by inviting them to take free classes at the center.” AS5 concurred: “If we have any mental, health or study problems, we can always ask for help from the university.”

Third, Australian universities are perceived to have superb study resources and online systems. AS13 said that the library was perfect. “The laboratory is also very good.” AS8 added that she could access all materials and data from the university. AS4 went on at some length:

Australian universities have very advanced [online learning] systems. ... At first I didn't know about such a system, but as soon as I knew about it, I found it extremely convenient for my studies. We can communicate with the professors via Wattle. Students and professors can discuss and share information online. Cambodia should also think about that. Here, if we are industrious, we can take a lot of advantages from these online platforms. But in Cambodia, even if we want to, we don't know how; there is no such platform.

Fourth, Australian universities also adhere to principles of academic integrity. Many Cambodian students preferred the Australian way of zero-tolerance in relation to plagiarism. AS9 said: “Our professor warns that if he found that we copy from others, we will be kicked out from the university. So we are afraid and work hard. In Cambodia, plagiarism is not an issue. We can copy other students' work; the professors don't care.”

Fifth, Australian universities provide excellent learning environments. AS11 said: “The atmosphere is good. It changes your mood. I feel that here, I put a lot more effort into my study than I did in Cambodia.” AS13 added: “Here, it is easy to find coffee: you can make it even at night-time. And in the library, everyone there reads and studies books; that makes me want to study too.”

Most Cambodian scholars were of the view that the knowledge and skills they were acquiring would be useful for their future career in Cambodia. AS8 said:

I think that I learned a lot from my class. Before I came here, I worked in the areas of disability, but I was not an expert on the areas. So I don't know in depth about disability. But in here, I am studying disability in greater details. I think that most of the knowledge is new to Cambodia and thus will be useful and applicable in Cambodia. Diseases such as mental disorder and autism are not widely known in

Cambodia. Just these two cases are very useful for Cambodia already. We can raise awareness about them and how to prevent and seek treatments for those who have them.

AS3 agreed:

I learned a lot about empirical research policies here. I think I can apply most of them, if not all. As you know what we learned from school and what the workplace requires are not exactly the same. We will need time to adapt to the actual working environment. But what I am concerned about is that the teaching in here is more mathematical, but the work in Cambodia requires more qualitative research. But more or less I think I will be able to apply what I learned from here.

There were a few negative comments. AS15 said: “I was somewhat disappointed with one class I took in my first year. I didn’t expect that the class would be that big.” AS13 indicated that he was upset by the lack of care from his professors:

They focus on study plans and course outlines too much. They have little time, two hours a week, and have too many things to teach so they don’t have time to review past lessons. The courses are condensed and have too many things to cover in one lecture. Sometimes, they don’t answer right away when students ask them questions: they ask students to look them up in the books.

Cambodian scholars did indicate, however, that they faced academic challenges, especially in their first six months in Australia. AS3 explained: “We have low education foundations in Cambodia. We didn’t learn a lot of mathematics in Cambodia. We just learned it from high school. It is difficult to catch up when we are here.” In addition, English is still an issue for some Cambodian scholars. AS8 confided: “In some classes, there are lots of Australian and European students; it was hard for me to participate in the class; they speak very fast. It was hard to follow them.” AS12 shared another challenge about workload: “I was overwhelmed with writing assignments. I wrote lots of low-quality papers as a consequence of the high workload.” AS6 who is in Australia on a one-year program complained about being in Australia for too short a period and having to take intensive courses. “I took a few intensive courses. Courses normally last five days, and the reading materials included more than five hundred pages and contained lots of unfamiliar concepts. So it is often difficult to understand the materials in such a short period of time.”

Overall, Cambodian scholars were very happy with their academic experiences in Australia. All Cambodian scholars regardless of their fields of study, the university at which they are studying, gender, age, and Australian cities reported an overall positive experience.

When asked how they would choose if offered either a Chinese or an Australian scholarship, none of them hesitated: they would still choose Australia right away as a study destination. They cited the opportunities to immerse themselves in Australian education and western culture as the main rationale for their choice.

7.4. Life experiences

7.4.1. Life experience in China

In general, most Cambodian scholars enjoyed their life in China.

First, most Cambodian scholars stated that China was a very safe country. They could hang out all night without fear. They had never experienced, witnessed or heard of armed robbery and crimes. CS16 said that he felt safe even at night. “I feel confident in the security in this country. Therefore, I feel like wanting to live in China more than in Cambodia. We go out and hang out with friends all night. In Cambodia, we would not dare to do that.” CS19 agreed: “China is very good at providing security and maintaining public order despite its huge population. I never heard of armed robberies in Beijing. But there are petty thieves.”

Second, most Cambodian scholars were amazed that China has such a modern and diversified transportation infrastructure, such as subways, sky-trains, express trains, buses, taxis and public shared bicycles. Travel was fast, safe, convenient and cheap. CS18 said:

Transportation is very convenient. In the city, we can use shared public bikes. There are trains and subways. Taxis are very cheap. We can take fast trains to distant areas at 300kms per hour.

CS14 agreed: “I also love the Chinese fast train. It is really fast, easy to travel. We can reach Shanghai [from Hangzhou] in 45 minutes.”

Third, internet technologies also make their life easier. China has advanced online shopping and e-payment systems. Most Cambodian scholars said that they could find and buy anything

online, and the purchased products could be delivered to their door. The e-payment system also makes payment transaction safe and fast. Cambodian scholars had never had such experiences in Cambodia and believed that China is the first country on earth to introduce such a payment method. CS14 explained:

The biggest point that makes me so happy is e-commerce. We can order anything online and get it delivered to the door. China has a marvelous e-payment system. I like it very much. We don't need to carry cash. All we need is a functioning phone. China is more advanced than Australia. Australia doesn't have an e-payment operation. We can set up a WeChat account. We can top up money in the account. We just scan the payment code and transfer the money to the buyer. e-commerce (e-shopping) is the most enjoyable. It is strange.

Nevertheless, living in China is not without difficulties. First, most Cambodian scholars cited pollution and extreme weather as challenge. CS18 said:

In Beijing, there is big pollution problem, especially in winter. It affects our health a lot. Some people say, if we breathe in Beijing for one day, it is equivalent to smoking 40 cigarettes.

CS21 added: "The weather makes our life difficult. It is either too hot or too cold sometimes."

Second, many Cambodian scholars were also uncomfortable with some Chinese attitudes and behaviors. They found the Chinese selfish and inconsiderate. CS11 said that:

They [Chinese] are a bit selfish. For example, I rarely see younger Chinese give their place for the elders or the pregnant on the public buses. I see it once in a long while.

CS21 complained about some Chinese living habits:

Chinese lack good living habits. They smoke in public; they don't care about other people around them. It is their habits, their culture not to care about and consider other people. They make noise in public. We feel uncomfortable and irritated sometimes. We have different cultures.

CS17 concurred:

They spit everywhere, even in front of other people. They smoke everywhere. Even the chef smokes; the waitress serves food while smoking.

Third, relatedly, sanitation and hygiene are also major issues affecting their experience in China. Most Cambodian said that sanitation and hygiene in China were poor. Toilets in parks, restaurants and supermarkets are often dirty and have a bad odor. CS18 confided that:

I'm not sure if it is okay to say this, but public toilets in China have bad smells. In general, foreigners think so. They don't use water to clean..., but toilet paper.

CS21 agreed: "Here, it is difficult to find toilets: banks and the gas stations don't have restrooms."

Fourth, communication within and from China has been difficult for Cambodian scholars. English is almost absent in China. CS11 complained that:

I have a language barrier because when I came here, I didn't speak Chinese, and most of the time, even the staff in the university's international office speaks only Chinese. It is a bit difficult to communicate not only for the purpose of making friends but also for accessing information. Sometimes, the security guard comes to knock our door and speaks Chinese to us and we don't understand. Sometimes, when we go to the market, we use body language to buy things.

Furthermore, Cambodian scholars also found it difficult to connect with their friends and family back home. Access to Western online social media and networks is blocked in China. CS14 protested that:

Lack of online communication makes life in China difficult. For example, Facebook is not allowed in China. We need to use VPN to connect to Facebook [VPN is illegal in China]. It's difficult to call home also when the internet connection is slow. And the fact that we cannot use Google is also another barrier to our life and study. Access to online information is difficult.

However, discrimination is not an issue for Cambodian scholars. CS15 claimed that the Chinese students did not discriminate against him. "They like us, because they want to interact with international students." But some are isolated. SC19 said:

I don't have many Chinese friends here. We are living here as a minority. I never studied with Chinese students. According to my observation, they only discriminate against people from Africa and countries being torn by wars.

The living allowance in China is also sufficient to cover basic living expenses. CS16 said that:

It is enough if we don't buy lots of things wastefully. But if compared to stipends from other countries like Japan and Korea, Chinese stipends are smaller. We receive about

RMB 3,000, if converted to US dollars, about US\$450. It is enough for water and food. For some months, if I live frugally, I can save a bit. But the RMB3,000 excludes the accommodation fee and health insurance. It would be good if the stipends could be increased to RMB5,000.

In general, younger Cambodian scholars were more positive than older ones, partly because they had less prior exposure to foreign countries and were more in awe. Cambodian female scholars tended to value China's security more than their male counterparts but were more concerned with hygiene and sanitation. Cambodian scholars in Beijing tended to have more negative views about the weather and environmental pollution than those in other cities.

7.4.2. Life experience in Australia

Cambodian scholars are overwhelmingly positive with their life in Australia.

First, safety and security in Australia were rated as excellent. AS12 said: "I felt safe with the food in here. It is clean and safe. Often in Cambodia, I felt that the food is unsafe, contaminated, or out of date. Food quality here is monitored. I felt safe inside me." AS8 agreed, saying that he was always worried about food when he was in Cambodia. AS9 concurred: "I felt safe on the road, because people respect each other while driving and respect the speed limit." Similarly, AS1 felt secure while in Australia: "Security is very good in Australia."

Second, many Cambodian scholars admired the Australian environment and its people. AS4 said that Australia has a beautiful environment. "Everywhere is clean." AS11 concurred saying that Australia has good environmental laws and regulations in almost all areas such as marine life protection." Likewise, AS9 said that Australians had a good knowledge of environmental management and actively protect it at the local government level. "They sort out the wastes and put them in the correct bin; the roads and public spaces are always clean. Australians are very disciplined."

Third, Australian public infrastructure and services made Cambodian scholars' lives easier. AS3 said: "Australia has very good infrastructural arrangements. There are lots of concrete walking paths for pedestrians and bikers. The sewage system is very good, much better and organized than in Cambodia." AS5 supported this view:

The Cambodian transport system is not effective. We added more public buses on the streets to relieve the traffic jams, but people don't use the buses and still use their private vehicles. So the problem is aggravated. Here, they use trains and trams, which run on their tracks. There is no congestion.

Fourth, some Cambodian scholars observed that Australia was an equal society. AS6 observed, "There is no pressure for being poor or being rich here. We are not being looked down on if being poor. We are just equal." AS7 had very positive experiences with Australian government services. "Australian healthcare is very good. Centrelink is very good." Similarly, AS8 was appreciative of the Australian welfare system. She explained:

As far as I know, the government gives subsidies to its disadvantaged people such as healthcare and Medicare. Australians don't have to care about expense for their healthcare; government subsidies cover most of the costs. It seems that the government revenues from taxes are evenly distributed to all citizens including the disabled. I really appreciate it.

Fifth, good governance was another strong positive – indeed, for some, a source of amazement – for Cambodian scholars. AS8 observed that Australians follow the rule of law. "Australians, the ordinary people and the leaders, respect the laws. Everyone is under the law. If the leaders violate the traffic rules, they will be fined in the same way as ordinary people. In Cambodia, it is different. The leaders are above the laws." AS9 was of the same view: "The officials enforce the law: right is right; wrong is wrong. There is no gray area. If you violate the law, you will be punished. We can learn from Australian anti-corruption laws; they do this much better than us."

What struck AS7 was Australia's federal system:

If we look at their governance system at the state level, each state has autonomy: decisions don't all have to depend on the federal government. If the people at the state level vote to do anything, the federal government has limited say in their affairs as long as their policies are responsive to their local needs. There are different policies between Melbourne, Sydney and Canberra.

AS11 admired the Australian electoral system:

Look at Australian politics: even if there is change in top political leaders like the prime minister, there is no effect on the public servants. People in public agencies and private sectors aren't worried: they feel secure, when there is a power transfer. It is unlike Cambodia, when you fear every election for your life and security.

Australia was also seen as a strong defender of human rights. AS9 said:

People have the right to express themselves. In local areas, if the authorities don't perform well, the people have the right to criticize and assemble to protest. I didn't participate in the protests, but I saw people protesting to demand proper services from their local government. Their police don't forbid them. They assemble, shout and raise banners. But people don't use their rights randomly or incorrectly. The powerful and the rich cannot abuse the powerless. People from all backgrounds have equal rights.

However, Cambodian scholars did face a number of challenges. Racism was the one most often cited. AS5 said:

I don't have contacts with Australians. I'm not sure if this is because of me or because they don't want to connect with me. All my friends are overseas students. I don't have Australian friends. I don't say discrimination right away. But I feel that there is some.

AS4 expressed herself this way:

Some Australians, when seeing us as Asians, discriminate against us. When I was in Melbourne, I felt that Australians reacted to their fellows and us in different ways. When I flew from Cambodia to Australia, I often observed that when I got off the plane, the hostess said goodbye to their fellow Australians, but when they saw me, they turned their face away. It was not a coincidence. I experienced it many times. It is not a big issue, but I just felt some discrimination.

AS3 agreed and shared his experiences as follows:

They focus on Australians first. There are limited opportunities for foreigners like me. Internships are given to Australians first. We can only gain unskilled part-time jobs, not skilled jobs. But there is no discrimination in school: we are treated equally, and they care about us. But outside school, for example in the workplace, I feel that they care about Australians more than us.

Second, some Cambodian scholars experienced culture shock. AS4 explained at great length how she felt:

I am living in an environment in which there are more Australian students than international students. I was shocked by their culture, their attitudes and behavior. Recently, I was very shocked when I cooked Cambodian food, which I had just brought from Cambodia. So, you know right, Cambodian food consists of Pro Hok [fermented fish]. Previously, I used Pro Hok as an ingredient for my food, but I am always very careful with its smell. But this time, I have dried fish, which I had never cooked before; so I didn't know that I radiated this bad odor. I didn't expect that. Shockingly, I got cruel reactions from Australian students around me. Australian teenagers are moody. They expressed their dissatisfaction with me aggressively. They screamed at me and stormed the kitchens. I was really shocked and speechless. But I

felt different when I lived in Toad Hall, where there are lots of Cambodian and international students. We are Asians, so we understand each other and understand the way we interact. So I felt comfortable there. I felt different there. That is how I felt inside me.

Third, adjusting to lifestyles in Australia is also another challenge, especially in the first six months after arrival in Australia. AS8 said that, driving in Australia was challenging in her first semester: “I’m not used to driving here. Cambodia is lawless: I can turn wherever I like. It was hard to adapt to new driving rules in Australia.” AS13 had a similar experience. “I was not aware of Australian laws like traffic laws and animal laws. I was not sure if I can pick up a dead bird to cook. I didn’t know traffic rules. So I was afraid when riding bike, even if I didn’t violate the laws.”

AS9 also shared that challenge. He said:

In Cambodia, we can bribe the police, and the bribe is not a big sum of money. But here, we cannot, and the fine is about \$400. It is a lot of money for us. We have to be very careful. Here, I’m more afraid of the police than my parents. I’m fearful that they would arrest me for this or that reason.

Fourth, extreme weather is also an issue. Australian weather is either too hot or too cold and fluctuated very quickly. AS9 complained:

The weather in here is too extreme: it is too hot, the hottest in the world, because the ozone layers are broken. It is often too cold and weather changed very quickly. The rapid fluctuations of the weather affected my health, because I have joint problems.

Overall, while racism and culture shock are not a serious issue for Cambodian scholars, most Cambodian scholars encountered these experiences, at least occasionally. Despite some unexpected experiences, most found their experience of life in Australia positive and productive.

7.5. Discussion

Overall, Cambodian scholars in China were positive about their academic and life experiences in China, but Cambodian scholars in Australia more so. However, when compared to their prior expectations, Cambodian scholars in China were happier.

The difference in academic experiences is explicable first by the differences in the overall quality of Australian and Chinese universities. Despite the fact that Chinese universities have been improving in recent years in international rankings ([Times Higher Education 2018](#)), Australian universities are still slightly more highly ranked. As Table 7.1 shows, according to the QS 2019 rankings, there are five (seven) Australian universities in the world's top 50 (100), but only three (six) Chinese universities.

I did not in my main survey collect data on which university respondents went to but I did for the small number who provided answers for this Chapter (Table 7.2). The two most popular universities for this group were the Australian National University and the University of Melbourne, ranked 24th and 39th respectively by the 2019 QS rankings. Other students attended less well-ranked universities: University of Adelaide, Flinders University and University of Canberra. The most popular university for my Chinese students was Zhejiang University, which has a ranking of 68. Other universities were: Tsinghua University, Beijing Normal University, University of International Business and Economics, Communication University of China and Zhejiang University of Science and Technology. Some of the Chinese universities were not ranked.

7.1: Australian and Chinese universities in world's top 100

Australia		China	
University	Ranking	University	Ranking
Australian National University	24	Tsinghua University	17
The University of Melbourne	39	Peking University	30
The University of Sydney	42	Fudan University	44
The University of New South Wales	45	Shanghai Jiao Tong University	59
The University of Queensland	48	Zhejiang University	68
Monash University	59	University of Science and Technology of China	98
The University of Western Australia	91		

Source: QS World University Rankings 2019

Table 7.2: Distribution of interviewees by universities

Cambodian scholars in Australia		Cambodian scholars in China	
University (number of interviewees)	Rankings*	University (number of interviewees)	Rankings*
Australian National University (5)	24	Tsinghua University (2)	17
University of Melbourne (4)	39	Zhejiang University (11)	68
University of Adelaide (2)	114	Beijing Normal University (3)	292
Flinders University (2)	478	University of International Business and Economics (2)	Not ranked
University of Canberra (2)	601-650**	Communication University of China (1)	Not ranked
		Zhejiang University of Science and Technology (2)	Not ranked

*QS World University Rankings 2019

**Note: QS ranks universities in a group of 50 after it ranks the first 600 universities.

Second, the fact that English is the language of instruction in Australian universities is a major advantage. Many Chinese universities still deliver courses in Chinese, especially at the undergraduate level. Although neither Chinese nor English is a first language for Cambodians, they are much more likely to have studied English at school than Chinese. And, as shown in Chapter 4, they are required to have achieved a minimum level of competence in English to obtain an Australian scholarship. That there is no such requirement in relation to Chinese scholarships is no doubt due to the fact that few Cambodians study Chinese at school, and so, if China insisted on prior knowledge of Chinese it would have far fewer takers for its scholarships.

Third, Australia has higher academic freedom than China, where restrictions on certain topics are still in effect. The greater academic freedom is valued by Cambodian scholars.

The different levels of development and cultures in Australia and China explain the scholars' different life experiences. China is developing fast, but it is still a developing country. Its large population and growing economy have placed an increasing burden on the environment. Pollution is a serious problem in many major cities in China, especially in Beijing. On the other hand, Australia is a prosperous country with a much smaller population and cleaner environment than China.

Chinese culture is not new to Cambodians, has little to excite them, and may in fact irritate them in some regards. In contrast, Cambodian Australian scholars, while familiar with western culture through their prior work and study experience, are still keen to immerse themselves in Australian culture and found Australians and the culture to be pleasant.

While all of the above might lead one to think that the Australian scholarships are more successful in buying “good memories” and therefore “goodwill”, we also need to consider the fact that the gap between experience and expectations was greater in China than Australia. Cambodian scholars in China had generally low expectations on what China could offer, as they tended, prior to arrival, to view the Chinese education system as far inferior to the western ones and China as a poor developing country. Thus, they were amazed when they were in China, and their experiences far exceeded their prior expectation. The same is not the case for Cambodian scholars in Australia however, who were generally well informed about Australia and thus were pleased but not surprised by their positive in-country experience.

The findings presented and discussed thus far contribute significantly to the literature. On Chinese scholarships, the findings support Dong and Chapman (2008) who found positive experiences among their cross-country sample but are in contrast to Haugen (2013), who found that African students were disappointed by their time in China. The more positive experiences may be because Cambodian students studied in better-ranked universities, were less discriminated against based on their skin colour and were more likely to study on full scholarships. All of the students interviewed in Haugen's study attended universities that do not belong in the top tier of Chinese higher education institutions such as Tsinghua University and Zhejiang University. Some of the Cambodian scholars themselves commented that they felt they were better treated than their African classmates, and Haugen's sample of African students contained many who did not receive a scholarship and who struggled to make ends meet. The findings are also consistent with those of Alemu and Cordier (2017) who examined international students' satisfaction studying not in Chinese but in South Korean universities, and found that international students from the East Asian cultural sphere attained more satisfaction than other international students who are more culturally dissimilar from members of the host population. On Australian scholarships, the findings are consistent with those found by Abimbola et al. (2015) based on their cross-country study.

The study adds to the literature by showing that Cambodian scholars in Australia were in general more positive than those in China, but that for Cambodian scholars in China, but not in Australia, the experience exceeded expectations, replacing negative perceptions with positive ones.

7.6. Conclusion

In contrast to the preceding chapters, this chapter takes a qualitative approach to compare Cambodian Chinese and Australian scholars' in-country experiences. Although the findings are based on a small number of interviews, they are soundly based, given the commonality of views expressed by the two groups of students.

One of the main aims of scholarships is to generate good will. Perhaps the main way of doing this is to ensure that students leave with happy memories. Both scholarships were successful at that. Which was more successful depends on how the question is framed. Australia seems

more successful in generating absolute satisfaction, however, China seems more successful in changing perceptions in a positive direction.

As well as generating good will, it is reasonable to assume that in-country experiences influence the political and economic attitudes of scholars. This is the subject of the next two chapters.

Chapter 8: Chinese and Australian Scholarships and Attitudes: Quantitative Analysis

8.1. Introduction

This chapter, and the one that follows, seek to understand the influence of Chinese and Australian scholarships on Cambodian scholars' political and economic attitudes. This chapter takes a quantitative approach while the next one takes a qualitative approach.

This chapter is organized as follows. Section 8.2 recapitulates the research question and methods. Sections 8.3 to 8.6 report the findings for each of the four attitudes we examine. Section 8.7 discusses the findings and concludes.

8.2. Research question and method

This chapter and the next seek to answer one of the three fundamental questions that this thesis poses: what influence do Australian and Chinese scholarships have on scholars' political and economic attitudes? As shown in Chapter 2, no study has examined this for either country. However, two studies (Spilimbergo 2009 and Atkinson 2010) employed a cross-country analysis and showed a positive relationship between OECD scholarships and domestic governance (see Chapter 2, Section 2.6 for details). These chapters provide a more direct test of whether scholarships change attitudes.

The research designs and method used in this chapter have been described in detail in Chapter 3, Sections 3.3, 3.4 and 3.6. To look for changes in students' attitudes as a result of their overseas study, we used both before-and-after comparisons (one-group pretest-posttest) and a natural experiment (posttest only control group design). Qualitative analysis was also conducted to supplement the quantitative analysis reported in this chapter. It is analyzed in the next chapter (Chapters 9). In addition, it became obvious during the course of analysis that the two groups may have had different attitudes even prior to departure. This comparison was therefore added to the quantitative analysis. Finally, I also compared the two groups' post-departure attitudes as a way of bringing the analysis together.

In terms of research participants, for the before-and-after design, I used the “2016 departure group” (Table 3.1). I surveyed scholars selected for a scholarship to depart in 2016 and interviewed them prior to departure in Cambodia and then after about a year in country in 2017.

Table 8.1: Australian and Chinese scholars in the before-and-after design

Research participants	Survey sent	Survey response	Response rate
2016 Australian scholarships: Pre-departure	35	32	91.40%
2016 Australian scholarships: Post-departure	32	32	100%
2016 Chinese scholarships: Pre-departure	65	47	72.30%
2016 Chinese scholarships: Post-departure	65	36	55.40%

For the natural experiment without pre-measurement, I used the 2016 departure group (a year after departure) as the intervention sample and the 2017 departure group (pre-departure) as the control group.

Table 8.2: Australian and Chinese scholars in the natural experiment design

Research participants	Survey sent	Survey response	Response rate
2017 Australian scholarships: Pre-departure	50	35	70.0%
2016 Australian scholarships: Post-departure	32	32	100%
2017 Chinese scholarships: Pre-departure	120	60	50.0%
2016 Chinese scholarships: Post-departure	65	36	55.40%

Note: Of the 60 2017 Chinese scholars who responded, 17 of them had already been in China for their previous degree(s), and thus were removed from the analyses.

For the Chinese and Australian scholarship holder pre-departure comparisons I combined the 2016 and 2017 pre-departure groups

Table 8.3: Australian and Chinese scholars pre-departure comparisons

Research participants	Survey sent	Survey response	Response rate
2016 and 2017 Australian scholarships: Pre-departure	85	67	78.8%
2016 and 2017 Chinese scholarships: Pre-departure	185	32	57.8%

Finally, I used 2016 post-departure groups for the Chinese versus Australian scholarship holder post-departure comparisons.

Table 8.4: Australian and Chinese scholars post-departure comparisons

Research participants	Survey sent	Survey response	Response rate
2016 Australian scholarships: Post-departure	32	32	100%
2016 Chinese scholarships: Post-departure	65	36	55.40%

I am interested in the scholars' views in regard to four areas, namely their views on: the importance of democracy; the importance of combatting corruption; the appropriate role of the government in the economy; and the appropriateness for Cambodia of various development models.

I selected these four dimensions because, as described in Chapter 1, Section 1.4.3, democracy and corruption are two important dimensions of Cambodian governance that have not seen a major improvement over the past three decades, and in some ways have gone backwards. Also, Cambodia adopted both socialist and capitalist economic systems during different periods of its history (see Chapter 1, Section 1.4.2). Finally, the issue of competing models for Cambodia's future is of particular interest given the rise of China and the increasing influence of its distinctive development model, combining state capitalism and authoritarianism (Williamson 2012).

Note that I made no effort to define these terms for the interviewees. Survey questions regarding these attitudes were adapted from Asian Barometer Surveys and World Values Survey. The Asian Barometer Survey captured Asian citizens' attitudes toward democracy and governance. World Values Surveys measure citizens' values, including their views toward various economic systems and different ways of life (for the complete list of survey questions, see Appendix 1, Survey B, C and D).

8.3. Attitudes towards democracy

Regarding democracy, scholars were asked: if they thought democracy was preferable to any other kind of government; if in some circumstances a non-democratic government might be preferable; or if it doesn't matter what kind of government Cambodia has.

Prior to departure, Chinese and Australian scholars had quite different views (Table 8.5). Only 19 per cent of the former but 36 per cent of the latter thought that a non-democratic government can be preferable under some circumstances. As shown in Chapter 5, Chinese scholars are significantly younger, and have perhaps a lower understanding of democracy. Recall that Cambodia refers to itself as a democracy, and has regular elections, although it does not qualify as a democracy under international ratings (Chapter 1, Section 1.4.3).

Table 8.5. Chinese and Australian scholars' views on democracy prior to departure

			Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion?				Total
			STATEMENT 1: Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.	STATEMENT 2: In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable.	STATEMENT 3: For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of government we have.	Don't know	
What scholarship did you receive?	Chinese Scholars	Count	53	17	8	10	88
		%	60.2%	19.3%	9.1%	11.4%	100.0%
	Australian Scholars	Count	34	22	2	3	61
		%	55.7%	36.1%	3.3%	4.9%	100.0%
Total		Count	87	39	10	13	149
		%	58.4%	26.2%	6.7%	8.7%	100.0%

Pearson Chi-Square = 7.514 Pr = 0.057

Turning to the before and after comparisons, the support among Chinese scholars for democracy fell rapidly post-departure (from 71 per cent to 46 per cent), a statistically highly significant decline (Table 8.6). However, it would be wrong to conclude that this was entirely due to the scholarships. Comparisons between the pre-departure 2017 group and the post-departure 2016 group show no change. It is worth noting that the surveys with 2016 post-departure Chinese scholars and 2017 pre-departure Chinese scholars were conducted in mid-August 2017, roughly one month after the local government elections and in the midst of the political crackdown by the Cambodian government on opposition party and civil society groups sympathetic to the opposition (see Chapter 1, Section 1.4.3).

Table 8.6. Support for democracy: Chinese scholarship holders

			Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion?				Total	Person Chi-Square		
			STATEMENT 1: Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.	STATEMENT 2: In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable.	STATEMENT 3: For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of government we have.	Don't know		Value	Df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Before-and-after analysis	2016 Scholars Pre-departure	Count	32	9	3	1	45	10.706	3	0.013
		%	71.1%	20.0%	6.7%	2.2%	100.0%			
	2016 Scholars Post-departure	Count	17	7	4	9	37			
		%	45.9%	18.9%	10.8%	24.3%	100.0%			
	Percentage Point Change		-25.2%	-1.1%	4.1%	22.1%	0.0%			
Treatment-and-control-groups analysis	2017 Scholars Pre-departure	Count	21	8	5	9	43	0.15	3	0.985
		%	48.8%	18.6%	11.6%	20.9%	100.0%			
	2016 Scholars Post-departure	Count	17	7	4	9	37			
		%	45.9%	18.9%	10.8%	24.3%	100.0%			
	Percentage Point Change		-2.9%	0.3%	-0.8%	3.4%	0.0%			

The Australian scholarship holders show increased support for democracy as a result of the scholarships. The difference is statistically significant in the treatment and control group analysis (Table 8.7).

Table 8.7. Support for democracy: Australian scholarship holders

			Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion?				Total	Person Chi-Square		
			STATEMENT 1: Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.	STATEMENT 2: In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable.	STATEMENT 3: For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of government we have.	Don't know		Value	Df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Before and after analysis	2016 Scholars Pre-departure	Count	16	10	1	2	29	5.167	3	0.16
		%	55.2%	34.5%	3.4%	6.9%	100.0%			
	2016 Scholars Post-departure	Count	20	4	3	5	32			
		%	62.5%	12.5%	9.4%	15.6%	100.0%			
	Percentage Point Change		7.3%	-22.0%	6.0%	8.7%	0.0%			
Treatment and control group analysis	2017 Scholars Pre-departure	Count	18	13	1	1	33	8.523	3	0.036
		%	54.5%	39.4%	3.0%	3.0%	100.0%			
	2016 Scholars Post-departure	Count	20	4	3	5	32			
		%	62.5%	12.5%	9.4%	15.6%	100.0%			
	Percentage Point Change		8.0%	-26.9%	6.4%	12.6%	0.0%			

Since their views converge over the course of their respective scholarships, when we compare the views of post-departure scholars, we see less of a difference (Table 8.8). Australian and Chinese scholars still hold somewhat different views on the importance of democracy, with Australian scholars still being more sympathetic, but the differences are no longer statistically significant (Table 8.8).

Table 8.8. Chinese and Australian scholars' views on democracy: post-departure

			Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion?				Total
			STATEMENT 1: Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.	STATEMENT 2: In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable.	STATEMENT 3: For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of government we have.	Don't know	
What scholarship did you receive?	Chinese Scholarships 2016 Post-departure	Count	17	7	4	9	37
		%	45.9%	18.9%	10.8%	24.3%	100.0%
	Australian Scholarships 2016 Post-departure	Count	20	4	3	5	32
		%	62.5%	12.5%	9.4%	15.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	37	11	7	14	69
		%	53.6%	15.9%	10.1%	20.3%	100.0%

Pearson Chi-Square = 1.995 Pr = 0.573

8.4. Attitudes towards combating corruption

Regarding corruption, scholars were asked if reducing corruption should be: a very important priority; a fairly important priority; not a very important priority; or a not at all important priority for Cambodia.

Prior to departure, 95 per cent of Australian scholars believed that combating corruption was very important for Cambodia, as opposed to 78 per cent of Chinese scholars (Table 8.9). The difference is statistically significant.

Table 8.9. Chinese and Australian scholars' views on corruption prior to departure

			How important a priority should it be for Cambodia to reduce corruption?			Total
			Very important	Fairly important	Don't know	
What scholarship did you receive?	Chinese Scholars	Count	68	15	4	87
		%	78.2%	17.2%	4.6%	100.0%
	Australian Scholars	Count	59	3	0	62
		%	95.2%	4.8%	0.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	127	18	4	149
		%	85.2%	12.1%	2.7%	100.0%

Pearson Chi-Square = 8.688

Pr = 0.013

Chinese scholars became more supportive of combating corruption after they had been in the country for one year; the difference in support is statistically significant in the treatment and control group analysis (Table 8.10).

Table 8.10: Support for combating corruption: Chinese scholarship holders

			How important a priority should it be for Cambodia to reduce corruption?			Total	Person Chi-Square		
			Very important	Fairly important	Don't know		Value	Df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Before and after analysis	2016 Scholars Pre-departure	Count	39	6	2	47	2.66	2	0.264
		%	83.0%	12.8%	4.3%	100.0%			
	2016 Scholars Post-departure	Count	33	1	2	36			
		%	91.7%	2.8%	5.6%	100.0%			
	Percentage Point Change		8.7%	-10.0%	1.3%	0.0%			
Treatment and control group analysis	2017 Scholars Pre-departure	Count	29	9	2	40	6.465	2	0.039
		%	72.5%	22.5%	5.0%	100.0%			
	2016 Scholars Post-departure	Count	33	1	2	36			
		%	91.7%	2.8%	5.6%	100.0%			
	Percentage Point Change		19.2%	-19.7%	0.6%	0.0%			

Since almost all Australian scholars supported combating corruption before they left for Australia there was no room for a significant increase in support (Table 8.11).

Table 8.11: Support for combating corruption: Australian scholarship holders

			How important a priority should it be for Cambodia to reduce corruption?		Total	Person Chi-Square		
			Very important	Fairly important		Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Before and after analysis	2016 Scholars Pre-departure	Count	29	1	30	0.002	1	0.963
		%	96.7%	3.3%	100.0%			
	2016 Scholars Post-departure	Count	31	1	32			
		%	96.9%	3.1%	100.0%			
	Percentage Point Change		0.2%	-0.2%	0.0%			
Treatment and control group analysis	2017 Scholars Pre-departure	Count	31	2	33	0.318	1	0.573
		%	93.9%	6.1%	100.0%			
	2016 Scholars Post-departure	Count	31	1	32			
		%	96.9%	3.1%	100.0%			
	Percentage Point Change		3.0%	-3.0%	0.0%			

With the profound change in the view of the Chinese scholars, post-departure 90 per cent or more of both groups of scholars suggested that reducing corruption is a very important priority for Cambodia, and the difference is no longer statistically significant (Table 8.12).

Table 8.12. Chinese and Australian scholars' views on corruption: post-departure

			How important a priority should it be for Cambodia to reduce corruption?			Total
			Very important	Fairly important	Don't know	
What scholarship did you receive?	Chinese Scholarships 2016 Post-departure	Count	33	1	2	36
		%	91.7%	2.8%	5.6%	100.0%
	Australian Scholarships 2016 Post-departure	Count	31	1	0	32
		%	96.9%	3.1%	0.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	64	2	2	68
		%	94.1%	2.9%	2.9%	100.0%

Pearson Chi-Square = 1.834

Pr = 0.400

8.5. Attitudes towards the role of the state in the economy

On the role of the state in the economy, I asked scholars to give their view on whether private ownership of business and industry should be increased or whether government ownership of business and industry should be increased, on a scale from 1 to 10. 1 means they agree completely with the first statement (private ownership should be increased); and 10 that they agree completely with the second statement (government ownership should be increased).

Prior to their departure, Chinese and Australian scholars held significantly different views on the role of the state in the economy. Australian scholars were more supportive of private ownership and Chinese scholars of government ownership. For example, 69 per cent of Australian scholarship holders selected a response of 5 or less (i.e., generally supportive of private ownership) but only 46 per cent of Chinese scholars.

Table 8.13: Chinese and Australian scholars' views on the role of state in the economy prior to departure

			(1) Private ownership of business and industry should be increased OR (10) Government ownership of business and industry should be increased										Total
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
What scholarship did you receive?	Chinese Scholars	Count	14	7	4	5	10	22	7	4	4	11	88
		%	15.9%	8.0%	4.5%	5.7%	11.4%	25.0%	8.0%	4.5%	4.5%	12.5%	100.0%
	Australian Scholars	Count	13	8	9	3	9	5	0	5	3	6	61
		%	21.3%	13.1%	14.8%	4.9%	14.8%	8.2%	0.0%	8.2%	4.9%	9.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	27	15	13	8	19	27	7	9	7	17	149
		%	18.1%	10.1%	8.7%	5.4%	12.8%	18.1%	4.7%	6.0%	4.7%	11.4%	100.0%

Pearson Chi-Square = 17.696

Pr = 0.039

For the Chinese scholars, as was the case with attitudes to democracy, there is a statistically significant difference in the before and after comparison (with increased support for government ownership), but not in the comparison with the control group (Table 8.14).

Table 8.14: Support for government ownership of businesses and industries: Chinese scholarship holders

			(1) Private ownership of business and industry should be increased OR (10) Government ownership of business and industry should be increased										Total	Person Chi-Square		
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Before and after analysis	2016 Scholars Pre-departure	Count	5	3	1	4	4	17	6	2	4	1	47	23.572	9	0.005
		%	10.6%	6.4%	2.1%	8.5%	8.5%	36.2%	12.8%	4.3%	8.5%	2.1%	100.0%			
	2016 Scholars Post-departure	Count	6	3	1	3	7	3	1	2	0	9	35			
		%	17.1%	8.6%	2.9%	8.6%	20.0%	8.6%	2.9%	5.7%	0.0%	25.7%	100.0%			
	Percentage Point Change		6.5%	2.2%	0.8%	0.1%	11.5%	-27.6%	-9.9%	1.4%	-8.5%	23.6%	0.0%			
Treatment and control group analysis	2017 Scholars Pre-departure	Count	9	4	3	1	6	5	1	2	0	10	41	2.917	8	0.939
		%	22.0%	9.8%	7.3%	2.4%	14.6%	12.2%	2.4%	4.9%	0.0%	24.4%	100.0%			
	2016 Scholars Post-departure	Count	6	3	1	3	7	3	1	2	0	9	35			
		%	17.1%	8.6%	2.9%	8.6%	20.0%	8.6%	2.9%	5.7%	0.0%	25.7%	100.0%			
	Percentage Point Change		-4.9%	-1.2%	-4.4%	6.2%	5.4%	-3.6%	0.5%	0.8%	0.0%	1.3%	0.0%			

For the Australian scholars, there is, surprisingly, a small shift towards support for government involvement, but it is not statistically significant (Table 8.15).

Table 8.15: Support for government ownership of businesses and industries: Australian scholarship holders

			(1) Private ownership of business and industry should be increased OR (10) Government ownership of business and industry should be increased										Total	Person Chi-Square		
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Before and after analysis	2016 Scholars Pre-departure	Count	8	3	4	2	2	2	0	3	2	3	29	10.172	9	0.337
		%	27.6%	10.3%	13.8%	6.9%	6.9%	6.9%	0.0%	10.3%	6.9%	10.3%	100.0%			
	2016 Scholars Post-departure	Count	4	4	4	2	5	1	4	2	0	6	32			
		%	12.5%	12.5%	12.5%	6.3%	15.6%	3.1%	12.5%	6.3%	0.0%	18.8%	100.0%			
	Percentage Point Change		-15.1%	2.2%	-1.3%	-0.6%	8.7%	-3.8%	12.5%	-4.0%	-6.9%	8.5%	0.0%			
Treatment and control group analysis	2017 Scholars Pre-departure	Count	5	5	5	2	7	3	0	2	1	3	33	7.653	9	0.569
		%	15.2%	15.2%	15.2%	6.1%	21.2%	9.1%	0.0%	6.1%	3.0%	9.1%	100.0%			
	2016 Scholars Post-departure	Count	4	4	4	2	5	1	4	2	0	6	32			
		%	12.5%	12.5%	12.5%	6.3%	15.6%	3.1%	12.5%	6.3%	0.0%	18.8%	100.0%			
	Percentage Point Change		-2.7%	-2.7%	-2.7%	0.2%	-5.6%	-6.0%	12.5%	0.2%	-3.0%	9.7%	0.0%			

As with the previous two cases, the scholarships produce a convergence of views with respect to the role of the government in the economy. Looking at post-departure scholars (Table 8.16), 57 per cent of Chinese and 59 per cent of Australian scholars were supportive of private ownership (i.e., selected a response of 5 or less). While Chinese scholars are still slightly more supportive of the government role (26 per cent of Chinese scholars chose a response of 10 as against only 19 per cent of Australian scholars), the differences are small and statistically insignificant.

Table 8.16: Chinese and Australian scholars' views on the role of state in the economy: post-departure

			(1) Private ownership of business and industry should be increased OR (10) Government ownership of business and industry should be increased									Total
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	10	
What scholarship did you receive?	Chinese Scholarships 2016 Post-departure	Count	6	3	1	3	7	3	1	2	9	35
		%	17.1%	8.6%	2.9%	8.6%	20.0%	8.6%	2.9%	5.7%	25.7%	100.0%
	Australian Scholarships 2016 Post-departure	Count	4	4	4	2	5	1	4	2	6	32
		%	12.5%	12.5%	12.5%	6.3%	15.6%	3.1%	12.5%	6.3%	18.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	10	7	5	5	12	4	5	4	15	67
		%	14.9%	10.4%	7.5%	7.5%	17.9%	6.0%	7.5%	6.0%	22.4%	100.0%

Pearson Chi-Square = 6.154

Pr = 0.630

8.6. Attitudes towards development models

Finally, on the choice of development model, I asked scholars whether United States, or Australia, or Singapore, or China, or “our own” model, or none of these, or other would be the best model for the future development of Cambodia.

Chinese and Australian scholars held starkly different views on the model best suitable for the future development of Cambodia prior to their departure to China. A large number in both groups (about 40 per cent) supported the Singaporean development model. Importantly, Chinese scholars were more likely to believe that the Chinese development model is the best fit for Cambodia (21 per cent), while Australian scholars were more likely to nominate the Australian development model (28 per cent).

Table 8.17: Chinese and Australian scholars' views on development model prior to departure

			In your opinion, which of the following countries, if any, would be the best model for the future development of Cambodia?							Total
			United States	Australia	Singapore	China	We should follow our own model	None of these	Other (please specify)	
What scholarship did you receive?	Chinese Scholars	Count	9	9	38	18	10	0	3	87
		%	10.3%	10.3%	43.7%	20.7%	11.5%	0.0%	3.4%	100.0%
	Australian Scholars	Count	4	17	24	0	10	2	4	61
		%	6.6%	27.9%	39.3%	0.0%	16.4%	3.3%	6.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	13	26	62	18	20	2	7	148
		%	8.8%	17.6%	41.9%	12.2%	13.5%	1.4%	4.7%	100.0%

Pearson Chi-Square = 23.857 Pr = 0.001

For the Chinese scholars, there was a drop in support for the Chinese model of development after departure, but the differences are not significant.

Table 8.18: Support for Chinese development model: Chinese scholarship holders

			In your opinion, which of the following countries, if any, would be the best model for the future development of Cambodia?						Total	Person Chi-Square		
			United States	Australia	Singapore	China	We should follow our own model	Other		Value	Df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Before and after analysis	2016 Scholars Pre-departure	Count	6	7	15	8	9	1	46	5.1	5	0.404
		%	13.0%	15.2%	32.6%	17.4%	19.6%	2.2%	100.0%			
	2016 Scholars Post-departure	Count	4	1	17	6	6	2	36			
		%	11.1%	2.8%	47.2%	16.7%	16.7%	5.6%	100.0%			
	Percentage Point Change		-1.9%	-12.4%	14.6%	-0.7%	-2.9%	3.4%	0.0%			
Treatment and control group analysis	2017 Scholars Pre-departure	Count	3	2	23	10	1	2	41	5.647	5	0.342
		%	7.3%	4.9%	56.1%	24.4%	2.4%	4.9%	100.0%			
	2016 Scholars Post-departure	Count	4	1	17	6	6	2	36			
		%	11.1%	2.8%	47.2%	16.7%	16.7%	5.6%	100.0%			
	Percentage Point Change		3.8%	-2.1%	-8.9%	-7.7%	14.3%	0.7%	0.0%			

The comparisons of Australian scholars also show a lack of significant change in regard to this question (Table 8.19).

Table 8.19: Support for Australian development model: Australian scholarship holders

			In your opinion, which of the following countries, if any, would be the best model for the future development of Cambodia?							Total	Person Chi-Square		
			United States	Australia	Singapore	China	We should follow our own model	None of these	Other		Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Before and after analysis	2016 Scholars Pre-departure	Count	2	8	11	0	6	0	2	29	5.465	6	0.486
		%	6.9%	27.6%	37.9%	0.0%	20.7%	0.0%	6.9%	100.0%			
	2016 Scholars Post-departure	Count	0	10	12	2	6	1	1	32			
		%	0.0%	31.3%	37.5%	6.3%	18.8%	3.1%	3.1%	100.0%			
	Percentage Point Change		-6.9%	3.7%	-0.4%	6.3%	-1.9%	3.1%	-3.8%	0.0%			
Treatment and control group analysis	2017 Scholars Pre-departure	Count	2	10	13	0	4	2	2	33	5.092	6	0.532
		%	6.1%	30.3%	39.4%	0.0%	12.1%	6.1%	6.1%	100.0%			
	2016 Scholars Post-departure	Count	0	10	12	2	6	1	1	32			
		%	0.0%	31.3%	37.5%	6.3%	18.8%	3.1%	3.1%	100.0%			
	Percentage Point Change		-6.1%	1.0%	-1.9%	6.3%	6.7%	-3.0%	-3.0%	0.0%			

When we compare the views of post-departure students, this is the one case where we find a statistically significant difference in views (table 8.20). Almost one-third of the Australian scholars but only 3 per cent of Chinese scholars a year into their scholarships select Australia as the best model for the development of Cambodia. Chinese scholars are much more likely to pick China (17 per cent versus only 6 per cent of Australians). Singapore is the most popular model for both groups, but is more popular among Chinese scholars (47 per cent versus 37 per cent for Australian scholars).

Table 8.20: Chinese and Australian scholars' views on development model: post-departure

			In your opinion, which of the following countries, if any, would be the best model for the future development of Cambodia?							Total
			United States	Australia	Singapore	China	We should follow our own model	None of these	Other	
What scholarship did you receive?	Chinese Scholarships 2016 Post-departure	Count	4	1	17	6	6	0	2	36
		%	11.1%	2.8%	47.2%	16.7%	16.7%	0.0%	5.6%	100.0%
	Australian Scholarships 2016 Post-departure	Count	0	10	12	2	6	1	1	32
		%	0.0%	31.3%	37.5%	6.3%	18.8%	3.1%	3.1%	100.0%
Total		Count	4	11	29	8	12	1	3	68
		%	5.9%	16.2%	42.6%	11.8%	17.6%	1.5%	4.4%	100.0%

Pearson Chi-Square = 15.377 Pr = 0.018

8.7. Discussion and conclusion

This chapter sought to compare the influences of Chinese and Australian scholarships on Cambodian scholars' political and economic attitudes. Table 8.21 summarizes the results.

Table 8.21: Summary of results

		Attitudes to			
		Democracy	Corruption	Role of government in the economy	Other countries as models for Cambodia
Comparisons	Pre-departure differences (Chinese v Aust)	Significantly different (Chinese students more supportive)	Significantly different (Chinese students less supportive)	Significantly different (Chinese students more supportive)	Significantly different (Chinese/Australian students more in favor of Chinese/Australian model)
	Impact of scholarships (Chinese students)	Significant reduction in support, but only based on before and after	Significant increase in support	Significant increase in support, but only based on before and after	No change
	Impact of scholarships (Australian students)	Significant increase in support	No significant change	No significant change	No change
	Post-departure differences (Chinese v Aust)	No significant difference (Australian students more supportive)	No significant difference (Australian students slightly more supportive)	No significant difference (Chinese students slightly more supportive)	Significant difference (Chinese/Australian students more in favor of Chinese/Australian model)

At the time of selection, Chinese scholars are more likely to be in favor of democracy, are less concerned about corruption, are more supportive of government involvement in the economy, and are more likely to look to China as a model. This was an unexpected result. There are two possible explanations. Either people with different views select for different scholarship and/or being awarded a scholarship from a particular country has an immediate impact on attitudes. We cannot distinguish between these two hypotheses. We suspect both forces are at

work. For example, the Chinese scholarship holders, being much younger, likely had less understanding of democracy, and so were more likely to support it as a universal value (not understanding that Cambodia itself is not a democracy). It is also plausible that Australian scholarship holders, with higher representation from the NGO sector, take a dimmer view of corruption. But it is also possible that scholarship holders reciprocate the gift of a scholarship by adopting the views of the country concerned. This would especially be expected to apply in relation to which country is viewed as a model.

Turning to changes in comparisons, results sometimes differ depending on whether the before-and-after or the treatment-and-control-group analysis is used. In such cases, we give greater weight to the latter owing to its greater rigor. Based on this, two changes were detectable: Australian scholarship holders became more supportive of democracy; and Chinese scholarship holders became significantly more supportive of efforts to combat corruption. In terms of the before-and-after comparisons, there were also significant changes in the views of the Chinese students, away from democracy and towards support for greater government intervention.

What happens while the students are away is surprisingly a convergence of views. The two student cohorts become more alike. Before they left, the views of the two groups were significantly different with respect to all four of the attitudes probed. A year later, one can still see differences, but they are only significant with respect to the choice of model country. Both groups like Singapore, but Chinese scholars also look to China as a model, more opt for Singapore, and hardly any for Australia; whereas one-third of Australian scholars look to Australia as a model, fewer to Singapore, and hardly any to China.

In summary, this chapter finds some evidence that scholarships do impact attitudes. Surprisingly, it finds that attitudes between scholarship holders diverge prior to the scholarship. In some ways, views converge, but some differences remain, especially the differences with regards to which country scholars look to as a model. This reinforces the findings from Chapter 5 that, at least in Cambodia, China and Australia are contributing to the formation of not only different elites, but different elites with different attitudes.

Chapter 9 explores these same issues using qualitative data to generate deeper insights.

Chapter 9: Chinese and Australian Scholarships and Attitudes:

Qualitative Analysis

9.1. Introduction

Chapter 8 explored the impact of Chinese and Australian scholarships on Cambodian scholars' political and economic attitudes taking a quantitative approach. This chapter examines the same question using a qualitative approach.

In summary, the interviews with Cambodian scholars are consistent with the quantitative analysis and are particularly useful in conveying the greater influence from the time spent in China. Based on the interviews, I argue that the Chinese experience is more influential in shaping attitudes in part because prior to departure students had a more negative view of China, and in part because the students who go to China are younger, and more open to persuasion.

The rest of this chapter is organized as follows. Section 9.2 recaps the research question and method. Section 9.3 presents the findings for Chinese students and Section 9.4 for Australian students. Section 9.5 concludes.

9.2. Research question and method

I utilized semi-structured interviews with 21 Cambodian scholars studying in China and 15 studying in Australia to better understand the impact, or the lack thereof, of the scholarships on individual scholars' political and economic attitudes. For a detailed description and explanation for the research design and research participants see Chapter 3, Section 3.3 and 3.6. Note that in the case of China, since many of the interviews were through focus groups, it was not possible to tally views. This chapter tries to distinguish for both groups of students between what appeared to be common or majority and unusual or minority views. Given limitations of space, and the fact that the students had already been in China or Australia for some time, I focus the analysis on the students' responses in relation to how their views had changed.

The semi-structured, in-depth qualitative interviews were based around these questions:

- A. Tell me about your thinking on the following subjects. I want to know, first, what you think about the topic and then whether your life in China (or Australia) has influenced your thoughts on each of these topics.
 - 1. Cambodia should aspire to be a democracy.
 - 2. Corruption is a big obstacle to development in Cambodia.
 - 3. The government should be very involved in the economy.

- B. Tell me about your thinking about these countries as models for Cambodia. I want to know first what you think about them and then whether your life in China (or Australia) has influenced your thinking in relation to the suitability of these countries as models for Cambodia.
 - 1. Australia
 - 2. China
 - 3. Singapore
 - 4. United States

9.3. Findings: Chinese scholarship holders

9.3.1. Chinese scholarship holder attitudes towards democracy

There were a wide range of perspectives on the importance of democracy for Cambodia. For a small number, Cambodia should follow democracy at any costs and in any circumstances. Most had more nuanced views.

Consistent with the quantitative analysis (Table 8.6), most scholars indicated that their time in China had been influential and had indeed reduced their support for democracy. In the words of one student, C6:

Before coming to China, I preferred democracy, but my thinking has changed now: I now think that it doesn't matter what regime we have, as long as the leaders love the nation, know how to develop the country, value the educated, and give more opportunities to the youth. Now, I think that a communist system is not that bad. China doesn't completely limit the rights of its people. It is not an outright dictatorship. So yes, my thinking has changed a lot compared to what it was one year ago.

However, there were also a small number of Cambodian scholars who did not view the Chinese regime positively. CS11 believed that being in China helped shaped his thinking, but in the opposite direction, in favor of democracy:

I also met people from democratic countries here, and I found that their thinking and knowledge are wide and deep. But the Chinese know only what is within China. They are like a frog in a well. They don't have broad knowledge; maybe it is because of their government's bans on access to western media. So being here makes me even more convinced that democracy is a good regime.

The younger, undergraduate Cambodian scholars, together with postgraduate students of engineering, tended to be the most likely to report major changes in their attitudes and to regard authoritarianism more favorably than others. The younger scholars were less exposed to Western countries and their culture prior to their study in China and therefore were more excited and easily influenced by their experiences in China. And the engineering and science postgraduates may have had limited exposure to democratic concepts and theories in their prior studies. On the other hand, those students studying the social sciences seemed to be less influenced by China.

Many scholars were candid during the interviews that they did not fully understand democracy and had limited awareness of how Chinese society and economy were actually organized. Nevertheless, while their awareness of the issues might be superficial, based on the interviews, Cambodian scholars' support for democracy clearly declined as a result of their time in China.

9.3.2. Chinese scholarship holder attitudes towards combating corruption

Consistent with the quantitative analysis (Table 8.10), all the Cambodian scholars I interviewed believed that reducing corruption was a top priority because it was a big obstacle to development in Cambodia.

Most students were already strongly opposed to corruption even prior to departure. However, some confided that what they had seen on the Chinese handling of corruption had been influential. CS11 suggested:

Even if China is a communist country, it is very tough on corruption. When I watched TV, there was news about sentencing corrupt people. I thought that if Cambodia took the same measures as China did, it would be good. They arrested top-level officials.

CS6 reported that when Xi Jinping came to power, he fired half of the country's ministers linked with corruption because he knew corruption blocked Chinese development. CS12 also added that in China, there was no cheating during the exams. "They are very strict. Corruption in China exists but is very small."

CS19 suggested that Cambodia should learn from China about tackling corruption. He pointed out: "Corruption in Cambodia is a big obstacle. If there are heavy penalties on corruption like life sentences, like in China, there would be less corruption, because everyone would be afraid."

9.3.3. Chinese scholarship holder attitudes towards the role of the state in the economy

Many Chinese scholarship holders believed that the state should be involved in the economy. This was for a range of reasons: to promote economic growth and development, but also for reasons related to economic equity and autonomy. None of them, however, suggested that the Cambodian government should fully control the economy or transform the Cambodian economy into a planned economy.

Consistent with Table 8.14, several Chinese scholars seemed to have changed their view as a result of their time in China and had become more supportive of government intervention as a result. CS14 put it this way:

When I first arrived in China, I began to realize why Cambodia is poor and China is rich. This is because the Cambodian state doesn't create its own businesses. If the Cambodian state does business, we can become as rich as the Chinese state. We should see China as a model. Most of the Chinese enterprises are owned by the states. So the money goes to the state. I discovered this only when I arrived in China. We are weak in this area; that is why we are poor.

CS11 seemed to agree. "I think service in the Chinese state-owned enterprises is good. If our government has real commitment, we should follow China. But if we are not committed, there will be corruption and the economy will deteriorate."

However, the scholarships have also encouraged Cambodian scholars to become more aware of the downsides of an excessive role for government in the economy. CS9 put it as follows:

During the *Mao Tse Tung* era, the economy was nationalized. Everything must be owned by the state. So the economy collapsed. When Deng Xiaoping opened the economy to free trade and private companies, the economy recovered.

9.3.4. Chinese scholarship holder attitudes towards development models

The previous chapter showed that spending time in China didn't increase the number who thought China should be a model for Cambodia (Table 8.18). However, it was only a minority of students who had this view prior to departure, and what the time in China did seem to do was to make scholars take a more balanced, less negative view of China.

CS1 thought that he wanted Cambodia to follow China because he was in China. "I don't know much about Australia, but I know a lot about China. I think we should follow China because the country produces most of own products so the money stays within China and thus China can develop very fast."

CS20 seemed to agree and went on at some length to argue as follows:

If we look at Chinese politics, it is communist. But it has good leadership and governance. Their leaders put the national interests first. This is rare. Look at some free countries, they have elections, but their leaders are clinging to power like Turkey. They want to be in office for more than two mandates. But the Chinese also change their leaders. It is communist, but its economy is free. Russia is not as good as China in terms of economic governance, despite their similar political regimes. Some countries like Venezuela want to learn from China. They want to modify capitalism and adopt the Chinese system. It is rare that a country can be both communist and capitalist. The Chinese can do it. It is admirable.

CS1 thought that coming to China changed him a lot. "Before coming to China, I thought China was a bad country. Not really bad, but communist, which we don't like. However, when we arrived, we see that China is developed. We changed our views towards China."

CS2 agreed. When he came to China, he saw that there were many areas where Cambodia could learn from China. "It changed our mindsets. Before, we always hated China." CS3 concurred: "In Cambodia, we hated everything that is Chinese. Before, we had the misconception that Chinese products are bad; that Japanese ones are good. But now we are here we have changed our minds."

CS5 confided:

In Cambodia, when we heard about China, about communism, we thought that it is not good, because according to our history, millions of Cambodians died during the Pol Pot communist, genocidal regime in the 1970s, and because of that, whenever we hear about communists, we are afraid of them. So our mindset was against communism. And that makes Cambodians dislike China.

CS9 also thought that studying in China changed his thinking:

We changed our views because of what we see. When we see things, our brain engages. When we first arrived in China, we were also afraid of China. But the longer we have stayed in the country and the more we have understood it, the more we have changed our thinking. Now we have completely changed our view that communism is bad. Because of our sour history, we tend to blame China. Everything bad about Cambodia is because of China.

9.4. Findings: Australian scholarship holders

9.4.1. Australian scholarship holder attitudes towards democracy

A small majority of Australian scholarship holders were already strong supporters of democracy. This and the fact that most of them had already been exposed to foreign countries and their cultures through prior academic exchanges and/or study trips limited the influence of their time in Australia. AS11 said: “I think my time in here does not influence my thinking at all. Because, before I came here, I also took field visits to China and other countries. So I understood what to expect. I can compare democracy and communism.” AS12 agreed: “There is no impact on me. I always think that democracy is good. I am not involved in Australian politics. I only see that Australia has more freedoms and rights and development than our country. I always believed in democracy.” AS15 concurred: “My view has not changed. Maybe, it is because I study economics, or because I have been to France already. But France is not really a democracy; it’s more like a social democracy. Or maybe of my past backgrounds, I used to work with foreigners (Westerners) and was exposed to the idea of democracy.”

For others, however, being in Australia did affect their thinking and pushed them further in favour of democracy (which is consistent with the quantitative analysis – see Table 8.7). AS1 said: “I think being in Australia is very helpful for my understanding of democracy in practice. It is affecting my thinking. I have become more confident about democracy because I see democracy with my own eyes; democracy in action.” AS2 agreed: “Being here is influencing me to some extent. It helps me to think more critically, because I see what is happening in Australia.”

AS8 concurred:

I think yes [my time in Australia has strengthened my views in democracy], but because I am used to working with and being exposed to Westerners and going to

foreign [Western] countries on a scholarship, my thinking has been changed for a long time. My life in Australia allows me to further interact and exposes me to Australia and allows me to learn even more about Australia and democracy. For example, Australia is a developed country. I'm not too sure how democratic Australia is, because I cannot measure it, but if compared with Cambodia, Australia is far ahead of us in term of democracy. But I think my experience changes me. I have become more supportive of democracy. I see that Australia is developed and I want Cambodia to be as developed as Australia. Australia is very good at law enforcement, like road traffic law enforcement. A fine is fine, regardless of who the violators are.

Finally, a few recognized Australia's democratic achievements, but cautioned regarding applicability to Cambodia. AS7 said:

My prior thinking based on my prior reading and listening is confirmed when I'm here. Yes, Australia does exactly what was written in the books about what democracy is. I see that most democracies are making progress. But we cannot copy and paste democracy here to Cambodia. Contextualization is important.

9.4.2. Australian scholarship holder attitudes towards combating corruption

Cambodian scholars to Australia already had strong views about corruption and the importance of combatting it prior to departure.

To sum up, almost all Cambodian scholars believed that it was a top priority to combat corruption in Cambodia, and again Australian scholarships seemed to have a limited influence.

Some scholars said that their time in Australia had reinforced their views. AS3 said: "My thinking patterns have changed now. I am more committed to reducing corruption and to improving productivity." AS8 agreed: "In my daily life, I can see what an uncorrupt country is like. I see that everyone respects the rules and the officials. In Cambodia, people don't respect the rules and the officials, because, for example, they can bribe the officials when they violate the traffic laws." AS7 had similar views: "Being here shaped my thinking to some extent. I found that everything here is transparent. We can access public information. The Australian system discourages people from engaging in corrupt practices." AS12 also strengthened his views when he saw that Australian public servants did not demand under the table payments. "For public service fees in Cambodia, the public servants overcharge. But in Australia, no, there is no such overcharge. They charge according to the published fee."

Another student made the perceptive point that it was the limits to rather than absence of corruption that was important in comparing Cambodia and Australia. AS4 explained:

Before I came here, I saw corruption in Cambodia. But when I came here, I saw that corruption also existed in Australia. I was like a frog in a well, when I was in Cambodia: I cannot see the outside world. But when I came here, I realized that corruption existed everywhere. Who says that developed country has no corruption? But their corruption is different from ours. For example, for international students, to work as a cleaner or an unskilled office worker, we need connections with the right people. I see that people with the right connections get jobs. But I observe one major difference: despite the connection, the people who are hired through networks must also be competent and able to do the job.

9.4.3. Australian scholarship holder attitudes towards the role of the government in the economy

Consistent with the quantitative analysis, many students indicated little or no impact from their time in Australia with regard to their thinking on the role of the government in the economy. For some it wasn't their focus, and others had prior well-formed views. For example, AS8 said that she became only marginally more supportive of the role of the state in the economy because she focused on disabilities, not economics, in her studies. Likewise, AS5 said that he completely supported the role of the state, but not because of his time in Australia.

I don't think my time here has changed me. I have this thinking since when I was in Cambodia.

However, there were a few students who reported that they had actually become *more* supportive of the role of the state in the economy. This was because they saw that the Australian government was effective. AS11 said:

Yes, I think my time here influences me a lot. I look at the Australian economy and its driver. Sometimes it is interesting to see how this [Australian] government works to ensure that there is no corruption, and how they use the money, so that they achieve their objectives and goals.

A few others went the other way. AS7 said:

Yes, being here influences me to some extent. Before, I thought that the government should do everything, like being the arbitrator, coordinator, leader, pusher and supporter in the economy. Now I think that the government should give some autonomy to the private sector, not fully controlling the economy. Maybe the reading and lectures in here affected me.

9.4.4. Australian scholarship holder attitudes towards development models

The scholarships have done little to fundamentally increase students' support for the Australian development model, though for many it reinforced their prior views. For instance, AS1 said: "I always thought that Australia is a good country, but coming here reinforced my thinking, making me more confident about my prior choice." AS7 agreed: "Before I had only read and heard about Australian public and welfare services, but now that I see and use these services I know their quality. This shapes my thinking." AS8 concurred, saying: "The Cambodian government should subsidize its healthcare system. I just want the government to implement this policy in the same way as the Australian government does. I think I have changed in this regard. When I saw Australian government policies, I wanted the Cambodian government to implement them. I also wanted Cambodia to have transparency, freedom of expression, and free and fair elections like Australia."

However, a few Cambodian scholars are of the view that Australian scholarships have actually decreased their support for Australian and western development models. AS15 confided:

I think I have changed. Before, I thought we should follow Western or Australian development models or Japan. But now I am here, I think every country has a different context, history, culture and leadership style. When I listen and read about China, Singapore and Australia, I changed. We cannot adopt everything from every country; we need to learn from the good aspects of each country. Before, I thought that China is communist and dictatorial, but when I look at its economic governance and leadership styles, I think we can learn something from it, especially on its economy or economic transition.

AS13 also believed that coming to Australia has decreased his support for the Australian development model.

I think that my time in Australia has had some influence on my thinking. I learned a lot about Australia, especially its weak points. I used to admire Australia before I came here, but coming here, I now realize that Australia has nothing: no local or national brands, no products that can compete with imported products. Australia is too dependent on its extractive industries. Australia is going in the wrong direction. It is not a very successful economy.

AS4 explained how she changed her attitudes: "There is influence through friends and social networks. We can learn about other countries' economy and politics and compare them with ours. So we got new ideas." AS3 concurred: "In terms of the economy, Singapore is good. Last year, I never thought about which country we should emulate. Now, I have more

information. Second, I can map the four countries' situation. So the scholarship helps me think better."

9.5. Discussion and conclusion

Overall, most Cambodian scholars believed that their time in China had changed their attitudes towards China, its development model and culture in a fundamental way. While this was true across all types of students, even though the sample size is small, it did seem that the younger scholars and those studying engineering were the ones whose attitudes were most impacted. Cambodian scholars in Hangzhou appeared to be more positive than their fellows in Beijing, partly because Beijing is more environmentally polluted than Hangzhou.

The impact of the scholarships to China is magnified by the fact that the scholars have been previously exposed to starkly different views about China from their older generation, who have bleak memories of China during the 1970s for its controversial role in the rise of the Khmer Rouge genocidal regime (Gottesman 2004). One student, CS20, made this point particularly clearly:

Some elders in Cambodia fear for us. They told us that China repressed and handcuffed its people, because it was communist and that its people lived in collective groups, that the Chinese got rice and meat from the state and didn't own properties, that the Chinese were dreadfully poor, and that they didn't have rice to eat. But when we came to China, we saw that China is completely different from what our elders told us. What the elders told us was right, but right for China of the 1970s. But they don't know a lot about today's China.

It was interesting that many scholars who said that their views had changed admitted that they lacked a deep understanding of China and its development model. It may be that that scholarship, and the positive experience, and the resulting sense of loyalty and obligation, are as much the cause for the change in views as the opportunity to engage in detailed study of another society. As one student put it:

I don't like the Chinese people very much. But when I heard our elders asking mockingly why I am going to study in China when it is a communist country, I felt defensive about China. I got angry with them. I wondered why they thought like this. Because China is an economic superpower, I felt like siding with the Chinese. I think that I am influenced by the sense of belonging here. I felt like I am a part of Chinese society. When people criticize Chinese society, even though I don't like China very much, I felt unease in my heart. At least I thought China is good to some extent; it is not as bad as what other people think. I think the gifts from China and its people, like this scholarship, influenced my thinking on China.

Overall, time in Australia seemed to be less influential for Cambodian scholars. As AS6 put it: “No, being here does not affect my thinking very much. I think I am used to thinking about this topic [combating corruption] for some time. There may be some effects when I see their people [Australians] living a good life because their society has low corruption.”

This might be because Cambodian Australian scholars tended to be significantly older and had been more exposed to foreign countries through travel. As a consequence, their views were more firmly established and they were less easily swayed by their recent experiences. The exception, however, concerns attitudes to democracy. This might be because a significant minority of the scholars were skeptical about democracy prior to coming to Australia and thus there was room for the scholarships to exert some influence. As one student put it:

Yes, it is normal that living in a democratic country such as Australia influences our mindset. First, living in Cambodia, I was difficult to express myself. Here, people are satisfied with their government policies and performance; they can express themselves to provide constructive criticism to the government. We should try to adopt that in Cambodia.

Chapter 10: Conclusion

10.1. Introduction

Chapter 1 provided a broad overview of OECD and Chinese aid, and a brief introduction to Cambodia and scholarships. Chapter 2 surveyed the literature and identified the research gaps needing to be filled. Building on this, Chapter 3 formulated the research questions for the thesis and set out the research methods that would be used to answer those questions. Chapters 4 to 9 presented the dissertation's empirical findings. This final chapter summarizes those findings, discusses their implications for the literature and for policy makers, acknowledges the limitations of the research, and sets out an agenda for future research.

The chapter is organized as follows. Section 10.2 sums up the research findings. Section 10.3 discusses the implications of the research findings for the literature and for policy makers. Section 10.4 comments on the limitations of this research and how they could be overcome by further work. Finally, section 10.5 concludes the thesis.

10.2. Research findings

This section summarizes the key findings of the dissertation by presenting the answers to the five questions the thesis posed in Chapter 3.

To what extent and in what ways do Cambodia's Australian and Chinese scholarships differ? Chapter 4 showed that, compared to Australian scholarships, Chinese scholarships are less prescriptive, more merit-based, less generous, more focused on engineering and management, longer, and mainly rather than entirely postgraduate. These differences are consistent with broader differences in Chinese and Western aid.

To what extent and in what ways do Cambodia's Australian and Chinese scholars differ? Chapter 5 found that both sets of scholarship holders come from similar social backgrounds, but also that there are three differences. First, a minority of Chinese scholarship holders are better connected with the Cambodian ruling party. Second, Australian scholarship holders are

much more likely to work in civil society (35 per cent versus 6 per cent) and Chinese scholarship holders in the private sector (53 per cent versus 31 per cent). Third, Australian scholarship holders are on average six-to-seven years older than Chinese scholarship holders and are much more likely to have already been overseas (88 per cent versus 42 per cent).

How useful are Australian and Chinese scholarships for their recipients? Chapter 6 concluded that both scholarships are perceived to be useful by the respective alumni. Australian scholarships are perceived to be significantly more useful than Chinese scholarships in relation to skills, especially soft skills. They are also perceived to be more helpful for career and broader impact, but these differences tend not to be significant.

To what extent and in what ways do Cambodia's Australian and Chinese scholars in-country experiences differ? Chapter 7 found that Cambodian scholars to both countries are positive about their overseas academic and life experiences. While the scholars in Australia seem more satisfied in absolute terms, the scholars in China seem more satisfied relative to their prior expectations.

Finally, what influence do Australian and Chinese scholarships have on Cambodian scholars' political and economic attitudes? The quantitative evidence presented in Chapter 8 shows, surprisingly, that attitudes between scholarship holders diverge even prior to departure for study. Chinese scholars were, at the pre-departure stage, more supportive of democracy (perhaps because of a lower understanding of what it entailed), less worried about corruption, more supportive of government intervention, and tended to look to China as a model for Cambodia. In some ways, views converged while the scholars were overseas, with the Chinese scholars becoming more skeptical about democracy and more concerned with corruption, and the Australian scholars perhaps becoming more open to government intervention. Comparing the two groups a year into the scholarship, the difference that remains statistically significant is that Chinese scholarship holders continue to look at China as model and Australian scholarship holders to the Australian model.

The in-country interviews with Cambodian scholars, summarized in Chapter 9, are particularly useful in conveying the greater influence from the time spent in China. In some regards, the influence was as might be expected – reducing the commitment of students to democracy and increasing their willingness to consider a more extensive role for government

in the economy. In other ways, the change was unexpected, making them more convinced of the importance of combatting corruption. The time in Australia was less influential, though it did seem to increase the commitment of students to democracy. I argue that the Chinese experience is more influential in shaping attitudes in part because prior to departure students had a more negative view of China and, in part, because the students who go to China are younger and more open to persuasion.

To conclude this summary, I relate the findings back to the overriding interest of the thesis in how different country's scholarships impact governance by influencing the relative power and thinking of elites. Chapter 3 argued that different scholarships might differentially affect governance differently in two ways. One, the scholarships might support a particular social or political group, and different scholarships might support different groups with different levels of effectiveness. Two, the scholarships might influence the outlook of the group selected, and different scholarship might influence thinking in different ways.

The thesis detected both mechanisms at work. The two types of scholarships do seem to support different elite groups, with China's scholarships geared more to the private sector elite and better connected to the ruling party. Second, the two scholarships do have a differential impact, with Australian scholarships seen to be more useful by their recipients, mainly in relation to skill acquisition. Third, the two scholarships affect attitudes differently. Combining the qualitative and quantitative research, the scholarships seem to affect in particular the choice of country the scholars look to as a model (or at least, for whatever reason, the two groups end up with different views) and the Chinese scholarships are particularly influential in shaping views towards China, but also more broadly.

If elites shape governance, and different elites shape governance differently, then different scholarships matter for the future of Cambodia's governance.

10.3. Contribution to the literature and policy implications

This section discusses the implications of the findings for the literature and for policy makers.

With regard to contributions to the literature, this is the first comparative study of scholarships, the first to go beyond reliance on retrospective surveys, and the first to attempt

before and after and control group comparisons. Looking beyond scholarships, it is also the first study to compare OECD and non-OECD aid of the same sort.

Substantively, the study confirms the cross-country findings of Spilimbergo (2009) and Atkinson (2010) regarding the importance of scholarships for governance using a more direct, case-study approach. This is important, since cross-country findings such as the two above are always vulnerable to the problem of omitted variables. For example, in the case of Spilimbergo (2009), it might be that countries that sent more scholars to democratic countries while authoritarian were less authoritarian than countries that sent fewer. This study suggests that the causal interpretation placed by Spilimbergo (2009) and Atkinson (2010) is correct: scholarships do indeed matter for governance.

The thesis has a number of policy implications and gives rise to a number of questions for policy makers from all three countries: Cambodia, Australia and China.

The most consequential implications of this study are for Cambodia's policy makers. Whatever the benefits of scholarships for individuals and for the economy, this study suggests that scholarships also have the potential to shape the trajectory of Cambodia's future development. Simply put, the growth of scholarships to China (see Figure 4.1) is likely to make Cambodia more like China.

Australian policy makers need to recognize that the influence of Australian scholarships is at risk because of the fact that Chinese scholars are so much younger, and that they are better connected to government, and better represented in Cambodia's booming private sector. As China grows in prestige and Chinese scholarship numbers grow, increasingly Cambodia's best and brightest may choose to go to China rather than wait and try for an Australian scholarship. This raises the question of whether Australia should consider removing the work experience requirement and/or offering undergraduate scholarships to get younger students, especially bearing in mind that influence is more easily exercised in relation to the younger and less well travelled. Australia could also consider making engineering more of a priority to attract those who are interested in a private sector career and, consequently, to reduce its focus on the NGO sector.

Chinese policy makers should be concerned by the fact that Chinese scholarships are seen as less useful than Australian scholarships and should look at ways to raise the quality and relevance of the scholarship study experience.

10.4. Limitations and future research

This research has attempted to use a range of research designs and data collection methods to generate rigorous, internally valid results. Despite its innovations, the research suffers from a number of limitations, some of which could be overcome by further research.

First, the thesis only examines the one-year causal effects of the scholarships. The longer the scholars stay in the host countries, the more the influence the scholarships are likely to have on the scholars' attitudes. We assume that these influences persist but it would be good to test this.

Second, there is clearly a difference between perceived utility and actual utility. Whether Australian scholarships actually are more useful than Chinese ones for their recipients would be very difficult to test other than by asking the actual recipients, but we should remain cognizant of the limitations of this line of research.

Overall, the thesis has introduced new ways of studying scholarships. These should be further enhanced and replicated to build on and strengthen the findings of this thesis. In particular, it would be good to replicate this study for other cohorts and countries (recipient and donor) to test and hopefully strengthen external validity. It would also be useful to track the group of students already surveyed in this thesis and see how their views evolve on return to Cambodia.

10.5. Conclusion

There is a huge interest in the differences and similarities between OECD and Chinese aid but there are very few comparative studies. The few comparative studies that exist are macro studies. Case studies are nonexistent. This research has taken a case study approach to study OECD and Chinese aid by comparing and exploring a range of topics pertinent to Australian and Chinese scholarships to Cambodia. Its key finding is that Australian and Chinese

scholarships have been supporting the emergence of two different elite groups, positioned differently in the Cambodian social and economic structure, and with divergent views. Scholarships do indeed appear to matter for governance, and Chinese and Australian or OECD scholarships are working in different directions.

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Annex 1

Table 6.13a: Use of technical skills and knowledge: bivariate analysis

			In your current job, how often do you use the following knowledge / skills you obtained during your studies in Australia or China?					Total
			i. Technical/subject matter skills and knowledge (related to your course content)					
			I did not gain those skills in Australia or China	Never	Infrequently (a few times a year)	Occasionally (monthly)	Regularly (daily or weekly)	
What scholarship did you receive?	Chinese scholarships	Count	6	2	11	14	13	46
		%	13.0%	4.3%	23.9%	30.4%	28.3%	100.0%
	Australian scholarships	Count	2	2	10	32	45	91
		%	2.2%	2.2%	11.0%	35.2%	49.5%	100.0%
Total		Count	8	4	21	46	58	137
		%	5.8%	2.9%	15.3%	33.6%	42.3%	100.0%

Pearson Chi-2 = 13.412

Pr = 0.009

Table 6.13b: Use of technical skills and knowledge: multivariate analysis

Use of technical skills	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z
Scholarships	1.669	0.529	3.16	0.002
Total years since returning home	0.156	0.095	1.65	0.1
Gender	0.427	0.577	0.74	0.459
Types of workplace				
Private sector	0.940	0.587	1.6	0.11
Civil society	0.171	0.585	0.29	0.77
Constant	-0.769	0.619	-1.24	0.214
Summary statistics				
Log pseudolikelihood = -57.602				
Number of obs = 126				
Wald chi2 = 20.78				
Prob > chi2 = 0.0009				
Pseudo R2 = 0.137				

Note : Table reports the results of a binary logistic regression. See Section 6.2 for details.

Table 6.14a: Use of analytical skills: bivariate analysis

			In your current job, how often do you use the following knowledge / skills you obtained during your studies in Australia or China?					Total
			ii. Analytical and critical thinking skills					
			I did not gain those skills in Australia or China	Never	Infrequently (a few times a year)	Occasionally (monthly)	Regularly (daily or weekly)	
What scholarship did you receive?	Chinese scholarships	Count	4	5	14	14	11	48
		%	8.3%	10.4%	29.2%	29.2%	22.9%	100.0%
	Australasian scholarships	Count	2	0	8	22	59	91
		%	2.2%	0.0%	8.8%	24.2%	64.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	6	5	22	36	70	139
		%	4.3%	3.6%	15.8%	25.9%	50.4%	100.0%

Pearson Chi-2 = 31.729

Pr = 0.000

Table 6.14b: Use of analytical skills: multivariate analysis

Use of analytical skills	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z
Scholarships	2.041	0.501	4.07	0
Total years since returning home	0.155	0.083	1.86	0.063
Gender	0.893	0.532	1.68	0.094
Types of workplace				
Private sector	0.388	0.549	0.71	0.48
Civil society	1.065	0.667	1.6	0.11
Constant	-1.398	0.610	-2.29	0.022
Summary statistics				
Log pseudolikelihood = -54.561				
Number of obs	= 127			
Wald chi2	= 27.56			
Prob > chi2	= 0.000			
Pseudo R2	= 0.214			

Note : Table reports the results of a binary logistic regression. See Section 6.2 for details.

Table 6.15a: Use of leadership skills: bivariate analysis

			In your current job, how often do you use the following knowledge / skills you obtained during your studies in Australia or China?					Total
			iii. Leadership skills					
			I did not gain those skills in Australia or China	Never	Infrequently (a few times a year)	Occasionally (monthly)	Regularly (daily or weekly)	
What scholarship did you receive?	Chinese scholarships	Count	7	2	14	11	13	47
		%	14.9%	4.3%	29.8%	23.4%	27.7%	100.0%
	Australian scholarships	Count	3	1	14	26	47	91
		%	3.3%	1.1%	15.4%	28.6%	51.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	10	3	28	37	60	138
		%	7.2%	2.2%	20.3%	26.8%	43.5%	100.0%

Pearson Chi-2 = 14.752 Pr = 0.005

Table 6.15b: Use of leadership skills: multivariate analysis

Use of leadership skills	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z
Scholarships	1.331	0.476	2.8	0.005
Total years since returning home	-0.009	0.065	-0.14	0.885
Gender	0.391	0.479	0.82	0.414
Types of workplace				
Private sector	0.196	0.497	0.39	0.694
Civil society	0.500	0.544	0.92	0.358
Constant	-0.339	0.583	-0.58	0.561
Summary statistics				
Log pseudolikelihood = -68.771				
Number of obs	= 126			
Wald chi2	= 11.82			
Prob > chi2	= 0.037			
Pseudo R2	= 0.076			

Note : Table reports the results of a binary logistic regression. See Section 6.2 for details.

Table 6.16a: Use of management skills: bivariate analysis

			In your current job, how often do you use the following knowledge / skills you obtained during your studies in Australia or China?					Total
			iv. Management skills					
			I did not gain those skills in Australia or China	Never	Infrequently (a few times a year)	Occasionally (monthly)	Regularly (daily or weekly)	
What scholarship did you receive?	Chinese scholarships	Count	6	3	11	11	15	46
		%	13.0%	6.5%	23.9%	23.9%	32.6%	100.0%
	Australian scholarships	Count	4	0	12	25	49	90
		%	4.4%	0.0%	13.3%	27.8%	54.4%	100.0%
Total		Count	10	3	23	36	64	136
		%	7.4%	2.2%	16.9%	26.5%	47.1%	100.0%

Pearson Chi-2 = 14.202

Pr = 0.007

Table 6.16b: Use of management skills: multivariate analysis

Use of management skills	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z
Scholarships	1.203	0.486	2.48	0.013
Total years since returning home	0.020	0.059	0.33	0.739
Gender	0.771	0.490	1.57	0.116
Types of workplace				
Private sector	0.022	0.517	0.04	0.966
Civil society	0.385	0.558	0.69	0.49
Constant	-0.339	0.561	-0.6	0.546
Summary statistics				
Log pseudolikelihood = -63.626				
Number of obs = 124				
Wald chi2 = 10.72				
Prob > chi2 = 0.057				
Pseudo R2 = 0.073				

Note : Table reports the results of a binary logistic regression. See Section 6.2 for details.

Table 6.17a: Use of communication skills: bivariate analysis

			In your current job, how often do you use the following knowledge / skills you obtained during your studies in Australia or China?					
			v. Communication skills (including English or Chinese language skills)					
			I did not gain those skills in Australia or China	Never	Infrequently (a few times a year)	Occasionally (monthly)	Regularly (daily or weekly)	Total
What scholarship did you receive?	Chinese scholarships	Count	3	1	11	12	21	48
		%	6.3%	2.1%	22.9%	25.0%	43.8%	100.0%
	Australian scholarships	Count	1	2	6	18	64	91
		%	1.1%	2.2%	6.6%	19.8%	70.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	4	3	17	30	85	139
		%	2.9%	2.2%	12.2%	21.6%	61.2%	100.0%

Pearson Chi-2 = 13.773

Pr = 0.008

Table 6.17b: Use of communication skills: multivariate analysis

Use of communication skills	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z
Scholarships	1.043	0.490	2.13	0.033
Total years since returning home	0.073	0.096	0.75	0.45
Gender	-0.143	0.618	-0.23	0.817
Types of workplace				
Private sector	0.168	0.531	0.32	0.751
Civil society	1.281	0.852	1.5	0.133
Constant	0.603	0.704	0.86	0.392
Summary statistics				
Log pseudolikelihood = -51.133				
Number of obs	= 127			
Wald chi2	= 7.73			
Prob > chi2	= 0.172			
Pseudo R2	= 0.102			

Note : Table reports the results of a binary logistic regression. See Section 6.2 for details.

Table 6.18a: Use of cross-cultural skills: bivariate analysis

			In your current job, how often do you use the following knowledge / skills you obtained during your studies in Australia or China?					Total
			vi. Cross-cultural skills"					
			I did not gain those skills in Australia or China	Never	Infrequently (a few times a year)	Occasionally (monthly)	Regularly (daily or weekly)	
What scholarship did you receive?	Chinese scholarships	Count	3	3	12	20	9	47
		%	6.4%	6.4%	25.5%	42.6%	19.1%	100.0%
	Australian scholarships	Count	1	0	17	33	40	91
		%	1.1%	0.0%	18.7%	36.3%	44.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	4	3	29	53	49	138
		%	2.9%	2.2%	21.0%	38.4%	35.5%	100.0%

Pearson Chi-2 = 15.177

Pr = 0.004

Table 6.18b: Use of cross-cultural skills: multivariate analysis

Use of cross-cultural skills	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z
Scholarships	0.663	0.479	1.38	0.167
Total years since returning home	-0.027	0.061	-0.45	0.656
Gender	-0.926	0.615	-1.5	0.133
Types of workplace				
Private sector	0.321	0.513	0.63	0.532
Civil society	0.898	0.568	1.58	0.114
Constant	1.151	0.669	1.72	0.085
Summary statistics				
Log pseudolikelihood = -66.397				
Number of obs = 126				
Wald chi2 = 9.88				
Prob > chi2 = 0.079				
Pseudo R2 = 0.070				

Note : Table reports the results of a binary logistic regression. See Section 6.2 for details.

Appendix 1

A. Cambodian Australian and Chinese Scholarship Recipients' Survey: Characteristics

[This survey was sent to Cambodian Australian and Chinese scholars who were currently in Australia or China in 2016.]

A. Selection

1. What scholarship do you receive?

- ☐ Australia Awards Scholarship
- ☐ Chinese Government Scholarship
- ☐ Other (please specify)

2. In what year did you win the scholarship?

- ☐ 2014
- ☐ 2015
- ☐ 2016
- ☐ Other (please specify)

3. What is your gender?

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

4. What was your age when you applied for the scholarship?

- ☐ 18-25
- ☐ 25-30
- ☐ 30-35
- ☐ 35 and above

5. Where did you grow up?

- ☐ Phnom Penh
- ☐ Battambang City
- ☐ Siem Reap City
- ☐ Sihanoukville
- ☐ Another urban area
- ☐ Countryside
- ☐ If other urban area or countryside, please specify:

6. What do your parents earn in a year (if both parents work, give their combined income)?

- ☐ US\$200-US\$400
- ☐ US\$400-US\$750
- ☐ US\$750-US\$2,000
- ☐ US\$2,000-US\$10,000
- ☐ US\$10,000-US\$50,000
- ☐ US\$50,000 and above

7. What is your father's occupation?

- ☐ Civil servant
- ☐ Businessperson
- ☐ Does not do paid work
- ☐ Other (please specify)

8. What is your mother's occupation?

- ☐ Civil servant
- ☐ Businessperson
- ☐ Does not do paid work
- ☐ Other (please specify)

9. Where did you receive your last degree prior to commencing your scholarship program?

- ☐ Royal University of Phnom Penh
- ☐ Royal University of Law and Economics
- ☐ National University of Management
- ☐ Panasastra University of Cambodia
- ☐ Royal University of Agriculture
- ☐ Other (please specify)

10. In terms of your academic performance at your last university, in which category would you classify yourself?

- ☐ Top 1% of your class
- ☐ Top 5% of your class
- ☐ Top 10% of your class
- ☐ Top 25% of your class
- ☐ Other (please specify)

11. Were you part of any groups, associations or societies when applying for the scholarship?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

12. If yes to question 11, do you belong to one or many of the following groups?

- ☐ University Student Association
- ☐ Junior Chamber International (JCI) Cambodia
- ☐ Union Youth Federations of Cambodia (UYFC)
- ☐ Other (please specify)

13. Were you working when you applied for the scholarship?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

14. If you were working, where did you work?

- ☐ Public sector organisation
- ☐ Private company
- ☐ Foreign-owned company
- ☐ Joint-venture
- ☐ Civil society organisation or NGO
- ☐ International non-profit organisation / INGO
- ☐ Foreign-funded project
- ☐ Multilateral aid agency (e.g. UNDP, World Bank)
- ☐ Foreign embassy/consulate
- ☐ Other (please specify)

15. If public sector, which of the following best describes the main types of activities conducted by your employer?

- ☐ Government administration (central ministries, provincial departments)
- ☐ Research institute
- ☐ Teaching institute (university, college or school)
- ☐ Health services (hospital or clinic)
- ☐ State-owned enterprise
- ☐ Other (please specify)

16. If you were working, how much did you earn per month?

- ☐ US\$100-US\$250
- ☐ US\$250-US\$500
- ☐ US\$500-US\$1,000
- ☐ US\$1,000-US\$2,000
- ☐ US\$2,000 and above

17. If you were working, how many years have you worked (in your latest and any earlier jobs combined)?

- ☐ 1-2 years
- ☐ 2-3 years
- ☐ 3-4 years
- ☐ 4-5 years
- ☐ More than 5 years

18. How long is your scholarship for?

- ☐ Less than 1 year
- ☐ 1 year
- ☐ 1.5 years
- ☐ 2 years
- ☐ 3 years
- ☐ More than 3 years

19. What is the degree you are studying for?

- ☐ Undergraduate
- ☐ Masters
- ☐ PhD
- ☐ Other (please specify)

20. What area were your most recent studies in prior to commencing your scholarship program?

- ☐ Agriculture, Environment and Related Studies
- ☐ Education
- ☐ Engineering
- ☐ Health
- ☐ Information Technology
- ☐ Management and Commerce
- ☐ Economics and Policy
- ☐ Science
- ☐ Society and Culture

21. What area are you studying in under your scholarship program?

- ☐ Agriculture, Environment and Related Studies
- ☐ Education
- ☐ Engineering
- ☐ Health
- ☐ Information Technology
- ☐ Management and Commerce
- ☐ Economics and Policy
- ☐ Science
- ☐ Society and Culture

22. Have you received a scholarship to study overseas before receiving the scholarship?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

23. Have you been overseas before receiving the scholarship?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

24. If so, why?

- ☐ Study
- ☐ Travel
- ☐ Work
- ☐ All of the above
- ☐ Other (please specify)

25. What is your total time spent overseas prior to applying for the scholarship?

- ☐ Less than 6 months
- ☐ 6 months
- ☐ 6 months-12 months
- ☐ 12 months-18 months
- ☐ 18 months and above

26. Do you plan to return to the same employer when you return to your home country?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Not sure

27. Thinking about your aspirations, do you want a career as:

- ☐ Politician
- ☐ Government official
- ☐ Businessperson
- ☐ NGO Official
- ☐ Other (please specify)

28. What do you see yourself in the next 10 years?

- ☐ A political leader
- ☐ A senior government official/ NGO official/ businessperson
- ☐ A mid-level government official/ NGO official/ businessperson
- ☐ A low-level government official/ NGO official/ businessperson
- ☐ Other (please specify)

B. Contact information

29. Email address (for follow-up contact):

30. Confirm email address:

B. 2016 Cambodian Australian and Chinese Scholarship Recipients'

Survey: Pre-departure

[This survey was administered to Cambodian Australian and Chinese scholars who were about to depart to Australia or China in 2016.]

A. Selection

1. What scholarship do you receive?

- ☐ Australia Awards Scholarship
- ☐ Chinese Government Scholarship
- ☐ Other (please specify)

2. In what year did you win the scholarship?

- ☐ 2014
- ☐ 2015
- ☐ 2016
- ☐ Other (please specify)

3. What is your gender?

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

4. What was your age when you applied for the scholarship?

- ☐ 18-25
- ☐ 25-30
- ☐ 30-35
- ☐ 35 and above

5. Where did you grow up?

- ☐ Phnom Penh
- ☐ Battambang City
- ☐ Siem Reap City
- ☐ Sihanoukville
- ☐ Another urban area
- ☐ Countryside
- ☐ If other urban area or countryside, please specify:

6. What do your parents earn in a year (if both parents work, give their combined income)?

- ☐ US\$200-US\$400
- ☐ US\$400-US\$750
- ☐ US\$750-US\$2,000
- ☐ US\$2,000-US\$10,000
- ☐ US\$10,000-US\$50,000
- ☐ US\$50,000 and above

7. What is your father's occupation?

- ☐ Civil servant
- ☐ Businessperson
- ☐ Does not do paid work
- ☐ Other (please specify)

8. What is your mother's occupation?

- ☐ Civil servant
- ☐ Businessperson
- ☐ Does not do paid work
- ☐ Other (please specify)

9. Where did you receive your last degree prior to commencing your scholarship program?

- ☐ Royal University of Phnom Penh
- ☐ Royal University of Law and Economics
- ☐ National University of Management
- ☐ Panasastra University of Cambodia
- ☐ Royal University of Agriculture
- ☐ Other (please specify)

10. In terms of your academic performance at your last university, in which category would you classify yourself?

- ☐ Top 1% of your class
- ☐ Top 5% of your class
- ☐ Top 10% of your class
- ☐ Top 25% of your class
- ☐ Other (please specify)

11. Were you part of any groups, associations or societies when applying for the scholarship?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

12. If yes to question 11, do you belong to one or many of the following groups?

- ☐ University Student Association
- ☐ Junior Chamber International (JCI) Cambodia
- ☐ Union Youth Federations of Cambodia (UYFC)
- ☐ Other (please specify)

13. Were you working when you applied for the scholarship?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

14. If you were working, where did you work?

- ☐ Public sector organisation
- ☐ Private company
- ☐ Foreign-owned company
- ☐ Joint-venture
- ☐ Civil society organisation or NGO
- ☐ International non-profit organisation / INGO
- ☐ Foreign-funded project
- ☐ Multilateral aid agency (e.g. UNDP, World Bank)
- ☐ Foreign embassy/consulate
- ☐ Other (please specify)

15. If public sector, which of the following best describes the main types of activities conducted by your employer?

- ☐ Government administration (central ministries, provincial departments)
- ☐ Research institute
- ☐ Teaching institute (university, college or school)
- ☐ Health services (hospital or clinic)
- ☐ State-owned enterprise
- ☐ Other (please specify)

16. If you were working, how much did you earn per month?

- ☐ US\$100-US\$250
- ☐ US\$250-US\$500
- ☐ US\$500-US\$1,000
- ☐ US\$1,000-US\$2,000
- ☐ US\$2,000 and above

17. If you were working, how many years have you worked (in your latest and any earlier jobs combined)?

- ☐ 1-2 years
- ☐ 2-3 years
- ☐ 3-4 years
- ☐ 4-5 years
- ☐ More than 5 years

18. How long is your scholarship for?

- ☐ Less than 1 year
- ☐ 1 year
- ☐ 1.5 years
- ☐ 2 years
- ☐ 3 years
- ☐ More than 3 years

19. What is the degree you are studying for?

- ☐ Undergraduate
- ☐ Masters
- ☐ PhD
- ☐ Other (please specify)

20. What area were your most recent studies in prior to commencing your scholarship program?

- ☐ Agriculture, Environment and Related Studies
- ☐ Education
- ☐ Engineering
- ☐ Health
- ☐ Information Technology
- ☐ Management and Commerce
- ☐ Economics and Policy
- ☐ Science
- ☐ Society and Culture

21. What area are you studying in under your scholarship program?

- ☐ Agriculture, Environment and Related Studies
- ☐ Education
- ☐ Engineering
- ☐ Health
- ☐ Information Technology
- ☐ Management and Commerce
- ☐ Economics and Policy
- ☐ Science
- ☐ Society and Culture

22. Have you received a scholarship to study overseas before receiving the scholarship?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

23. Have you been overseas before receiving the scholarship?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

24. If so, why?

- ☐ Study
- ☐ Travel
- ☐ Work
- ☐ All of the above
- ☐ Other (please specify)

25. What is your total time spent overseas prior to applying for the scholarship?

- ☐ Less than 6 months
- ☐ 6 months
- ☐ 6 months-12 months
- ☐ 12 months-18 months
- ☐ 18 months and above

26. Do you plan to return to the same employer when you return to your home country?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Not sure

27. Thinking about your aspirations, do you want a career as:

- ☐ Politician
- ☐ Government official
- ☐ Businessperson
- ☐ NGO Official
- ☐ Other (please specify)

28. What do you see yourself in the next 10 years?

- ☐ A political leader
- ☐ A senior government official/ NGO official/ businessperson
- ☐ A mid-level government official/ NGO official/ businessperson
- ☐ A low-level government official/ NGO official/ businessperson
- ☐ Other (please specify)

B. Trust in Institutions

29. I'd like to ask some questions about Cambodia's system of government. For each one of the Cambodian institutions below, please tell me how much trust do you have in them?

	A Great Deal of Trust	Quite a Lot of Trust	Not Very Much Trust	None At All	Don't Know
the Prime Minister.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
the courts.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
the national government.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
political parties [not any specific party].	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
parliament. civil service.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
the military.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
the police.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
local government. newspapers.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
television.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
the election commission.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Non- Governmental Organizations.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

C. Meaning of Democracy

Many things may be desirable, but not all of them are essential characteristics of democracy. If you have to choose only one from each of the following sets of statements, which one would you choose as the most essential characteristics of a democracy?

30. Choose one from these four:

- ☐ 1. Government narrows the gap between the rich and the poor.
- ☐ 2. People choose the government leaders in free and fair election.
- ☐ 3. Government does not waste any public money.
- ☐ 4. People are free to express their political views openly.

31. Choose one from these four:

- ☐ 1. The legislature has oversight over the government.
- ☐ 2. Basic necessities, like food, clothes and shelter, are provided for all.
- ☐ 3. People are free to organize political groups.
- ☐ 4. Government provides people with quality public services.

32. Choose one from these four:

- ☐ 1. Government ensures law and order.
- ☐ 2. Media is free to criticize the things government does.
- ☐ 3. Government ensures job opportunities for all.
- ☐ 4. Multiple parties compete fairly in the election.

33. Choose one from these four:

- ☐ 1. People have the freedom to take part in protests and demonstrations.
- ☐ 2. Politics is clean and free of corruption.
- ☐ 3. The court protects the ordinary people from the abuse of government power.
- ☐ 4. People receive state aid if they are unemployed.

D. Preferences for Political Regime

34. Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion?

- ☐ STATEMENT 1: Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.
- ☐ STATEMENT 2: In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable.
- ☐ STATEMENT 3: For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of government we have.
- ☐ Don't know

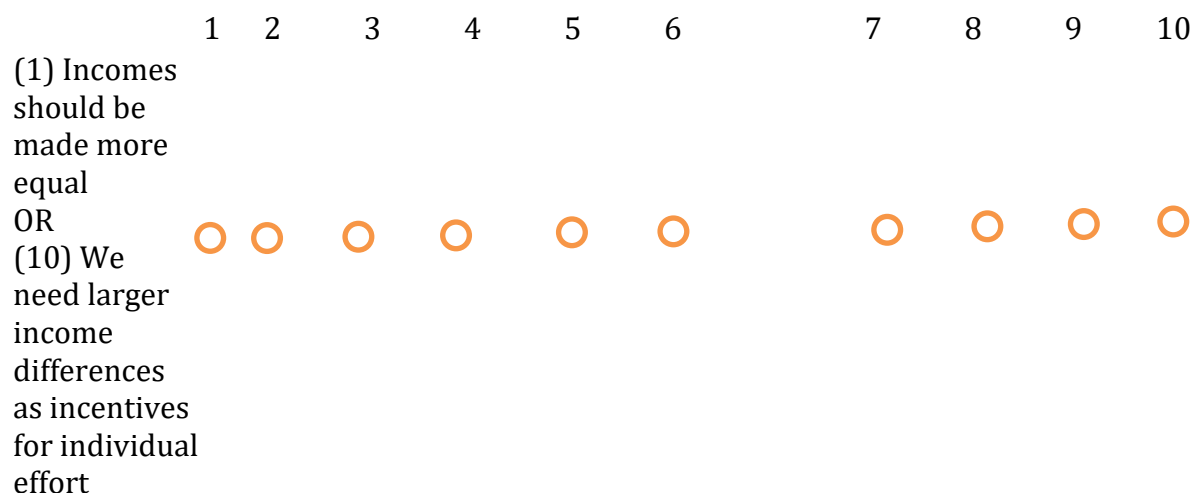
35. For each type of political systems, would you say it is a very good, fairly good, fairly bad or very bad way of governing Cambodia?

	Very good	Fairly good	Fairly bad	Very bad	Don't know
Having a strong leader who does not have to bother with parliament and elections	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Having experts, not government, make decisions according to what they think is best for the country	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Having the army rule	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Having a democratic political system	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

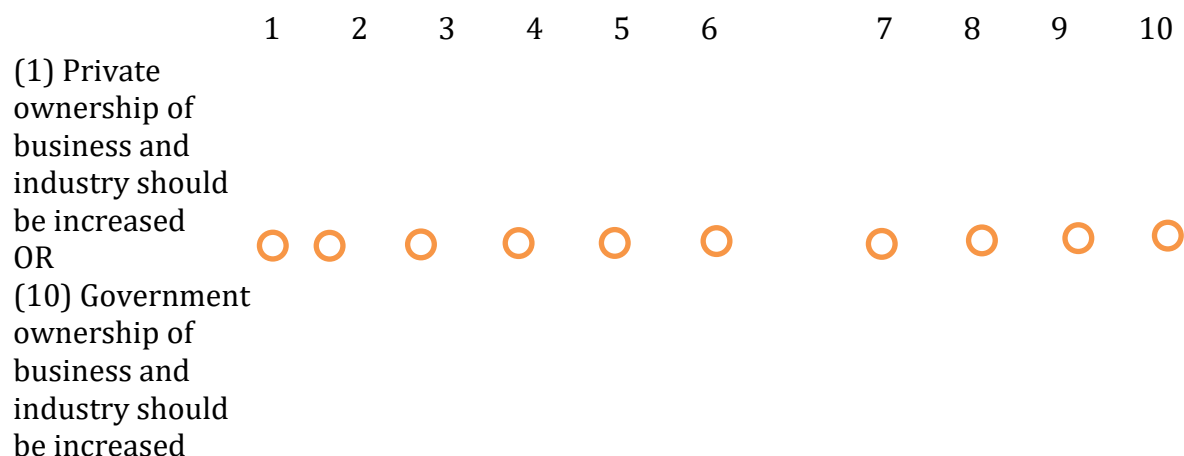
E. Views on Market and the State

Now I'd like you to tell me your views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? 1 means you agree completely with the statement on the top (first statement); 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the bottom (the second statement); and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between.

36. Issue 1



37. Issue 2



38. Issue 3

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
(1) Government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
OR										
(10) People should take more responsibility to provide for themselves										

39. Issue 4

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
(1) Competition is good. It stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
OR										
(10) Competition is harmful. It brings out the worst in people										

40. Issue 5

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
(1) In the long run, hard work usually brings a better life	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
OR										
(10) Hard work doesn't generally bring success—it's more a matter of luck and connections										

41. Issue 6

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
(1) People can only get rich at the expense of others	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
OR										
(10) Wealth can grow so there's enough for everyone										

42. In your opinion, which of the following countries, if any, would be the best model for the future development of Cambodia?

- ☐ United States
- ☐ Australia
- ☐ Singapore
- ☐ China
- ☐ We should follow our own model
- ☐ None of these
- ☐ Other (please specify)

F. Views on Corruption

43. How widespread do you think corruption and bribe-taking are in Cambodian national government? Would you say ...?

- ☐ Hardly anyone is involved
- ☐ Not a lot of officials are corrupt
- ☐ Most officials are corrupt
- ☐ Almost everyone is corrupt
- ☐ Don't know

44. Using a scale where 1 means lower and 10 means higher, do you think the level of corruption in Cambodia is lower, about the same, or higher than it was five years ago?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

45. How important a priority should it be for Cambodia to reduce corruption?

- ☐ Very important
- ☐ Fairly important
- ☐ Not very important
- ☐ Not at all important
- ☐ Don't know

G. Political Authorities and Parties

46. How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the Cambodian People's Party-led government?

- ☐ Very satisfied
- ☐ Somewhat satisfied
- ☐ Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
- ☐ Somewhat dissatisfied
- ☐ Very dissatisfied
- ☐ Don't know

47. Do you feel close to any particular political party?

- ☐ No (does NOT feel close to ANY party)
- ☐ Yes (feels close to a party)
- ☐ Don't know

48. If "Yes," Which party is that?

- ☐ Cambodian National Rescue Party (CNRP)
- ☐ Cambodian People's Party (CPP)
- ☐ Funcinpec
- ☐ Norodom Rannaridh Party
- ☐ Grassroots for Democracy Party
- ☐ Don't know
- ☐ Other (please specify)

49. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: The political opposition in Cambodia presents a viable alternative vision and plan for the country.

- ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Don't know

50. If the parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, which political party would you vote for?

- ☐ Cambodian National Rescue Party (CNRP)
- ☐ Cambodian People's Party (CPP)
- ☐ Funcinpec
- ☐ Norodom Rannaridh Party
- ☐ Grassroots for Democracy Party
- ☐ Don't know
- ☐ Other (please specify)

H. Democracy in Cambodia

51. In your opinion how much of a democracy is Cambodia today?

- ☐ A full democracy
- ☐ A democracy, but with minor problems
- ☐ A democracy, with major problems
- ☐ Not a democracy
- ☐ Do not understand question /do not understand what 'democracy' is
- ☐ Don't know

52. Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Cambodia?

- ☐ Very satisfied
- ☐ Fairly satisfied
- ☐ Not very satisfied
- ☐ Not at all satisfied
- ☐ Cambodia is not a democracy
- ☐ Don't know

53. Now I'd like to ask you about the kind of government that we have in Cambodia. This question is not about the current leaders, but about our overall system, the way the government is set up in general, even though leaders might come and go. How would you respond to the following statement? w

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
I would rather live under our system of government than any other that I can think of.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

54. Compared with other systems in the world, would you say our system of government works fine as it is, needs minor change, needs major change, or should be replaced?

- ☐ It works fine, no need to change
- ☐ Needs minor change
- ☐ Needs major change
- ☐ Should be replaced

55. Would you say that Cambodia is going in the wrong direction or going in the right direction?

- ☐ Going in the wrong direction
- ☐ Going in the right direction
- ☐ Don't know

I. Contact information

56. Email address (for follow-up contact):

57. Confirm email address:

C. 2016 Cambodian Australian and Chinese Scholarship Recipients'

Survey: Follow-up

[This survey was a follow-up survey, and administered in 2017 to Cambodian Australian and Chinese scholars who departed to Australia or China in 2016.]

A. Background

1. What scholarship do you receive?

- ☐ Australia Awards Scholarship
- ☐ Chinese Government Scholarship
- ☐ Other (please specify)

B. Trust in Institutions

2. I'd like to ask some questions about Cambodia's system of government. For each one of the Cambodian institutions below, please tell me how much trust do you have in them?

	A Great Deal of Trust	Quite a Lot of Trust	Not Very Much Trust	None At All	Don't Know
the Prime Minister.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
the courts.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
the national government.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
political parties [not any specific party].	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
parliament. civil service.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
the military.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
the police.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
local government. newspapers.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
television.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
the election commission.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Non- Governmental Organizations.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

C. Meaning of Democracy

Many things may be desirable, but not all of them are essential characteristics of democracy. If you have to choose only one from each of the following sets of statements, which one would you choose as the most essential characteristics of a democracy?

3. Choose one from these four:

- ☐ 1. Government narrows the gap between the rich and the poor.
- ☐ 2. People choose the government leaders in free and fair election.
- ☐ 3. Government does not waste any public money.
- ☐ 4. People are free to express their political views openly.

4. Choose one from these four:

- ☐ 1. The legislature has oversight over the government.
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D. Preferences for Political Regime

7. Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion?

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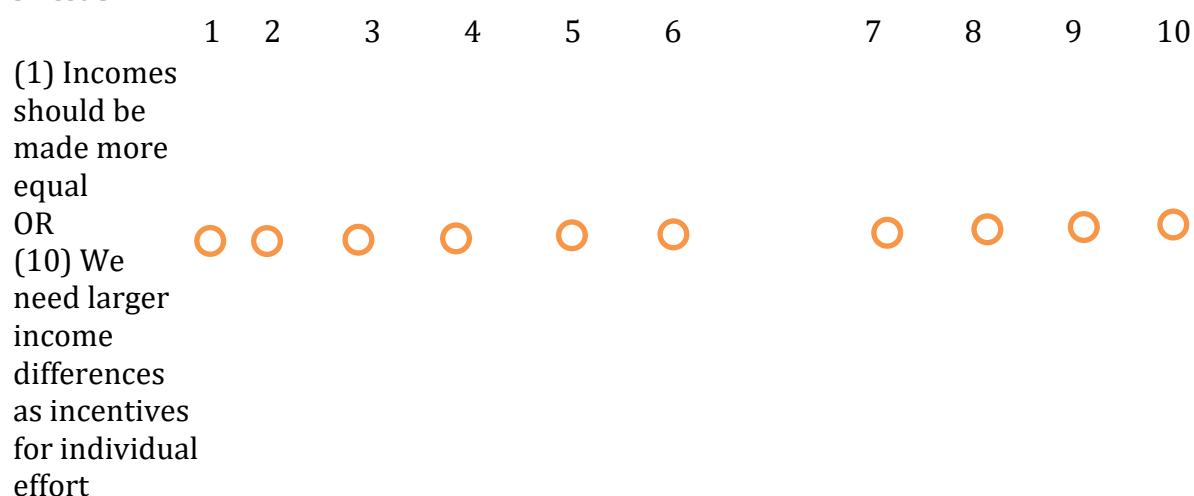
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	Very good	Fairly good	Fairly bad	Very bad	Don't know
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Having experts, not government, make decisions according to what they think is best for the country	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
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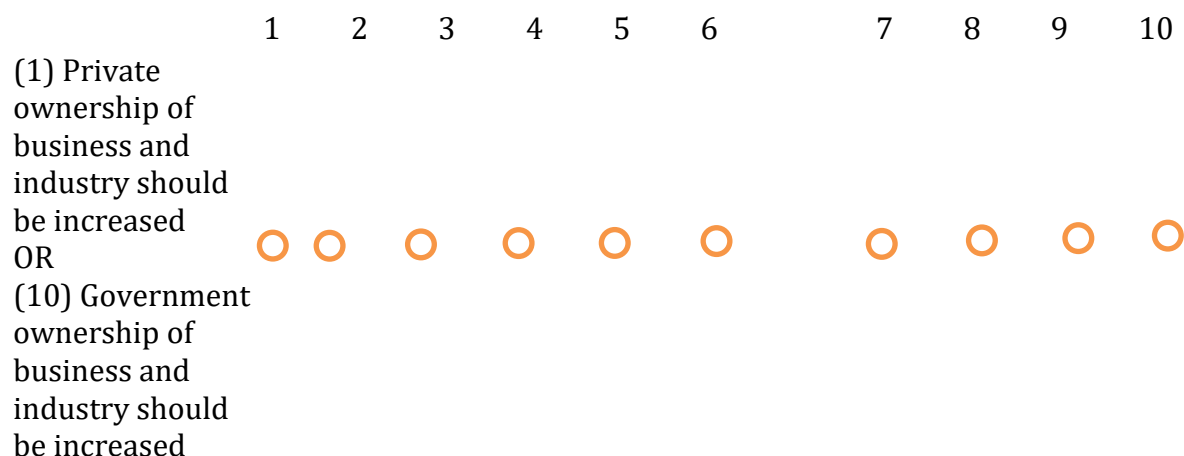
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9. Issue 1



10. Issue 2



11. Issue 3

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
(1) Government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
OR										
(10) People should take more responsibility to provide for themselves										

12. Issue 4

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
(1) Competition is good. It stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
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	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
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14. Issue 6

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
(1) People can only get rich at the expense of others	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
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1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
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18. How important a priority should it be for Cambodia to reduce corruption?

- ☐ Very important
- ☐ Fairly important
- ☐ Not very important
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- ☐ Going in the right direction
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D. 2017 Cambodian Australian and Chinese Scholarship Recipients' Survey

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the courts.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
the national government.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
political parties [not any specific party].	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
parliament. civil service.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
the military.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
the police.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
local government. newspapers.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
television.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
the election commission.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
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- ☐ 1. People have the freedom to take part in protests and demonstrations.
- ☐ 2. Politics is clean and free of corruption.
- ☐ 3. The court protects the ordinary people from the abuse of government power.
- ☐ 4. People receive state aid if they are unemployed.

D. Preferences for Political Regime

7. Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion?

- ☐ STATEMENT 1: Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.
- ☐ STATEMENT 2: In some circumstances, a non-democratic government can be preferable.
- ☐ STATEMENT 3: For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of government we have.
- ☐ Don't know

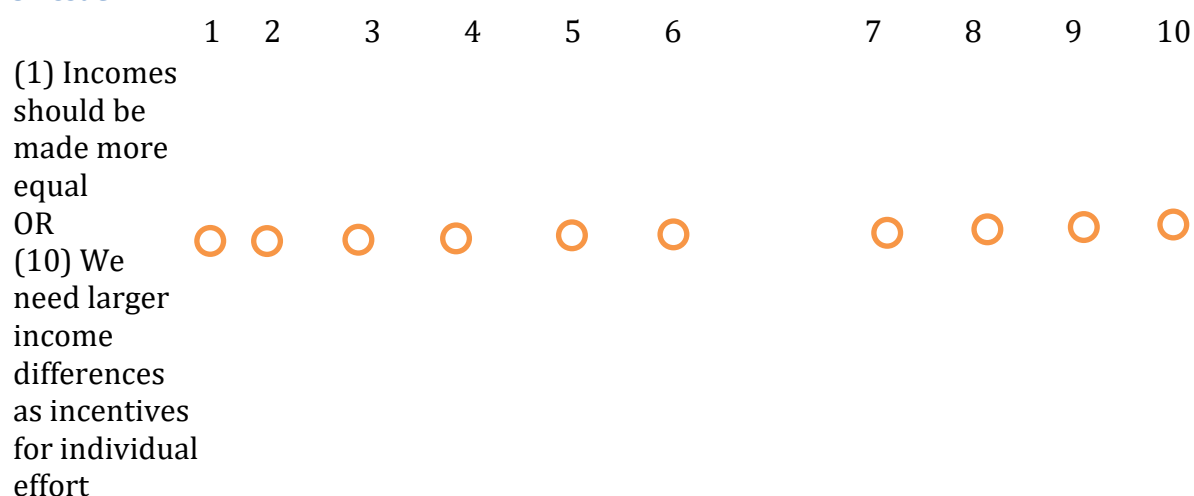
8. For each type of political systems, would you say it is a very good, fairly good, fairly bad or very bad way of governing Cambodia?

	Very good	Fairly good	Fairly bad	Very bad	Don't know
Having a strong leader who does not have to bother with parliament and elections	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Having experts, not government, make decisions according to what they think is best for the country	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Having the army rule	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Having a democratic political system	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

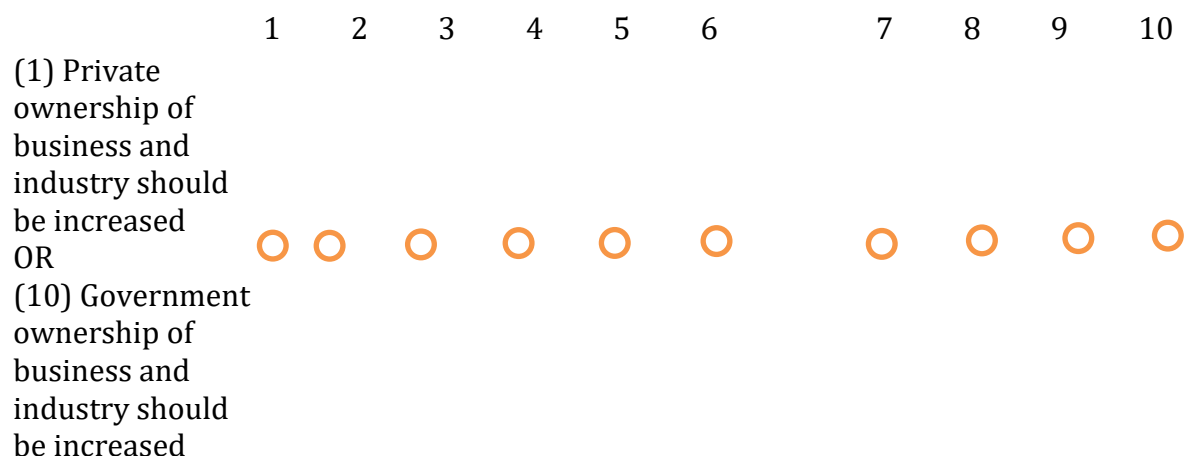
E. Views on Market and the State

Now I'd like you to tell me your views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? 1 means you agree completely with the statement on the top (first statement); 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the bottom (the second statement); and if your views fall somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between.

9. Issue 1



10. Issue 2



11. Issue 3

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
(1) Government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
OR										
(10) People should take more responsibility to provide for themselves										

12. Issue 4

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
(1) Competition is good. It stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
OR										
(10) Competition is harmful. It brings out the worst in people										

13. Issue 5

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
(1) In the long run, hard work usually brings a better life	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
OR										
(10) Hard work doesn't generally bring success—it's more a matter of luck and connections										

14. Issue 6

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
(1) People can only get rich at the expense of others	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
OR										
(10) Wealth can grow so there's enough for everyone										

15. In your opinion, which of the following countries, if any, would be the best model for the future development of Cambodia?

- ☐ United States
- ☐ Australia
- ☐ Singapore
- ☐ China
- ☐ We should follow our own model
- ☐ None of these
- ☐ Other (please specify)

F. Views on Corruption

16. How widespread do you think corruption and bribe-taking are in Cambodian national government? Would you say ...?

- ☐ Hardly anyone is involved
- ☐ Not a lot of officials are corrupt
- ☐ Most officials are corrupt
- ☐ Almost everyone is corrupt
- ☐ Don't know

17. Using a scale where 1 means lower and 10 means higher, do you think the level of corruption in Cambodia is lower, about the same, or higher than it was five years ago?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

18. How important a priority should it be for Cambodia to reduce corruption?

- ☐ Very important
- ☐ Fairly important
- ☐ Not very important
- ☐ Not at all important
- ☐ Don't know

G. Political Authorities and Parties

19. How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the Cambodian People's Party-led government?

- ☐ Very satisfied
- ☐ Somewhat satisfied
- ☐ Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
- ☐ Somewhat dissatisfied
- ☐ Very dissatisfied
- ☐ Don't know

20. Do you feel close to any particular political party?

- ☐ No (does NOT feel close to ANY party)
- ☐ Yes (feels close to a party)
- ☐ Don't know

21. If "Yes," Which party is that?

- ☐ Cambodian National Rescue Party (CNRP)
- ☐ Cambodian People's Party (CPP)
- ☐ Funcinpec
- ☐ Norodom Rannaridh Party
- ☐ Grassroots for Democracy Party
- ☐ Don't know
- ☐ Other (please specify)

22. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: The political opposition in Cambodia presents a viable alternative vision and plan for the country.

- ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Don't know

23. If the parliamentary elections were held tomorrow, which political party would you vote for?

- ☐ Cambodian National Rescue Party (CNRP)
- ☐ Cambodian People's Party (CPP)
- ☐ Funcinpec
- ☐ Norodom Rannaridh Party
- ☐ Grassroots for Democracy Party
- ☐ Don't know
- ☐ Other (please specify)

H. Democracy in Cambodia

24. In your opinion how much of a democracy is Cambodia today?

- ☐ A full democracy
- ☐ A democracy, but with minor problems
- ☐ A democracy, with major problems
- ☐ Not a democracy
- ☐ Do not understand question /do not understand what 'democracy' is
- ☐ Don't know

25. Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Cambodia?

- ☐ Very satisfied
- ☐ Fairly satisfied
- ☐ Not very satisfied
- ☐ Not at all satisfied
- ☐ Cambodia is not a democracy
- ☐ Don't know

26. Now I'd like to ask you about the kind of government that we have in Cambodia. This question is not about the current leaders, but about our overall system, the way the government is set up in general, even though leaders might come and go. How would you respond to the following statement? w

	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Agree	Disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know
I would rather live under our system of government than any other that I can think of.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

27. Compared with other systems in the world, would you say our system of government works fine as it is, needs minor change, needs major change, or should be replaced?

- ☐ It works fine, no need to change
- ☐ Needs minor change
- ☐ Needs major change
- ☐ Should be replaced

28. Would you say that Cambodia is going in the wrong direction or going in the right direction?

- ☐ Going in the wrong direction
- ☐ Going in the right direction
- ☐ Don't know

I. Contact information

29. Email address (for follow-up contact):

30. Confirm email address:

E. Cambodian Australian and Chinese Scholarship Alumni' Survey

[This survey was administered to Cambodian Australian and Chinese scholars who had already completed their scholarships and returned to Cambodia.]

A. Pre-scholarship

1. What scholarship did you receive?

- ☐ Australia Awards Scholarship
- ☐ Chinese Government Scholarship
- ☐ Other (please specify)

2. In what year did you win the scholarship?

- ☐ 2011
- ☐ 2012
- ☐ 2013
- ☐ 2014
- ☐ 2015
- ☐ 2016
- ☐ 2017
- ☐ Other (please specify)

3. What is your gender?

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

4. What was your age when you were awarded the scholarship?

- ☐ 18-25
- ☐ 25-30
- ☐ 30-35
- ☐ 35 and above

5. Where did you grow up?

- ☐ Phnom Penh
- ☐ Battambang City
- ☐ Siem Reap City
- ☐ Sihanoukville
- ☐ Another urban area
- ☐ Countryside
- ☐ If other urban area or countryside, please specify:

6. What did your parents earn in a year (if both parents work, give their combined income), when you applied for the scholarship?

- ☐ US\$200-US\$400
- ☐ US\$400-US\$750
- ☐ US\$750-US\$2,000
- ☐ US\$2,000-US\$10,000
- ☐ US\$10,000-US\$50,000
- ☐ US\$50,000 and above

7. What was your father's occupation when you applied for the scholarship?

- ☐ Civil servant
- ☐ Businessperson
- ☐ Does not do paid work
- ☐ Other (please specify)

8. What was your mother's occupation when you applied for the scholarship?

- ☐ Civil servant
- ☐ Businessperson
- ☐ Does not do paid work
- ☐ Other (please specify)

9. Where did you receive your last degree prior to commencing your scholarship program?

- ☐ Royal University of Phnom Penh
- ☐ Royal University of Law and Economics
- ☐ National University of Management
- ☐ Panasastra University of Cambodia
- ☐ Royal University of Agriculture
- ☐ Other (please specify)

10. In terms of your academic performance at your last university, in which category would you classify yourself?

- ☐ Top 1% of your class
- ☐ Top 5% of your class
- ☐ Top 10% of your class
- ☐ Top 25% of your class
- ☐ Other (please specify)

11. Were you part of any groups, associations or societies when applying for the scholarship?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

12. If yes to question 11, do you belong to one or many of the following groups?

- ☐ University Student Association
- ☐ Junior Chamber International (JCI) Cambodia
- ☐ Union Youth Federations of Cambodia (UYFC)
- ☐ Other (please specify)

13. Were you working when you applied for the scholarship?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

14. If you were working, where did you work?

- ☐ Public sector organisation
- ☐ Private company
- ☐ Foreign-owned company
- ☐ Joint-venture
- ☐ Civil society organisation or NGO
- ☐ International non-profit organisation / INGO
- ☐ Foreign-funded project
- ☐ Multilateral aid agency (e.g. UNDP, World Bank)
- ☐ Foreign embassy/consulate
- ☐ Other (please specify)

15. If public sector, which of the following best describes the main types of activities conducted by your employer?

- ☐ Government administration (central ministries, provincial departments)
- ☐ Research institute
- ☐ Teaching institute (university, college or school)
- ☐ Health services (hospital or clinic)
- ☐ State-owned enterprise
- ☐ Other (please specify)

16. If you were working, how much did you earn per month?

- ☐ US\$100-US\$250
- ☐ US\$250-US\$500
- ☐ US\$500-US\$1,000
- ☐ US\$1,000-US\$2,000
- ☐ US\$2,000 and above

17. If you were working, how many years have you worked (in your latest and any earlier jobs combined)?

- ☐ 1-2 years
- ☐ 2-3 years
- ☐ 3-4 years
- ☐ 4-5 years
- ☐ More than 5 years

18. Which of the following best describes your level of employment at the time you applied for the scholarship?

- ☐ Executive / senior management / senior professional
- ☐ Middle management / professional;
- ☐ Senior clerical or administrative / technician/ supervisory;
- ☐ Clerical or administrative / tradesperson
- ☐ Trainee

19. How long was your scholarship for?

- ☐ Less than 1 year
- ☐ 1 year
- ☐ 1.5 years
- ☐ 2 years
- ☐ 3 years
- ☐ More than 3 years

20. What was the degree you were studying for?

- ☐ Undergraduate
- ☐ Masters
- ☐ PhD
- ☐ Other (please specify)

21. What area were your most recent studies in prior to commencing your scholarship program?

- ☐ Agriculture, Environment and Related Studies
- ☐ Education
- ☐ Engineering
- ☐ Health
- ☐ Information Technology
- ☐ Management and Commerce
- ☐ Economics and Policy
- ☐ Science
- ☐ Society and Culture

22. What area were you studying in under your scholarship program?

- ☐ Agriculture, Environment and Related Studies
- ☐ Education
- ☐ Engineering
- ☐ Health
- ☐ Information Technology
- ☐ Management and Commerce
- ☐ Economics and Policy
- ☐ Science
- ☐ Society and Culture

23. Before you received the scholarship from Australia or China, had you received another scholarship to study overseas?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

24. Before you received the scholarship from Australia or China, had you been overseas?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

25. If so, why?

- ☐ Study
- ☐ Travel
- ☐ Work
- ☐ All of the above
- ☐ Other (please specify)

26. What was your total time spent overseas prior to applying for the scholarship?

- ☐ Less than 6 months
- ☐ 6 months
- ☐ 6 months-12 months
- ☐ 12 months-18 months
- ☐ 18 months and above

27. Did you plan to return to the same employer when you return to your home country?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Not sure

28. Thinking about your aspirations back then, did you want a career as:

- ☐ Politician
- ☐ Government official
- ☐ Businessperson
- ☐ NGO Official
- ☐ Other (please specify)

B. Post-scholarship

29. Did you return to your former workplace?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Not applicable

30. If yes, that position was...

- ☐ Lower position than before
- ☐ The same position as before
- ☐ Higher position than before

31. If no, how long did it take you to find a job when you returned from your Australia Awards or Chinese scholarship course?

- ☐ Less than 1 month
- ☐ 1-2 months
- ☐ 3-6 months;
- ☐ 7-12 months;
- ☐ More than 12 months
- ☐ Have not found a job yet

32. Which of the following best describe your current activities (tick all that apply)? [If you are not currently working, please skip to page 3.]

- ☐ Working full-time
- ☐ Working part-time
- ☐ Working more than one job
- ☐ Not working but looking for work
- ☐ Not working but not looking for work (e.g. raising children, illness)
- ☐ Enrolled in further academic studies
- ☐ Military service

33. How long have you been working in your current employment?

34. Which of the following best describes your current employer?

- ☐ Public sector organisation
- ☐ Private company
- ☐ Foreign-owned company
- ☐ Joint-venture;
- ☐ Civil society organisation or NGO
- ☐ International non-profit organisation / INGO
- ☐ Foreign-funded project
- ☐ Multilateral aid agency (e.g. UNDP, World Bank)
- ☐ Foreign embassy/consulate
- ☐ Other (please specify)

35. If public sector, which of the following best describes the main types of activities conducted by your employer?

- ☐ Government administration (central ministries, provincial departments)
- ☐ Research institute
- ☐ Teaching institute (university, college or school)
- ☐ Health services (hospital or clinic)
- ☐ State-owned enterprise
- ☐ Other (please specify)

36. Which of the following best describes your level of employment in your current job?

- ☐ Executive / senior management / senior professional
- ☐ Middle management / professional;
- ☐ Senior clerical or administrative / technician/ supervisory;
- ☐ Clerical or administrative / tradesperson
- ☐ Trainee

37. "Compared to before you left for Australia or China, in your current job...

	Yes	No
i. is the position ranked higher or did you receive a promotion?"	☐	☐
ii. are you more satisfied with your salary?"	☐	☐
iii. are you supervising more staff?"	☐	☐
iv. do you have a greater role in policy-making?"	☐	☐

38. "To what extent do you consider the following change was due to your Australia Awards or Chinese scholarship program?"

	Not at all	To a small extent	To a medium extent	To a great extent	Not applicable
i. promotion / change to higher ranking position"	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ii. Increased satisfaction in salary"	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
iii. Increased people management responsibility"	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
iv. increased role in policy-making"	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

39. How relevant do you think the content, knowledge and skills you gained during your time in Australia or China are to your current job?

- ☐ Not at all relevant
- ☐ Very little relevance
- ☐ Some relevance
- ☐ Highly relevant

40. "In your current job, how often do you use the following knowledge / skills you obtained during your studies in Australia or China?"

	I did not gain those skills in Australia or China	Never	Infrequently (a few times a year)	Occasionally (monthly)	Regularly (daily or weekly)
i. Technical/subject matter skills and knowledge (related to your course content)"	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ii. Analytical and critical thinking skills"	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
iii. Leadership skills"	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
iv. Management skills"	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
v. Communication skills (including English or Chinese language skills)"	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
vi. Cross-cultural skills"	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

41. How would you describe the level of support you have received from your workplace supervisor in applying the knowledge / skills you obtained in Australia or China to your current job?

- ☐ None at all
- ☐ A small extent
- ☐ A medium extent
- ☐ A great extent

42. In your current job, to what extent are you passing on the skills and knowledge you gained from your studies in Australia or China through formal or informal training/teaching? w

- ☐ Not at all
- ☐ To a small extent
- ☐ To a medium extent
- ☐ To a great extent

43. What skills / knowledge that you gained from your studies in Australia or China are you passing on through training/teaching?

- ☐ Technical/subject matter related to course content
- ☐ English or Chinese language skills
- ☐ Communication skills
- ☐ Leadership skills
- ☐ Leadership skills
- ☐ Analytical skills
- ☐ Research skills
- ☐ Computer skills
- ☐ Independent work/thinking skills
- ☐ None

44. Since your return, to what degree have you...

	Not at all	To a small extent	To a medium extent	To a great extent
contributed to the development of your institution?	☐	☐	☐	☐
contributed to the development of your country?	☐	☐	☐	☐
had influence on government thinking on a particular issue?	☐	☐	☐	☐
used the skills / knowledge you gained from your studies in Australia or China in community involvement (including with community-based organisations and religious organisations)?	☐	☐	☐	☐

C. Political Attitudes

45. What impact has your scholarship had on your trust in the following Cambodian institutions?

	Greatly increased my trust	Increased my trust	No effect on my trust	Decreased my trust	Greatly decreased my trust
the Prime Minister.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
the courts.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
the national government.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
political parties [not any specific party].	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
parliament.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
civil service.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
the military.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
the police.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
local government.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
newspapers.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
television.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
the election commission.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Non-Governmental Organizations.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

46. Now I want to ask you about a number of questions about your political and economic views. What impact has the scholarship had on your support for the following statements?

	Strongly increased my support	Increased my support	No effect on my support	Decreased my support	Strongly decreased my support
Incomes should be made more equal.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Private ownership of business and industry should be increased.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Government should take more responsibility to ensure that everyone is provided for.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Competition is good. It stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
In the long run, hard work usually brings a better life.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
People can only get rich at the expense of others.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Democracy is important for development.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Corruption and bribe-taking in the Cambodian national government is widespread.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Reducing corruption in Cambodia should be a very important priority.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The Cambodian People's Party-led government is overall taking the country in the right direction.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The political opposition in Cambodia presents a viable alternative vision and plan for the country.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Democracy works well in Cambodia.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The system of government in Cambodia works well. (This question is not about the current leaders, but about our overall system, the way the government is set up in general, even though leaders might come and go.)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

47. Now, please tell me in your own words, what was the most important way in which the scholarship changed your attitudes?

48. Thinking about the importance of the scholarship to you, please rate the scholarship's importance in relation to the following aspects of your life:

	Very important	Somewhat important	Not at all important
Career	☐	☐	☐
Attitudes	☐	☐	☐
Personal life	☐	☐	☐

49. The biggest impact of the scholarship was on:

- ☐ my career
- ☐ my personal life
- ☐ my attitudes
- ☐ Other (please specify)

D. Contact information

50. Email address (for follow-up contact):

51. Confirm email address: